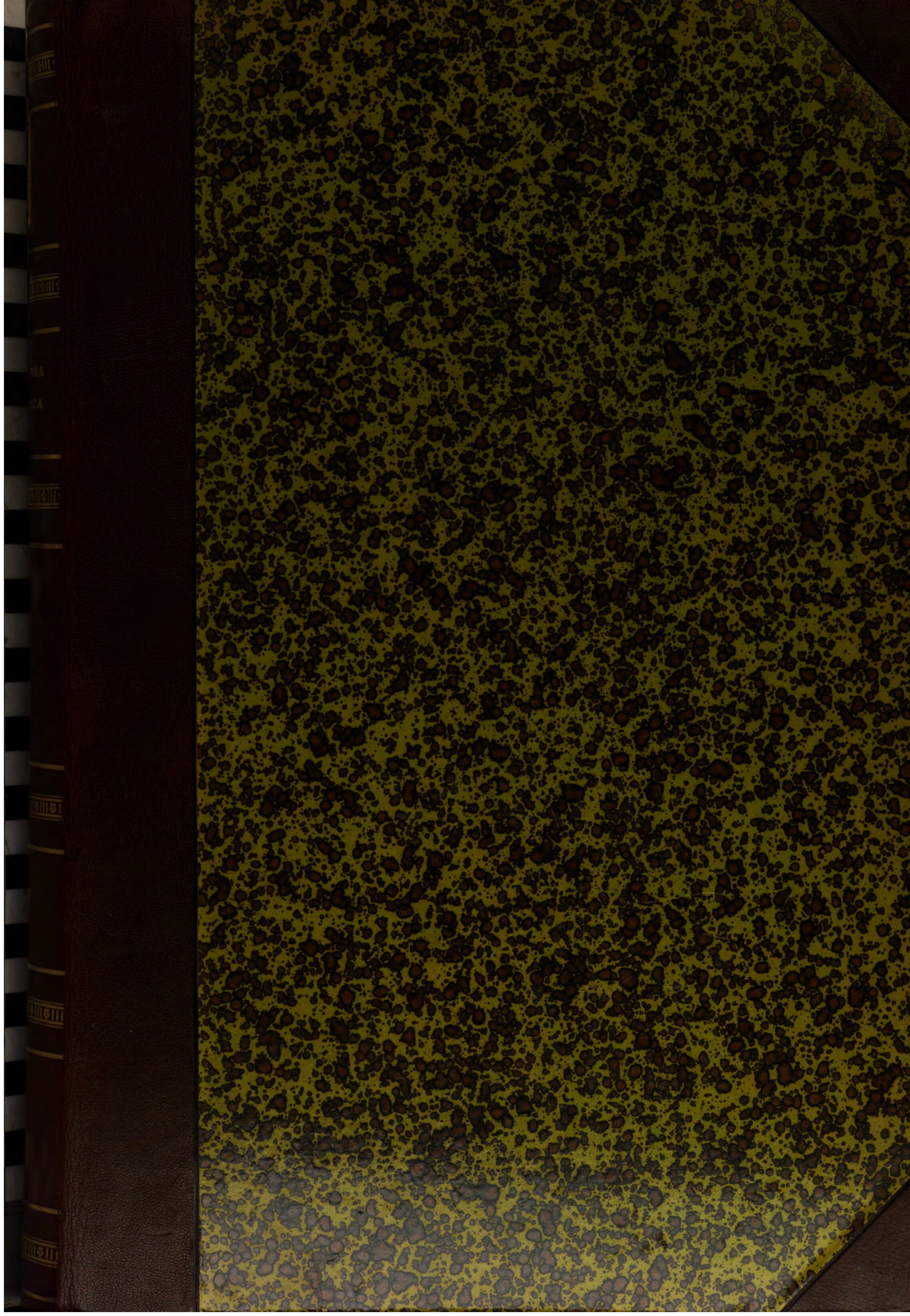
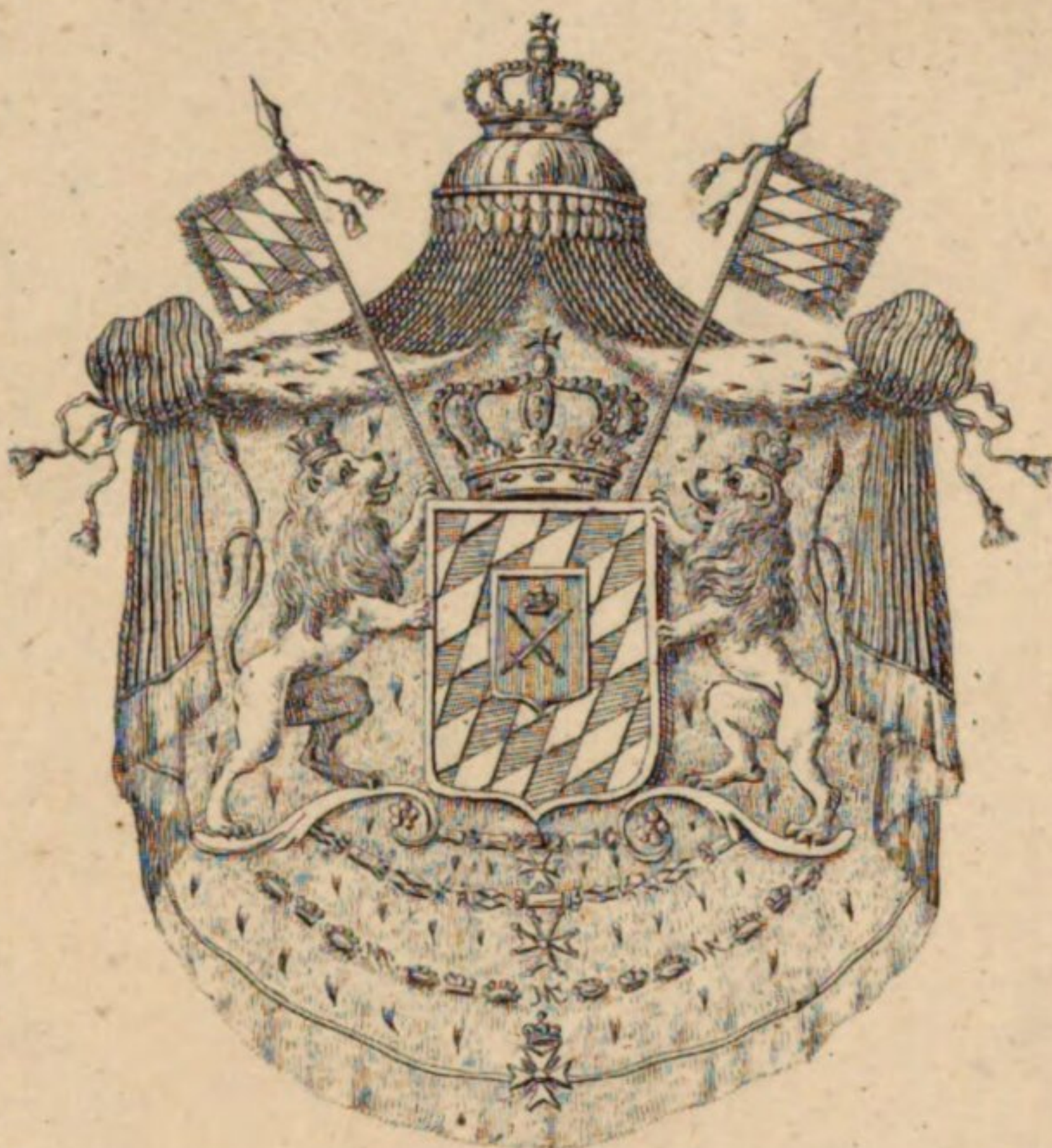




2° Biogr. C. 12 ^b / 4



BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

522

<36626423070012 ✓

<36626423070012

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

B I O G R A P H I A
B R I T A N N I C A.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

BIOGRAPHIA

BRITANNICA

VOLUME THE FOURTH

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

L I V E S

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

G R E A T - B R I T A I N

A N D

I R E L A N D,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES:

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

Mr. BAYLE's Historical and Critical DICTIONARY.

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N,

With CORRECTIONS, ENLARGEMENTS, and the Addition of new LIVES:

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

With the Assistance of the Rev. JOSEPH TOWERS, LL.D.

And other GENTLEMEN.

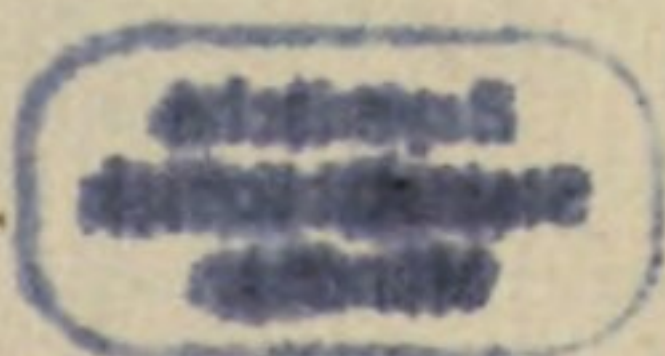
VOLUME THE FOURTH.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED BY RIVINGTON AND MARSHALL,

FOR J. RIVINGTON AND SONS, T. PAYNE AND SON, L. DAVIS, T. LONGMAN,
B. LAW, H. BALDWIN, ROBSON AND CLARK, C. DILLY, G. G. J. & J. ROBINSON,
T. CADELL, J. NICHOLS, H. GARDNER, W. OTRIDGE, A. STRAHAN,
J. DEBRETT, W. LOWNDES, S. HAYES, W. FOX, AND J. EVANS.

MDCCLXXXIX.



Biographia Britannica:

OF THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

GR E A T - B R I T A I N

AND

I R E L A N D,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIMES;

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

MR. BAYLE'S HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION.

With Corrections, Additions, and the Addition of new LIVES.

BY ANDREW KIPPER, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

With the Assistance of the Rev. JOSEPH FOWERS, LL.D.

And other Gentlemen.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED BY RIVINGTON AND MARSHALL,

FOR J. RIVINGTON AND SONS, THE LITTLE ARCADE, LONDON.
E. LAW, N. BALDWIN, ROBINSON AND CLARK, G. DUFFY, G. O. J. J. ROBINSON,
T. CADDELL, J. NICHOLS, H. GARDNER, W. O'BRIEN, A. STRAHAN,
J. ORRILL, W. LEWIS, S. HAYES, W. FOX, AND J. EVANS.

MDCCLXXXIX.



T O

Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

AND EMINENTLY DISTINGUISHED,

AS A ZEALOUS CULTIVATOR, AND ARDENT PROMOTER,

OF

PHILOSOPHICAL AND NATURAL KNOWLEDGE,

THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA

IS INSCRIBED,

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM HIM

WITH REGARD TO A PRINCIPAL ARTICLE IN THE WORK,

AND IN SINCERE TESTIMONY OF PERSONAL RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

BY HIS MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

AUGUST 15,
1789.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

TO
ST JOSEPH BANKS, Esq.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
AND FINANCY DISTINGUISHED
AS A ZEALOUS CULTIVATOR AND ARDENT PROMOTER
OF
PHYSIOLOGICAL AND NATURAL KNOWLEDGE,
THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE
BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA

IS INSCRIBED
IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE ASSISTANCE DERIVED FROM HIM
WITH REGARD TO A PRINCIPAL ARTICLE IN THE WORK,
AND IN SINCERE TESTIMONY OF PERSONAL RESPECT AND esteem,
BY HIS MOST OBLIGED
AND MOST OBEYANT SERVANT

ANDREW KIPPIE.
August 18.
Vol. IV.

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

FOURTH VOLUME OF THE SECOND EDITION.

THE general nature and design of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA have been sufficiently explained in the Prefaces to the preceding volumes. What, therefore, I consider as at this time principally necessary, is to mention some circumstances more immediately relative to the volume which is now presented to the public.

Perhaps the great length of Captain Cook's article may seem to require some observation. It never was my intention to give a short account of that illustrious Navigator, whose discoveries and adventures furnish such a copious fund of instruction and entertainment. If the narrative had been written solely for the Biographia, I do not think that it would have been much shorter than it now is. Having, however, been requested to publish a separate life of the Captain, I determined to insert it in the present work, without mutilation. In fact, long as it is, it is only an abridgement of what is contained in a great number of large volumes. But to have given an abridgment of an abridgment would have rendered the article jejune and imperfect, and would have deprived my readers of what they had a right to expect:—such an exhibition of the real character and the important transactions of Captain Cook, as is suitable to the nature and design of our undertaking.

With regard to the length of this and other articles, it deserves particularly to be considered, that the Biographia is not intended for the present age alone, but also for posterity. Narratives, which, on account of their recording recent facts that are generally known, may be thought by some critics to be too much extended, will become of more and more consequence in process of time. The numerous volumes of Captain Cook's Voyages, for instance, with their minute nautical details, will be less studied, by the generality of readers at least, in a future course of years, than at present, when the transactions they relate are fresh in the memory, and have excited an universal attention. But many persons of the next and succeeding generations, will be satisfied with shorter accounts, and be pleased with such a history as is here offered to the public; and which, though no more than an abridgment, is, nevertheless, purposely rendered so large as to satisfy their curiosity, and to enable them fully to conceive how extraordinary were Captain Cook's Discoveries, and how eminent his abilities and character.

The observations now made will apply to another article, of very considerable extent, which is that of Chatterton. The question whether this wonderful young man was the author of the poems that have been ascribed to Rowley, is one of the most curious literary questions that has been agitated in any age or country. But the discussion of it is diffused through a number of publications and pamphlets, that in time will become scarce. It will, therefore, be no small gratification to posterity to find such an ample history of the controversy in the Biographia Britannica.

Upon the same principle, it is part of our plan to give copious accounts of the writings of learned men, if they have been in any degree eminent. This is the only way of doing them that full justice, to which, by their merits, they are entitled. From the accumulation of new books, and the revolutions of literary fashion, even works of no small reputation come to be neglected. I could produce numerous proofs of the truth of this assertion, were it my present business

to enlarge upon the subject. Many valuable productions which, in my youth, it would have been a disgrace to a man of education not to have read, are now, in a considerable degree, laid aside. They have been displaced by others, that will share the same fate. The works that are ever fresh, and ever young, are, comparatively speaking, small in their number, and limited in their objects. It is in repositories like ours, that our descendants will see the worth of their predecessors, and the figure they made in their day.

I should have added with respect to Chatterton, that Mr. Croft, who originally proposed to write his life, was too much engaged in his own grand undertaking, to be able to do it in the time I wished; and the matter could not be delayed any longer. I applied, therefore, to my ingenious and learned friend, the Rev. Dr. George Gregory, to take the task upon him; and I may venture to say, that he has discharged it in a manner that will give universal satisfaction. The fairness and candour with which he has stated the evidence on both sides, is entitled to particular praise. Mr. Croft will discern, with pleasure, the aid that has been derived from his "Love and Madness" in drawing up the article.

As I proceed in the work, I have still greater and greater reason to mention with gratitude the assistance which I continue to receive. The names of several respectable Gentlemen will occur in their proper places. To Michael Collinson, Esq; the Rev. Dr. Conybeare, Sir Joseph Banks, Sir Hugh Palliser, the Rev. Mr. Huntingford, the Earl of Buchan, and a Gentleman who wishes to conceal his favours, my thanks are particularly due.

For communications of a more general nature, I am greatly indebted to Lord Arden. His Lordship has most obligingly permitted me to have the inspection of the Manuscript Biographical Collections of his noble grandfather, the first Earl of Egmont. The use I have already been able to make of these valuable materials, will be seen in the Addenda and in other places. By the continued favour of Lord Arden, great advantage may be derived to the Biographia, with regard to future articles.

I must here express, with the sincerest concern, the loss which this work has sustained, by the decease of two excellent and learned friends, the Rev. Mr. Duncombe of Canterbury, and John Baynes, Esq; of Lincoln's Inn. Mr. Duncombe watched over the Biographia with a kind of parental tenderness. The Corrigenda and Addenda will display the attention that he paid to the last volume.

There are three lives in the present volume, for which I am wholly indebted to the gratuitous communications of my friends. Mr. Richardson, Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow, well known by several elegant publications, and especially by his admirable Essays on some of the Characters of Shakespeare, has favoured me with the article of Craig, a late excellent Divine in Scotland. Mr. Hayley, whom I must ever mention in terms of the highest affection and respect, has given me the Life of Crashaw the Poet. Through the good offices of my worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Christie, I have obtained from Mr. Chalmers, of Throgmorton Street, an account of Alexander Cruden. All these articles will speak for themselves, and show that they constitute valuable ornaments of the work. With respect to the Life of Cruden it must be mentioned, that having happened to put it into a wrong drawer, it slipped my memory when it should have been introduced in p. 544. I have, therefore, annexed it to Chatterton, in the Appendix to Letter C.

The Preface to the present volume cannot be dismissed without saying something concerning the long delay of its appearance; and the rather, as I formerly expressed so strong a belief of a more speedy publication. What I then advanced, was written with the greatest sincerity; but unexpected hindrances have occurred. In the first place, I beg leave to recite a remark which I have made in my Life of Dr. Lardner. It is as follows: "Those who are not themselves engaged in important and extensive literary undertakings, can have but an imperfect conception of the difficulties to be surmounted, the disappointments to be incurred, the books to be procured and waited for, the dates to be settled, the facts to be ascertained, and the various other causes which often

“ occasion delays, that must be far more unpleasant to the writer than they
“ can possibly be to any reader whatever.”

In the second place, I must request that the immense quantity of new matter now published may be taken into consideration. This fourth volume includes only 218 pages of the old work. The fresh materials occupy considerably more than two thirds of the book; and the vast disproportion of what has been furnished by myself will strike every reader. The additions to the former articles, which, in many cases, will be found so great, are, with the exception of a single instance, entirely my own. This, I must be permitted to say, is a very important and difficult part of the undertaking; and whoever should attempt to conduct the *Biographia* without particularly attending to so weighty an object, would deprive it of the perfection and usefulness to which it ought to be carried. The mere insertion of new lives would not atone for so capital a defect.

Thirdly, I should still have been able to have finished the volume much sooner, if it had not been for a particular circumstance. Partly with a view to accelerate the work, I gave up an employment I had long held, as one of the Tutors in Coward's Academy, then subsisting at Hoxton. But, since that time, another institution, of a more extensive and important nature, having been formed amongst the body of people with whom I am immediately connected, my assistance in it was thought to be desirable. Accordingly, it hath demanded my time and my labour, and will continue to demand my principal attention. Whatever part, therefore, I may hereafter take in the *Biographia*, I will no longer make any promises concerning it, or be amenable to the public, with regard to the appearance of the succeeding volumes. But no delay of the work is hence to be apprehended: for the proprietors have determined to call in such effectual aid as shall entirely preclude disappointment and complaint.

A. K.

The first of these is the fact that the present work is a new edition of a book which has been published in many forms and under many titles. It is a book which has been read and re-read by many generations of students and scholars, and which has been the subject of many discussions and controversies. The present edition is a new and revised edition of the book, and it is hoped that it will be found to be a more complete and accurate edition than the previous ones. The book is divided into two parts, the first of which contains the history of the book, and the second of which contains the text of the book. The history of the book is given in the first part, and it is hoped that it will be found to be a more complete and accurate history than the previous ones. The text of the book is given in the second part, and it is hoped that it will be found to be a more complete and accurate text than the previous ones.

A. K.

FARTHER
CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE

First Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

ADDISON (JOSEPH), p. 63.

IN Sir John Hawkins's Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, there is the following passage concerning Addison. "I find an opinion gaining ground not much to the advantage of Mr. Addison's style, the characteristics *whereof* are feebleness and inanity. I speak of that alone, for his sentiments are excellent and his humour exquisite. In some instances he adopts vulgar phrase, as when he calls an indiscreet action *a piece* of folly, and too often uses the expletive verb *along*, thus, Come *along* with me. Yet I am not willing to deprive him of the honour implied in Johnson's testimony, 'that his prose is the model of the middle style.' But if he be but a mediocrity, he is surely not a subject of imitation; it being a rule, that of examples the best are always to be selected (a)." Sir John Hawkins, whenever he spoke of Addison, seemed doomed to be unfortunate. That he should be so ignorant of the distinctions of language laid down by all the rhetoricians, as to suppose that Dr. Johnson intended to characterize Mr. Addison as a mediocrity in composition, would be incredible, were it not ascertained by the fact.

(a) Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, p. 270, 271.

Mr. Heron, in his "Letters of Literature," has made some remarks upon Mr. Addison's Critical Errors. But, at the same time, he acknowledges that Addison is one of his most favourite writers, and that nothing but his sacred love of critical equity could have induced him to execute the ungrateful task he had undertaken. "The best writers," adds Mr. Heron, "are perhaps the most liable to faults of a certain kind, in like manner as fertile ground is, where no grain is sown, fertile of weeds. Strong weeds speak a rich soil, nearly as much as strong corn; yet they ought to be rooted up that they may not injure the harvest (b)." In a preceding letter, Mr. Heron declares, that Addison is a prose writer of the first rank (c). The opinion of this author, who is not usually lavish of his praises, forms a contrast, that does no honour to the judgment of Sir John Hawkins.

(b) Letters of Literature, p. 420—428.

(c) Ibid. p. 419.

Warburton, in a letter to Mr. Concanen, inserted in the Supplement to Shakespeare, has pointed out some places in which Mr. Addison has taken the sentiments of his Cato from the works of Cicero (d).

(d) Supplement to Shakespeare, vol. i. p. 223, 224.

Lord Egmont, in his manuscript collections, has related an instance of Mr. Addison's jealousy with regard to his reputation. Having heard that a Gentleman had for his diversion turned eight lines of Cato into burlesque, he could not rest, till, by the interposition of a friend, he prevailed upon the author to burn them. As to Mr. Addison's principles, he told Lord Egmont, that an honest Englishman is a Tory in church matters, and a Whig in politics.

ADRIAN IV. p. 67.

In Mr. Berington's History of the Lives of Abeillard and Heloisa, there is an entertaining account of this Pope. The conclusion is as follows: "Thus, in the midst of an agitated ocean, of which he himself was the principal mover, comfortless and dissatisfied, lived Adrian the Fourth. He saw the end of four years and nine months, when he died in 1159, esteemed by the Roman Court, whose patrimony he had increased by some considerable acquisitions, and praised for his disinterestedness, which he carried to a pitch of affected insensibility; for he permitted his mother, who saw him raised to the Popedom, and who survived her son, barely to subsist on the alms she collected in the church of Canterbury (a)."

(a) History, &c. p. 353—360.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

AKENSIDE (MARK), p. 107.

Sir John Hawkins, in his *Life of Johnson*, has drawn Dr. Akenfide's character somewhat at large; and it is, with a few exceptions, highly to the Doctor's advantage. "Akenfide," says Sir John, "was a man of religion and strict virtue, a philosopher, a scholar, and a fine poet. His conversation was of the most delightful kind, learned, instructive, and, without any affectation of wit, chearful and entertaining (a)."

(a) *Life of Johnson*, p. 242—243.

ANDREWS (LAUNCELOT), p. 188.

In the British Museum, is a manuscript discourse, by Bishop Andrews, against a second marriage, after sentence of divorce with a former match, the parties then living. It was written in 1601 (a).

(a) Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 291.

ANSON (GEORGE), p. 221.

In this article, p. 216, we have spoken of the *History of Anson's Voyage* as having been written by Mr. Robins, though it was published under the name of Mr. Walter, Chaplain to the Centurion. A general and uncontradicted report had for many years prevailed, that the work was drawn up by Mr. Robins. Nor was this report one of those vague rumours the original and foundation of which cannot be ascertained; for it was grounded on positive testimony. Dr. James Wilson had publicly asserted the fact, in the short account of Mr. Robins, which he prefixed to his edition of the mathematical tracts of that ingenious writer. We have not the book at hand; but the following extract from the *Monthly Review* for November, 1761, will be sufficient for our purpose. "But that literary performance of Mr. Robins, which obtained the greatest share of public notice, though the real writer did not appear, was the complement of Lord Anson's Voyage to the South Seas, published in the name of Mr. Walter, Chaplain to the Centurion. Mr. Walter, it is true, had compiled, as we are now informed, a detail of this important voyage; but, upon inspection, it being found to be little more than extracts from the Journals, Mr. Robins was employed to compleat an entire new work; which is the voyage in the present form; and which is deservedly and universally considered as a Master-piece (a)."

(a) *Monthly Review*, vol. xxv. p. 335, 336.

Thus has the matter hitherto stood. But so late as the present year (1789), and a few days previously to the writing of this note, a letter upon the subject has been put into our hands by Mr. John Walter, Bookseller at Charing Cross. It is addressed to that Gentleman by Mrs. Walter, the widow of the publisher of the voyage, and is as follows:

"SIR,

"I am informed that the *Biographia Britannica* insinuates that Mr. Robins, and not Mr. Walter, was the writer of Lord Anson's Voyage round the world. I shall therefore take it as a favour, if you will put me in the way of correcting so great a mistake. During the time of Mr. Walter's writing that voyage, he visited me almost daily previous to our marriage, and I have frequently heard him say how closely he had been engaged in writing for some hours to prepare for his constant attendance upon Lord Anson at six every morning for his approbation; as his Lordship overlooked every sheet that was written. At some of those meetings Mr. Robins assisted, as he was consulted in the disposition of the drawings; and I also know that Mr. Robins left England (for he was sent to Bergen-op-zoom) some months before the publication of that book; and I have frequently seen Mr. Walter correct the proof sheets for the printer.

"You may perhaps wonder that Mr. Walter never took any steps to contradict the assertion; but that wonder will cease, when I tell you that for four years before his death (which was in 1785) he laboured under very severe and painful illnesses, and therefore never heard any thing but newspaper squibs, which he looked upon with contempt. But as it now appears to be published in a work that will be handed down to posterity—that Mr. Walter was not the real author; I think it a duty incumbent upon me to endeavour to clear his memory from any imputation of duplicity. Nor can it be supposed that any man would write a book for another to share the greatest part of the advantages. These and many other reasons make me apply to you, as I should suppose that, as a relation to the deceased, you would be anxious for his fame, as well as,

"SIR,

"Your most humble servant,

"June 16th, 1789.

"JANE WALTER."

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

We shall make no other comment on this letter than to observe, that it is highly worthy of attention. If it shall give such full satisfaction to our readers, as to convince them that Mr. Walter was the writer of the voyage in its present form, we shall rejoice in having had an opportunity of doing justice to an injured character.

ATTERBURY (FRANCIS), p. 348.

In 1787, Mr. Nichols published a fourth volume, in octavo, of "The epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D. D. Lord Bishop of Rochester. With Historical Notes." From this publication several farther particulars may be learned concerning that eminent Prelate.

Lord Egmont, upon the authority of Bishop Sherlock, relates, that Atterbury, in early life, was of Whig principles, and that the first person who diverted him from his bias to those principles was Bishop Burnet, who, in King William's reign, prevented his being made Chaplain to the Earl of Portland. Some time after the accession of King George the First, when a breach fell out between the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Townshend, Dr. Atterbury entered into connections with the former Nobleman, and promised to support all his measures, on condition of his succeeding to the Bishopric of Winchester, on the death of Sir Jonathan Trelawny. When that event happened, Atterbury was with Lord Sunderland at five o'clock in the morning, to claim his promise. The Earl, it seems, either could not or would not keep his word; for Trimnell obtained Winchester; and the Bishop of Rochester so deeply resented the disappointment, that he threw himself entirely into the worst of the Tory schemes. This Dr. Sherlock said he knew to be true; to which he added, that Atterbury, from his youth, set out with a resolution to be a great man at any rate.

Some extraordinary effects are related, by Lord Egmont, of this Prelate's restless temper. When he was in the Pretender's service, he procured to himself the charge of paying the pensions allowed to the Chevalier's half-starved adherents at St. Germain's. This was a very poor and unthankful office; and yet, because he could not be easy without some employment or other, he did not rest till he got General Dillon displaced, who had it before; representing, by sundry letters to his Master, that Dillon defrauded these persons. Nay, there was not a nurse wanting to any of the Pretender's children, then at Rome, but the Bishop would take upon him, from France, to recommend a woman, describing her temper, complexion, hair, and other circumstances. Lord Egmont justly observes, that these are things which were scarcely to be believed, excepting by those who were in the same place with him when the transactions passed.

BARCLAY (JOHN), p. 589.

A sketch of the Life of John Barclay has been composed by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. Lord Hailes. Not having had the good fortune to meet with it, we cannot, at present, make that use of the respectable and learned Author's production which we could have wished to have done.

K.

FARTHER

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE SECOND

Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

BAXTER (ANDREW), p. 27.

A Valuable correspondent, with a particular reference to note [D], has sent us the following remarks upon this article.

“ No one likes scepticism less than I do, and yet the life of *Andrew Baxter*, from the information of his son, makes one a sceptic. I knew his manner of life so well, that I was confounded at seeing that he spake German and Dutch with ease, that he was elegant in his dress, and that the Ladies at Utrecht were much pleased with his conversation. He understood Low Dutch, which he told me was a good language, but hardly ever spake a word of it; and, I dare say, never uttered a sentence of German in his life. His dress was plain and simple, not that of a priggish Frenchman, but of a mathematician who was not a floven. I am pretty well persuaded, that while in the Low-Countries, he never had any conversation with women, of lower or higher degree, unless it were to ask for the bill, at an ordinary, or desire the servant-maid to bring up turf for his chimney. As to his *presiding* at an ordinary, *that* also is a mere illusion—his son did not know Mr. Baxter so well as I did, while he resided at Utrecht. I remember very well that his son only saw him for a few days, whereas I saw him daily for more than two years. I do not think that he was afflicted with the gout at all: he generally observed a regimen on account of the gravel, for he suffered much by what has been termed *flagellum eruditorum*. In short he was a plain, decent, good-humoured man, who past all his time, but what was bestowed at his meals, in meditation and study; and his manner of life was, on the whole, the reverse of what his son, from imperfect and transient observation, supposed it to have been.”

BEAUMONT (LEWIS), p. 86.

Mr. Hutchinson, in his History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, has given a copious account of this Prelate (a). The Bishop's interest was powerful; but, throughout the whole of his life, he appears to have been in himself a very insignificant character, both in Church and State (b).

(a) Vol. i. p. 266

(b) Ibid. p. 275.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER, p. 100.

In the Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays published in 1778, it is ingeniously and decisively shewn by Mr. Steevens, that Shakespeare had no hand in writing the play of the “Two noble Kinsmen.” It has not been proved, by evidence of any kind, that he had the slightest connection with Beaumont and Fletcher (a).

(a) Vol. ii. p. 169, &c.

BEK (ANTHONY), p. 148.

A large account of this Prelate may be seen in the first volume of Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of Durham, p. 228—258.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

BENNET (HENRY), EARL OF ARLINGTON, p. 193.

In the Supplement to the third volume of "State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon," is a more copious account of Sir Henry Bennet's character than that which is given in the noble Historian's Life and Continuation (a). It is too long to be inserted in this place. (a) Supplement, p. lxxx—lxxxiv.

BENTLEY (RICHARD), p. 247.

"Let me now gather," says Mr. Boswell, in his Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, (p. 201) "some gold dust,—some more fragments of Dr. Johnson's conversation.—He said, he thought very highly of Bentley; that no man now went so far in the kinds of learning that he cultivated; that the many attacks on him were owing to envy, and to a desire of being known, by being in competition with such a man; that it was safe to attack him, because he never answered his opponents, but let them die away. It was attacking a man who would not beat them, because his beating them would make them live the longer. And he was right not to answer; for, in his hazardous method of writing, he could not but be often enough wrong; so it was better to leave things to their general appearance, than own himself to have erred in particulars."

BERKLEY (GEORGE), p. 262.

A few strictures on Bishop Berkley's system of ideas occur in the first volume of Lord Monboddo's "Origin and Progress of Language (a);" and a very elaborate examination of that system may be seen in the ingenious and worthy Dr. Reid's "Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man (b)." (a) P. 119-122. 134.

BIRCH (THOMAS), p. 323.

Sir John Hawkins, in his life of Johnson, has given a short account of Dr. Birch, favourable as to character, but severe with respect to his style (a). The Doctor's language, it is true, was not studiously elegant, nor indeed very animated; but, in general, it was natural, easy, and unaffected. It is pleasant enough, and a curious circumstance in the history of the human mind, that Sir John Hawkins should have presumed to criticize the style of our writers. (a) P. 206—210.

BORLASE (WILLIAM), p. 426.

In the Addenda prefixed to our third volume, we have said, upon the authority of the Gentleman's Magazine, that Dr. Borlase was Vice-Warden of the Stannaries. But the Rev. Mr. Penneck hath informed us that this is a mistake. It was the Rev. Walter Borlase, Doctor of Laws, the elder brother, who was Vice-Warden of the Stannaries. The Rev. William Borlase, the subject of our article, never held that office: neither was he Doctor of Laws, as is asserted, p. 424, but Doctor of Divinity.

BOYD (MARK ALEXANDER), p. 459.

Lord Hailes has written a Life of Mark Alexander Boyd, in which he appears with less splendour than in the accounts that have been given by Sir Robert Sibbald and other writers. In this respect his Lordship displays greater accuracy and greater judgment. With regard to Boyd's "Epistolæ Heroidum," Lord Hailes thinks that they are puerile, flimsy, and incorrect; but of the "Hymni" he entertains a better opinion. These he owns to be a work of merit, and that the beauties of the performance do more than atone for its defects. In Boyd's Copy-Book of Letters, preserved in the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, there is one very remarkable, concerning theological subjects, addressed to a young friend. His Lordship gives an extract from it, and declares, that if there were nothing of the works of Boyd extant but this Letter, he might still be pronounced to have been a man of genius. "His Life," says Lord Hailes, "affords an important lesson, and which cannot be too frequently inculcated on young minds, that perseverance in study is necessary for all who aim at becoming useful."

BOYLE

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOYLE (JOHN), EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY, p. 527.

Of this Nobleman Dr. Johnson said, that he was a feeble-minded man. Upon the publication of Dr. Delany's *Remarks* on his Book concerning Swift, he was so much alarmed that he was afraid to read them. Dr. Johnson comforted him, by telling him that they were both in the right; that Delany had seen most of the good side of Swift,—Lord Orrery most of the bad.—If his Lordship had been rich, Dr. Johnson declared that he would have been a very liberal patron. “His conversation was like his writings, neat and elegant, but without strength. He grasped at more than his abilities could reach; tried to pass for a better talker, a better writer, and a better thinker, than he was.” (a). It will be remembered, that Dr. Johnson was perhaps too ready to depreciate the abilities of those persons whose minds were not so energetic as his own.

(a) Boswell's
Journal of a Tour
to the Hebrides,
p. 291, 292.

BOYS (JOHN), p. 531.

By the favour of the Rev. Dr. Pollok, of Grittleton, near Chippenham, Wilts, we are enabled more accurately to specify the work of Mr. Boys mentioned in note [G]. The Doctor has a copy of this very scarce book, which is in 12mo. and the title of which is, “*Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisq; recentioribus Collatio in Quatuor Evangeliiis et Apostolorum Actis, in qua annon sæpius (*) ———— justa satis Causa hi ab illo discefferint Disquiritur. Autore Johanne Boisio, Ecclesiæ Eliensis Canonico. Opus Auspiciis Reverendi Præfulis, Lanceloti, Wintoniensis Episcopi, τὸ μακαρίτη, cæptum et perfectum.*” Londini Typis T. Roycroft, Impensis R. Beaumont, 1655.

(*) The word
happens to be
torn in Dr. Pol-
lok's Paper.

Dr. Pollok has farther informed us, that J. C. Wolfius, in his *Curis Philolog. T. i. Prefatio*, p. 11. says of this book, “*Liber infrequentissimus et rarissime occurrens.*” See, likewise, Vogt. Cat. Lib. rar.

BRIGGS (HENRY), p. 589.

Dr. Charles Hutton, in his Introduction to his “*Mathematical Tables*,” has made a curious and important discovery, highly to Mr. Briggs's honour. It is, that he was the inventor of the famous *binomial Theorem*, hitherto universally ascribed to Sir Isaac Newton, and also of the *differential Calculus*, which, in England at least, has always been given to the same author; but which John Bernoulli, after disputing the claim of Sir Isaac, gave to M. Pascal, who was not born till long after it had been taught by Mr. Briggs. That Sir Isaac Newton looked on these two Discoveries as his own, cannot be justly disputed; and Dr. Hutton seems fully satisfied that he was utterly ignorant of what had been done, on these heads, by Briggs. The Doctor assigns, as a reason for supposing so, that Newton owed almost every thing to genius, and very little to reading; which is undoubtedly the case (a).

(a) Monthly
Review, vol.
lxiv. p. 314.

BROUGHTON (HUGH), p. 613.

From Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue it appears, that many Theological Manuscripts by Hugh Broughton are preserved in the British Museum (a).

(a) Catalogue,
p. 25—27.

BROWNE (SIR THOMAS), p. 637.

In the British Museum are a great number of Sir Thomas Browne's Manuscripts, on different subjects. The titles of them may be seen by referring to Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue; and they will serve still farther to evince the extent and variety of Sir Thomas's learning. There are, likewise, in the same noble repository, several manuscripts of his son's, Dr. Edward Browne.

BROWNE (SIMON), p. 647.

Some manuscripts by Mr. Simon Browne are in the British Museum; and among the rest, a Version of the Psalms, from the first to the thirteenth (a).

(a) Ayscough's
Catalogue, p. 27.

BUCHANAN (GEORGE), p. 688.

Testimonies without end might be collected, to the excellency of Buchanan as a scholar. We shall content ourselves with adding one short passage, from Dr. Johnson's Journey to the

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA, &c.

the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 5, 6. " At an hour somewhat late we came to St. Andrews, a city once archiepiscopal; where that University still subsists in which philosophy was taught by Buchanan, whose name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the instability of vernacular languages admits."

BULL (JOHN), p. 695.

In the third volume of Dr. Burney's admirable History of Music, very lately published, some account is given of Dr. John Bull. His abilities on the organ and virginal appear to have been truly wonderful. It is remarkable that Dr. Bull is the only person on the list of Music Professors at Gresham College, who seems to have been able to inform by theory, or amuse by practice, those who attended the musical lectures (a). A striking perversion of this of a noble institution! and highly to the dishonour of the electors.

(a) Gen. History of Music, vol. iii. p. 106, 107.

We refer to Dr. Burney's work for an account of William Bird, an excellent musical composer and practitioner in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First (b). This eminent Musician would have had an article in the Biographia, if the editor, at the time of the publication of the second volume, had been sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

(b) Ibid. p. 83 —98.

K.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE THIRD

Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

BURNET (THOMAS), p. 20.

A Gentleman, who has not informed us to whom we are indebted for the obligation, has favoured us with the following stricture upon this article.

“ The authors of the Biographia Britannica have fallen into a small mistake with respect to the editions of Burnet’s *Archæologiæ Philosophicæ*. The original writer of the life having asserted that the second edition was printed in 1733, Dr. Kippis was naturally led to conclude that the dialogue between Eve and the Serpent appeared only in the first edition: The fact is, the second edition, which is in my possession, bears date 1728, and contains the offensive dialogue in question, which has, therefore, probably been read by more persons than Dr. Kippis apprehends. This edition of 1728 contains also the two letters *ad virum clar. A. B.* in which the author professes his willingness to give up every halty and indiscreet expression which may be found in his work: and adds, *Et colloquium illud inter Evam et Serpentem, quod nonnullis displicere audio; vel siquid sit præterea cognatæ indolis, amputari et abscindi sine dolore patiar.* It seems that in 1733 he kept his word. The dialogue is indeed ridiculous enough, and I do not wonder at its giving offence to the greater part of the Clergy of his day. At present, I suppose, his remarks will be deemed acute and sensible.”

BURNET (GILBERT), p. 41.

To the account of Bishop Burnet’s writings it may be added, that he was the author of a pamphlet in Defence of the Partition Treaty, for which Lord Somers was impeached (a).

In p. 38, we have said, that we know not what became of the Bishop’s two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. This defect, by the aid of that valuable correspondent whom we have so often mentioned, we are now able to supply. Mary was married to David Mitchel, Esq; the nephew of Admiral Mitchel, well known in the days of King William. She was a woman of a singular genius; what in French would be called *naïve*, and in English, an *oddity*. Her temper was friendly and benevolent; she spake what she thought strongly; and was not free from prejudices of the Whig kind. The children she had are all now deceased. Elizabeth, the Bishop’s other daughter, became the wife of Mr. West, Chancellor of Ireland in the reign of George the First, and was the mother of Richard West, Esq; the companion of Mr. Horace Walpole and Mr. Gray. There are no descendants left of Bishop Burnet. The last was honest Captain Burnet of the Navy, and he was only a natural son of Governor Burnet’s. But he had an *animus paternus* to the Burnet family.

Sir Thomas Burnet was distinguished for the evenness of his temper; of which the following instance is recorded. Dining with a friend, the coachman, who was waiting, spilt some soup or gravy on his cloaths. While they were rubbed, he said, with great good humour, “ Let me advise you, friend, for the future, to *grease* nothing but your wheels (b).”

Notwithstanding the large additions that have been made to Bishop Burnet’s Article, it might still be increased, were we to accumulate all the various strictures which have been made on this Prelate and his writings. We shall content ourselves with taking notice of what has been said by a few recent authors. Dr. Warton, in his Essay on Pope, (vol. ii. p. 293, 294) has quoted, without disapprobation, a very severe, but, in our opinion, a very unjust character, which is given of the Bishop’s History of his own Time, by the late Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius.

Dr. Johnson thought more candidly upon the subject. Taking up the Bishop’s history, he said, “ The first part of it is one of the most entertaining books in the English language;

VOL. IV.

* c

“ while

(b) From the communications of Mr. Duncombe.

(a) From the information of the Rev. Dr. Flexman.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

“ while he went about every where, saw every where, and heard every where. By the first part, I mean so far as it appears that Burnet himself was actually engaged in what he has told; and this may be easily distinguished (c).”

(c) Boswell's Journal, p. 353.

Mr. Alexander Cunningham appears to have had the utmost dislike to Burnet. Indeed, in his History of Great Britain, lately published, he always expresses himself with so much malignity concerning our Prelate, that it confutes itself, and clearly proves that, in this case, he did not write from a regard to truth, but from personal enmity.

BURTON (JOHN), p. 49.

“ As to Dr. Burton of Eton,” says our correspondent, “ the way in which he became the husband of Mrs. Littleton was well known at the time. He found the widow and her daughters at the parsonage house, and desired them to remain there. Some time after, a neighbouring clergyman happened to call on him, and found Mrs. Littleton shaving John Burton. He told him that the thing was indecent, and ought to be set to rights. Burton proposed marriage, and was accepted. From my memory of the Lady, she was not young; a faded genteel little woman. In some of his Greek effusions he calls her *φαιδριον*.”

BUSBY (RICHARD), p. 56.

Busby's face, on his monument, is said to have been copied from a cast taken after his death, as he would never fit for his picture (a).

Once, in a large company, Dr. Busby sat at table between Mrs. South and Mrs. Sherlock. The conversation turned upon wives. Dr. Busby said that he believed wives, in general, were good; “ though, to be sure, there might be a bad one *here*, and a bad one *there* (b).”

(a) From Mrs. Duncombe's communications.

(b) From our other correspondent.

BUTLER (JAMES), DUKE OF ORMOND, p. 80.

Among the various letters of the Marquis of Ormond, that occur in the Clarendon State Papers, there is a very curious one to Sir Edward Hyde, relative to the character of King Charles the Second, in the time of his exile. It is dated on the 27th of January, 1657-8, and is as follows: “ I must now freely confess to you, that what you have written of the King's unseasonable impatience at his stay at Bruges, is a greater damp to my hopes of his recovery than the strength of his enemies, or the weakness and backwardness of those that profess him friendship. Modesty, courage, and many accidents may overcome those enemies, and unite and fix those friends; but I fear his immoderate delight in empty, effeminate, and vulgar conversations, is become an irresistible part of his nature, and will never suffer him to animate his own designs and other's actions with that spirit which is requisite for his quality, and much more to his fortune.

(a) Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 387.

“ This to any but to you or him, from any (unless a very few) but from me, or from me at any other time were too bold a lamentation, for so God knows it is. *That* God blefs him, and fit him for his work (a).”

Unhappy indeed was the situation of such virtuous men as Ormond, Hyde, and Nicholas, in the service of so profligate a master. While they suffered exile and poverty for their adherence to his cause, they had no consolation arising from his good qualities; and in the prospect of his restoration, they had few hopes of an useful and honourable reign.

BUTLER (SAMUEL), p. 93.

In the European Magazine, for September, 1788, (p. 175, 176) is the following anecdote concerning this writer. “ Butler, the author of Hudibras, though he was a man of extraordinary wit and fancy, though his merits deserved a much better fate, is said to have starved; which extremity of poverty was owing to his own pride and folly. His necessities were too well known to all his acquaintance, to leave him a possibility of concealing them from them; and yet his pride was so intolerable, that it was the most difficult thing in the world to compel him to accept of any assistance, though offered in the most friendly and genteel manner.—There was a Gentleman of his acquaintance, and of a considerable fortune, who over a bottle one night had made a cleanly conveyance of a purse of a hundred guineas into his pocket, which he did not at all perceive. The next morning Butler, finding it there, was extremely uneasy, and considered what company he was in the day before, and found that it could be nobody but the very

“ Gentle-

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

" Gentleman that did it. He dressed himself, and went to his chambers, and carried
" with him the money; charged him with the affront, and went away in a pet, leaving
" the money behind him."

This story is extracted, by the Editor of the European Magazine, from a book now rather uncommon, entitled, " Miscellania Aurea, or the Golden Medley," printed in 1720.

Some of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, having lately heard that so eminent a man as Butler had been buried in the church-yard, and regretting that neither stone nor inscription recorded the event, entered into a subscription to erect something to his memory. Accordingly, they have had a monument put up in the portico of the church, bearing the Poet's bust, which was taken from that erected by Alderman Barber, in Westminster Abbey. The following lines were contributed by Mr. O'Bryen, and are engraved on the stone beneath the medallion.

" A few plain men, to pomp and pride unknown,
" O'er a poor bard have raised this humble stone,
" Whose wants alone his genius could surpass,
" Victim of zeal! the matchless Hudibras!

" What tho' fair freedom suffered in his page!
" Reader, forgive the author—for the age—
" How few, alas, disdain to cringe and cant,
" When 'tis the mode to play the sycophant!

" But oh! let all be taught from Butler's fate,
" Who hope to make their fortune by the great,
" That wit and pride are always dangerous things,
" And little faith is due to Courts and Kings (a)."

(a) Gentleman's Magazine, for 1786. p. 1145.

BUTLER (JOSEPH), p. 103.

We have said (p. 101, 102) that our Prelate's charge, printed at Durham, is the only one of his publications which ever produced him a direct literary antagonist. This, however, does not appear to be strictly true; for, in the year 1737, there was published a pamphlet, entitled, " Remarks on Dr. Butler's sixth Chapter of the Analogy of Religion (a)."

(a) Gentleman's Mag. vol. vii. p. 374.

Another mistake into which we were led, was the saying, that the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Forster was the Bishop's Executor and *Residuary Legatee*. He was Executor, but not Residuary Legatee. What remained, after the five hundred pounds given to the Society for propagating the Gospel, was ordered to be equally divided among all the Bishop's nephews and nieces by consanguinity, and their children. His direction for the burning of his manuscripts was thus expressed: " It is my positive and express will, that all my
" Sermons, Letters, and Papers whatever, which are in a deal box directed to Dr. Forster,
" and now standing in my Library at Hampstead, be burnt without being read by any
" one, as soon as may be after my decease (b)."

(b) From the information of the Rev. Peter Forster, of Hedenham, Norfolk.

A second edition of our Prelate's Charge to his Clergy, was published in 1786, by Dr. Halifax, then Lord Bishop of Gloucester, but now of St. Asaph; together with a large Preface, giving some account of the character and writings of the author. In this Preface, which contains many useful and important observations, the Right Reverend Editor has entered into an elaborate defence of Dr. Butler, against the accusation of his having died in the Communion of the Church of Rome. We thought it sufficient, very briefly to take notice of a calumny, which originated in bigotry and folly, and which had almost ceased to be remembered; and we think so still. If we had entertained a different opinion, it was in our power to have related several particulars concerning the controversy, which were not known to the Bishop of St. Asaph.

BYROM (JOHN), p. 123.

As the Fellows of Trinity College, in Cambridge, are allowed to hold their Fellowships, without taking orders, eight years, it is probable that Mr. Byrom did not quit his so soon as is represented in p. 121, but that he held it till his marriage (a).

(a) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

CALAMY (DR. EDMUND), p. 145.

To the account of the French Prophets it may be added, that one of them went to Sir Thomas Parker, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and told him, from the *Lord*, that

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

that he was to issue a *Noli prosequi*, with regard to some of his brethren. The answer was, that if he had come from the *Lord*, he would have been directed to the Attorney-General, whose business it was to do such things.

Several compositions of Mr. Nicholas Fatio, chiefly of an astronomical nature, may be seen in the seventh and eighth volumes of the Gentleman's Magazine.

CAMDEN (WILLIAM), p. 175.

This year (1789) has appeared, in three volumes, folio, an edition of Camden's *Britannia*, translated from the edition published by the author in 1607, enlarged by the latest discoveries, and illustrated with a new set of maps, and other copper-plates, by Richard Gough, Esq. The work is the result of many years travel, inquiry, and labour. Of Mr. Gough I have no reason to speak with personal respect: but not any circumstance of that kind shall ever induce me to depart from the exercise of justice or of candour; or prevent my declaring, that, from his eminent character as an Antiquary, and the extent of his topographical knowledge, there can be no doubt but that his edition of the *Britannia* is a performance of great consequence and value.

CAMPBELL (JOHN), DUKE OF ARGYLE, p. 208.

The circumstance of his falling out of a window, mentioned in p. 200, is certain. He was then at Lethington, in Lothian, where his grandmother, the Duchess Dowager of Lauderdale is understood to have resided. The Duke of Argyle had but an imperfect recollection of the accident. All that he could remember was as follows: "He had been taken to visit his grandfather while in prison. The harsh sound of iron bolts, when the prison doors were opened and shut, affected him much. Having been left in a room at Lethington by himself, he heard some sound of the opening of a door like that which he had heard in prison. This terrified him, and in his confusion, he flew to an open window, and fell over." That this happened at the very hour of his grandfather's execution, is probably no other than a popular and superstitious story.

The Duke of Argyle's monument was erected by his widow, and cost three times the sum that had been left by Sir Henry Fermer (a).

In p. 202, read, "by the losses sustained at the battle of Almanara."

(a) From our former correspondent.

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD), EARL OF ISLAY, AND DUKE OF ARGYLE, p. 209.

He sold his regiment, and with the price was allowed to purchase the office of Justice-General for Scotland, held by the old Earl of Cromerty.

In p. 209, for "Highlanders," read "Highland Gentlemen who had been engaged in the Rebellion." "It is fit," says our valuable correspondent, so often referred to, "that impartial historians should reprobate the cry of the day as to *Highlanders* and *Rebels* being synonymous. More Highlanders appeared in arms, during the Rebellion in 1745, for Government than against it. Had the Highlanders been unanimous on the side of the Pretender, he would have marched with 20,000 men, instead of 5,500, into England."

It is added by our correspondent, that Lord Chatham took credit to himself, in Parliament, for the measure of employing in the Royal Army the natives of the Highlands who had been formerly disaffected; and that "Something might have been made of so mixed a character as that of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, in which there were great abilities with great weaknesses; ambition, checked by caution; activity, overpowered by indolence; and a spirit of minuteness, little consistent with extensive knowledge."

CAMPBELL (JOHN), DR. p. 215.

Dr. Campbell looking once into a pamphlet at a Bookseller's shop, liked it so well as to purchase it; and it was not till he had read it half through, that he discovered it to be his own composition. This he told the late Mr. David Hume (a).

Dr. Johnson, in a conversation during his Tour, said, "I think highly of Campbell. In the first place, he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very extensive reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful. In the third place, he has learnt much by what is called the *Vox viva*. He talks with a great many people."

(a) From the same correspondent.

Dr.

T O T H E T H I R D V O L U M E.

Dr. Johnson one day called on Dr. Campbell, and they talked of Tull's Husbandry. Dr. Campbell said something, and Johnson began to dispute it. "Come," said Dr. Campbell, "We do not want to get the better of one another: we want to increase each other's ideas." This Dr. Johnson took in good part, and the conversation then went on coolly and instructively (a).

(a) Boswell's
Journal, p. 405,
406.

C A P E L (ARTHUR), LORD CAPEL, p. 226.

This Nobleman ordered that his heart should be preserved and kept at Haddam-Hall, till his Royal Master was buried with due funeral honours, which he was sure must soon happen from the restoration of his son. His Lordship directed that then his heart should be laid at Charles the First's feet. When Haddam-Hall was in part pulled down, about the year 1701, the heart was found in a silver box, embalmed with spices; and, by the direction of the second Earl of Essex, it was buried as near Lord Capel's body as possible (a).

(a) Communicated by the late Dr. Paul Wright, from the papers of the late Pulter Forrester, Esq.

C A P E L (ARTHUR), EARL OF ESSEX, p. 232.

Paul Bomeney, who is represented, p. 228, as a French servant, that was supposed to have murdered the Earl of Essex, is said by others to have been an Italian, and that his proper name was Bomini (a).

(a) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

C A R T E (THOMAS), p. 269.

"Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond," said Dr. Johnson, "is considered as a Book of Authority, but it is ill written. The matter is diffused in too many words; there is no animation, no compression, no vigour. Two good volumes in duodecimo might be made out of the two in folio (a)."

(a) Boswell's
Journal, p. 367.

C A R T E R E T (JOHN), LORD CARTERET, EARL GRANVILLE, p. 280.

Earl Granville, amidst all his struggles for place and power, had an affectation of saying, "I love my fire side;" which humour was well exposed by Mr. Hawkins Browne, in a copy of verses, entitled, "The Fire Side: a pastoral soliloquy." Lord Carteret's letter on the Battle at Dettingen was much ridiculed at the time, and the only excuse for it was his Lordship's intoxication—not merely with joy (a).

In giving his judgment concerning men of high office in the state, Earl Granville sometimes spoke too incautiously for a politician. Having been asked who wrote the King's speech in a certain year, he said, "Do you not see the blunt pen of the old Attorney?" meaning Lord Hardwick.

(a) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

It was not always in his power to conceal the pangs of disappointed ambition. He made a present of a copy of the Polyglot Bible, which the Doctor got bound in an elegant manner. When Lord Granville saw the book in its new dress, he said, "You have done with it as the King has done with me: He made me fine, and he laid me by (b)."

In Lord Egmont's manuscripts are some curious traits of Earl Granville's character. He was one of those politicians who make religion subservient to the state. The considering the kingdom of Christ as a separate kingdom from those of this world he counted absurd. On the contrary, he maintained that Christianity is incorporated with civil government as sand with lime, each of which by itself makes no mortar. Where he imagined that the public interest might receive prejudice by Christianity, he was against its being taught. He hoped, therefore, never to see our Negroes in America become Christians, because he believed that this would render them less laborious slaves. On the same principle, he was against any attempts to convert the American savages. In learning Christianity, they would fall into the use of letters, and a skill in the arts being the consequence, they would become more formidable to the plantations. Pursuing a similar train of reasoning, Lord Granville wished to God that the Pope might never turn Protestant, or the Italians cease to be Papists, for then we should sell them no fish. He was glad that the Clergy sent abroad to our Plantations were immoral and ignorant wretches, because they could have no influence over the inhabitants, as better and wiser men would have; and who would use that influence, for the purpose of inspiring the Planters with a spirit of independence on their mother country. He was hostile to the scheme of sending Bishops to America. These, he thought, would labour to bring the several sects to one religion; whereas the security of that people's dependence on England he conceived to arise from

(b) From the communications of our other correspondent.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

their mutual divisions. He was an enemy, likewise, to the improvement of our Colonies in learning. This, he said, would take off their youth from wholly attending to trade, fill them with speculative notions of government and liberty, and prevent the education of the sons of rich Planters in England, where they contract a love to this kingdom, and when grown old, come back and settle, to the great increase of our wealth. Even at home he was against charity schools, and was not for having the vulgar taught to read, that they might think of nothing but the plow, and their other low avocations. Such were Earl Granville's political sentiments, concerning which our readers will make their own reflections.

CHAUCER (GEOFFREY), p. 481.

We learn, from the European Magazine, that, in a periodical work, called "The Universal Visitor, or Monthly Memorialist," conducted by Christopher Smart and Richard Rolt, there was printed a life of Chaucer, by Dr. Johnson. In this piece the Doctor declares, that Chaucer, if not the greatest, was, without controversy, the most universal genius that ever existed. Whether he wrote in prose or verse, seriously or humorously, he was equally himself; equally incomparable: and when we reflect, that he had the language in a manner to make as he wrote it, what amazement does it afford! There is not a single species of poetry in which this great man has not left some specimens of his excellency. Dr. Johnson then proceeds to confirm his assertion by particular instances (a).

(a) Europ. Mag.
vol. vii. p. 83.
178, 179.

CHEYNE (GEORGE), p. 499.

It was in consequence of Dr. Pitcairn's advice, that Mr. Cheyne was induced to quit the study of theology for that of physic. He was at that time a Tutor in a private Gentleman's family (a).

(a) From the
correspondent so
often mentioned.

CHICHLEY (HENRY), p. 505.

The small figures of the Apostles and Cardinal Virtues, on Archbishop Chichley's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, are supposed, from the elegance of the sculpture, which is superior to any then known in England, to have been carved in Italy (a).

In 1783, a Life of Henry Chichelé, accurately and neatly written, founded on the best authorities, and containing an appendix of original papers, was published by Mr. Spencer, Fellow of All Souls College. The last section concludes with a brief, but elegant summary of the Archbishop's character.

(a) From Mr.
Duncombe's
communications.

CHUBB (THOMAS), p. 532.

It has been suggested to us, by our valuable correspondent, that Whiston's Memoirs ought to have been quoted. We have referred to them for a particular fact; but it might have been added, that they contain Mr. Whiston's view of Chubb's character and writings.

CHURCHILL (JOHN), DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, p. 565.

Page 554. Battle of Malplaquet. It has been objected to the Duke of Marlborough, that he might have attacked the French sooner, before they had entrenched themselves so strongly, by which he would have rendered the victory less bloody. But this objection will vanish, when it is known that such was his Grace's intention and proposal, but that he waved it in deference to Prince Eugene, who insisted on their waiting for the troops that had been employed in the siege of Tournay. The event, however, did credit to the Duke's judgment; for though those troops were near enough to have joined them, yet they actually did not, as they were not wanted till after the victory was gained. Of this Mr. Duncombe was assured, by Colonel King, who was present.

Page 565. When Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, desired two poets, Mallet and Glover, to write the Duke's History, she added a sarcastic, but needless proviso, that none of it should be in verse. One trait of her character was her reprinting and dispersing, among the Electors of St. Alban's, a large edition of a foolish comedy, entitled, "Love in a Hollow Tree," of which the noble author (Lord Grimston) had called in all the copies (a).

(a) From Mr.
Duncombe's
communications.

T O T H E T H I R D V O L U M E .

In the "Sylva, or the Wood," a recent and agreeable publication, are printed, as curiosities, without alteration of grammar, orthography, or punctuation, two letters of the Duchess, from her own hand-writing. "She was of a strong understanding and uncommon sagacity," says the author, "which I premise to justify my wonder at the strange neglect of education among the females; for her woman would have written as well, and perhaps better." According to the same author, the Duchess, though oppressed with the infirmities of age, and almost bed-ridden, would continue speaking to Mr. Hooke the Historian, for six hours together. "She delivered to him, without any notes, her account in the most lively as well as the most connected manner: and, though the correction of the language was left to Hooke, yet the whole is plainly animated with her spirit; and, as some philosophers have said of soul with regard to body, she was

(b) Sylva, p. 241
—245.

C I B B E R (COLLEY), p. 592.

Page 584. The Nonjuror. "It has justly been observed," says Mr. Duncombe, "and should have been repeated, that the character of a Nonjuror is here strangely mistaken, and is as far from being a just object of ridicule as hypocrisy is from conscience."

To the poetical squibs that were thrown at Colley may be added the following lines:

" In merry old England it once was a rule,
" The King had his Poet, as well as his Fool.
" But now we're so frugal, I'd have you to know it,
" That Colley can serve both for Fool and for Poet."

But Colley was no more a Fool than he was a Poet (a).

In Davies's Life of Garrick, and especially in his "Dramatic Miscellanies," a great deal is said concerning Colley Cibber. The concluding chapter of the last mentioned work is wholly devoted to this subject (b).

(a) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

(b) Dramatic Miscellanies, vol. iii. p. 409—482.

C L A R K E (SAMUEL), p. 610.

Our ingenious and worthy friend, the Rev. Mr. Hall, has favoured us with a number of original letters, written to Dr. Clarke, by several learned men of his time. The shortest of them, and the only one which is in Latin, we shall transcribe. It contains a very zealous approbation of the Doctor's scriptural doctrine of the Trinity.

" Domine doctissime!

" Scripturalem tuam Doctrinam de Trinitate perlegi, nec in re quapiam aut S. Scripturæ aut rectæ rationi inveni dissonam, sed utrique maxime consentaneam: Firmissime credo veritatem te depinxisse unicam, ideoque reddo tibi gratias immortales pro præstantissimo illo libro, et ut tota ecclesia Anglicana eandem agnoscat et profiteatur fidem, semper fuerit votum et preces,

Data sunt 2^{do} die,
Februarii, A. D. 1719^{no}.

" Devinctissimi et humillimi tui servi,

" ROBERTI BLAKEWAY."

C L E I V E L A N D (JOHN), p. 633.

In note H, p. 630, there is a considerable mistake in the extract from the Critical Review. The author confounds *David Lesley*, a Gentleman of noble birth, and who could write better than most of his contemporaries, with *Alexander Lesley*, an illiterate soldier of fortune, although a much abler man than the other (a).

(a) From the communications of our correspondent.

C L I F F O R D (GEORGE), EARL OF CUMBERLAND, p. 642.

In Skipton Castle, there are a variety of pictures, on the borders of which are descriptions of the persons painted. These pictures include the principal persons and connections of the Clifford family, and the descriptions throw a good deal of light on the history of that family. In some of the portraits, books are represented standing or lying. From the titles of these books, and from the catalogue of those contained in Lady Anne Clifford's library, (a copy of which we have been favoured with by Sir William Musgrave) may be collected what was the kind of reading that prevailed among people of rank at that time.

The

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA, &c.

The larger number of the works mentioned are devotional, moral, and poetical. Historical books and romances occupy but a small part of the catalogue.

A large and elegant encomium on Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, is given, by Mr. Gilpin, in his "Observations chiefly relative to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, in several parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland."

CLIVE (ROBERT), LORD CLIVE, p. 663.

Several anonymous strictures, we understand, have been made upon this article. All we shall say is, that it is not our custom specifically to relate facts without express and positive authority. If any Gentleman of character can give us farther information concerning Robert Lord Clive, and will authenticate it with his name, he will find that we are not afraid of recording truth.

COKE (SIR EDWARD), p. 702.

In the late edition of Coke upon Littleton, by Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Butler, will be found a compleat delineation of our great Lawyer's abilities and character as a legal writer.

TABLE of the LIVES

CONTAINED IN THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

[Those with this Mark * * prefixed are new Lives. Those with this Mark † have some Addition made to them.]

Page.		Born A.D.	Died A.D.
1	COLE (Henry), Divine	—	1579
2	† COLES (Elisba), Grammarian	1640	—
3	† COLET (John), Divine, and Founder of St. Paul's School	1466	1519
12	† COLLIER (Jeremy), Divine, Ecclesiastical Historian, and various Writer	1650	1726
20	* * COLLINS (John), Mathematician	1624	1683
22	† COLLINS (Anthony), Metaphysical and Controversial Writer	1676	1729
28	* * COLLINS (William), Poet	1720	1756
34	* * COLLINSON (Peter), Naturalist, Antiquary, and excellent Citizen	1693-4	1768
43	† COLSTON (Edward), eminently beneficent man	1636	1721
45	† COMBER (Thomas), Divine	1645	1699
48	COMPTON (Sir William), Ancestor of the present Earls of Northampton	1481	1528
49	COMPTON (Spencer), second Earl of Northampton, Warrior	1601	1643
51	COMPTON (James), third Earl of Northampton, Warrior	—	1681
53	† COMPTON (Henry), Prelate	1632	1713
62	† CONANT (John), Divine	1608	1693
68	† CONGREVE (William), Poet	1671	1728-9
82	† CONNOR (Bernard), Physician, and various Writer	1666	1698
89	* * CONYBEARE (John), Divine and Prelate	1691-2	1755
94	COOKE (Sir Anthony), Edward the Sixth's Governor and Preceptor	1506	1576
95	COOKE (Sir Anthony's) learned Daughters		
	* * MILDRED, Lady Burleigh	1526	1589
96	* * ANNA, Lady Bacon	1528	—
98	* * ELIZABETH, Lady Ruffel	1529	—
99	* * KATHERINE, Lady Killegrew	1530	—
101	* * COOK (James), Navigator and Discoverer	1728	1779
245	COOPER (Thomas), Prelate	1517	1594
247	† COOPER (Anthony-Ashley), first Earl of Shaftesbury, Statesman	1621	1682-3
* 266	* * COOPER (Anthony-Ashley), third Earl of Shaftesbury, moral and polite Writer	1670-71	1712-13
261	* * COOPER (Samuel), Miniature Painter	1609	1672
262	* * COOPER (John Gilbert), Miscellaneous and poetical Writer	1723	1769
VOL. IV.		* e	COOTE

T A B L E O F T H E L I V E S

Page.		Born A.D.	Died A.D.
266	† COOTE (Sir Charles), Earl of Montrath, Warrior	—	1661
269	** CORAM (Thomas), Projector of the Foundling-Hospital	—	1751
270	† CORBET (Richard), Prelate and Poet	—	1635
273	** CORYATE (Thomas), Traveller	1577	1617
281	† COSIN (John), Prelate	1594	1671-2
289	** COSTARD (George), Divine and learned Writer	1710	1782
294	† COTES (Roger), Mathematician and Astronomer	1682	1716
297	† COTTON (Sir Robert), Antiquary	1570	1631
305	** COTTON (Charles), Miscellaneous and Poetical Writer	1630	1687
308	COVEL (John), Divine	1638	1722
310	† COVERDALE (Miles), Prelate	—	1567
311	** COURAYER (Peter-Francis), Divine	1681	1776
322	** COURTEN Family		
324	** COURTEN (Sir William), eminent Merchant	—	—
327	** COURTEN (William), eminent Merchant	—	—
334	** COURTEN (William), Naturalist and Collector	1642	1702
353	† COURTNEY (William), Archbishop of Canterbury	1341	1396
358	** COWARD (William), Medical and Metaphysical Writer	1656	1724
363	† COWELL (John), Civilian	—	1611
366	† COWLEY (Abraham), Poet	1618	1667
382	** COWPER (William), Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor of England, Statesman	—	1723
396	† COX (Richard), Prelate	1499	1581
401	** COX (Sir Richard), Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Historical Writer	1650	1733
414	** CRAIG (William), Divine	1709	1783
418	† CRANMER (Thomas), Archbishop of Canterbury	1489	1555-6
427	** CRASHAW (Richard), Poet	—	1650
432	† CREECH (Thomas), Classical Scholar, and Poetical Translator	1659	1701
434	CRESSEY (Hugh-Paulin, or Serenus), Ecclesiastical Historian, and Controversial Writer	1605	1674
437	† CREW (Nathanael), Lord Crew, Prelate	1633	1721
441	** CRICHTON (James) the Admirable	1551, or 1560	1582, or 1583
456	CRISPE (Sir Nicholas), Eminent Citizen	1598	1665-6
461	† CROFT (Herbert), Prelate	1603	1691
466	† CROMWELL (Thomas), Earl of Essex, Statesman	—	1540
473	† CROMWELL (Oliver), Protector	1599	1658
527	** CROMWELL (Richard), Protector	1626	1712
538	** CROMWELL (Henry), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	1627-8	1673-4
543	** CROXALL (Samuel), Divine, and Poetical and Miscellaneous Writer	—	1752
544	† CUDWORTH (Ralph), Divine	1617	1688
544	† CUFF (Henry), Famous Scholar, and Secretary to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex	1560	1601
558	CUMBERLAND (Richard), Divine and Prelate	1632	1718
565	** CUNNINGHAM (Alexander), Historian	—	1737
569	** CUTTS (John), Lord Cutts, Warrior, and Poetical Writer	—	1706-7

A P P E N D I X T O L E T T E R C.

573	** CHATTERTON (Thomas), Poet	1752	1770
619	** CRUDEN (Alexander), Author of a Concordance to the Bible	1701	1770

IN THE FOURTH VOLUME.

D

Page.		Born A.D.	Died A.D.
625	† DANIEL (Samuel) Poet and Historian	1562	1619
628	DANVERS (Henry), Earl of Danby, Warrior	1573	1643-4
629	DAVENANT (John), Prelate	—	1641
631	† D'AVENANT (Sir William), Poet	1605	1668
647	† D'AVENANT (Charles), Civilian, and Political Writer	1656	1714
652	D'AVENANT (William), Translator	—	1681
652	* * DAVIES (Sir John), Poet, Historical Writer, and Writer upon Law	—	1626
663	DAVIES (JOHN), Critic	1679	1731-2

IN THE FOURTH VOLUME

Page	
604	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
612	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
619	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
626	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
633	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
640	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
647	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
654	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
661	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)
668	James (Lambert) Robert (Hillman)



THE
L I V E S
OF THE
MOST EMINENT PERSONS
WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN
GREAT-BRITAIN, and IRELAND,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

(a) Wood, Ath.
Oxon. edit. 1721,
vol. i. col. 196;
and Hist. & Antiq.
Univ. Oxon.
1. ii. p. 132.

(d) Fasti, vol. i.
col. 64.

(f) Newcourt,
vol. i. p. 158.
211. 222.

(n) Fox, Acts and
Monuments, &c.
edit. 1583, vol.
ii. p. 1428, &c.

COLE (HENRY), a person of considerable learning in the XVIth century, was born at Godshill in the Isle of Wight, and educated in Wykeham's School near Winchester (a). From thence he was chosen into New-College, Oxon, of which he became perpetual Fellow in 1523, and there studying the Civil Law, took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, March 3, 1529-30 (b). Then he travelled into Italy, and improved himself in his studies at Padua, being a zealous Roman Catholic. Notwithstanding this, upon his return to England, he acknowledged King Henry VIII. to be the supreme head of the Church of England (c). In 1540, he took the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law (d); and the same year resigned his Fellowship, being then settled in London, an Advocate in the Court of Arches, Prebendary of Yatminster Secunda in the church of Sarum, and about the same time made Archdeacon of Ely (e). On the 11th of September, 1540, he was admitted to the Rectory of Chelmsford in Essex; and October the 5th following, collated to the Prebend of Holborn, which he resigned April 19, 1541; and was the same day collated to that of Sneating, which he voiding by cession on or before March 22d next ensuing, was on that very day collated to the Prebend of Wenlakesbarne (f). In 1542, October the 4th, he was elected Warden of New-College; and in 1545, made Rector of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire (g). Soon after, when King Edward VI. came to the crown, Dr. Cole outwardly embraced, and preached up the Reformation, frequented the Protestants service, and communicated with them. However, altering his mind, or being disgusted at some of the proceedings then taken, he resigned his Rectory of Chelmsford in 1547; and in 1551, his Wardenship of New-College; and the year following, his Rectory of Newton Longville (h). After Queen Mary's accession to the crown, he became again a zealous Roman Catholic; and in 1554, was made Provost of Eton College, of which he had been Fellow (i). The same year, June 20, he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him (k); and was one of the Divines that disputed publicly at Oxford with Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley (l). He also preached the funeral sermon before Archbishop Cranmer's execution (m). Moreover, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to visit the University of Cambridge; was elected Dean of St. Paul's the 11th of December, 1556; made (August 8, 1557) Vicar-General of the Spiritualities under Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury;

(b) Idem, Fasti,
vol. i. col. 46.

(c) Wood, Ath.
ubi supra; and
Repertorium Ec-
clesiastic. &c. by
Ric. Newcourt,
vol. i. Lond.
1708, fol. p. 49.

(e) Wood, Ath.
and Newcourt,
ubi supra.

(g) Newcourt,
and Wood, ubi
supra, p. 49, and
col. 196.

(h) Newcourt, ib.
and Wood, col.
197.

(i) Wood, Ath.
col. 197.

(k) Idem, Fasti,
vol. i. col. 81.

(m) Ibid. p. 1885,
1886. It was on
the 21st of
March, 1555-6,

and the 1st of October following, Official of the Arches, and Dean of the Peculiars; and in November ensuing, Judge of the Court of Audience. In 1558, he was appointed one of the Overseers of that Cardinal's Will (n). In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of the eight Catholic Divines who disputed publicly at Westminster with so many Protestants [A], when that Queen was about to settle a reformation in the Church of England (o). He distinguished himself then, and afterwards, by his writings in favour of Popery [B]. But that disputation, wherein Dr. Cole was spokesman, coming to nothing, he was deprived of his Deanery (p), fined five hundred marks, and imprisoned (q). He died in, or near, Wood-street Compter in London, in December 1579 (r). The famous Leland hath eternized his memory among other learned men of our nation (s). He is elsewhere called, 'A person more earnest than wise (t).' But R. Ascham highly commends him (u) for his learning and humanity [C].

(n) Newcourt, *ubi supra*, p. 49.

(o) Annals of the Reformation, &c. by J. Strype, vol. i. 2d edit. 1725, p. 87.

(p) Wood, and Newcourt, *ubi supra*.

(u) Epistol. l. iii. epist. 17.

(q) Strype's Annals, *ubi supra*, p. 95.

(r) Wood, Ath. col. 197.

(s) In his Principium ac illustrium, &c. in Anglia virorum Encomia, &c. Lond. 1589, p. 79.

(t) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 144.

[A] He was one of the eight Catholic Divines who disputed publicly at Westminster with so many Protestants. Those eight Roman Catholic Divines, were, White, Watson, Baine, and Scot, Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Coventry and Litchfield, and Chester; and the Doctors Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, Langdale, Harpsfield, and Chedsey, Archdeacons of Lewis, Canterbury, and Middlesex. The Protestant Divines, were, John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, David Whitehead, John Jewell, John Aylmer, Richard Cox, Edmund Grindal, Robert Horne, and Edmund Guest (1). The points then disputed upon, were, 1. Prayers in an unknown Tongue. 2. The Church's Authority to appoint, change, and take away Ceremonies. 3. Whether in the Mass there was a propitiatory Sacrifice (2).

(1) Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, vol. i. as above, p. 87.

(2) Ibid. p. 89. 91, &c. Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, P. ii. B. iii.

(3) Both printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as above.

[B] He distinguished himself by his writings in favour of Popery. They were, I. Disputation with Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, at Oxford, in 1554. II. Funeral Sermon, at the Burning of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (3).

III. Letters to John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, upon Occasion of a Sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queen's Majesty and her honourable Council, anno 1560. Lond. 1560, in a thick 8vo. printed afterwards among Bishop Jewell's works. IV. Letters to Bishop Jewell, upon Occasion of a Sermon of his preached at Paul's-Cross on the second Sunday before Easter in 1560. V. Answer to the first Proposition of the Protestants, at the Disputation before the Lords at Westminster (4).

[C] But R. Ascham highly commends him for his learning and humanity. In the following words. *Tantum ego & communi omnium voci de tua eruditione, & frequenti Morysini sermoni, de tua humanitate semper tribui, doctissime humanissimeque Cole, ut imperitus ipse si te non colerem, & inhumanus si non amarem, merito videri possim* (5), i. e. 'I have heard so much by common fame of your learning, and by Mr. Morysin of your humanity, that I must renounce all pretensions to learning if I did not esteem you, and be altogether inhuman if I did not love you.' M.

(4) Printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. ii. B. iii. No. 4; and in Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. edit. 1714, p. 414, &c.

(5) Epistol. R. Ascham, lib. iii. Epistola D. Colo.

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 680.

(b) What it was, is not expressly mentioned any where.

COLES (ELISHA), author of the Dictionary, was born in Northamptonshire about the year 1640 (a). Towards the end of the year 1658, he was entered into Magdalen College in Oxford, but left it without taking a degree; and retiring to London, taught Latin there to youths, and English to foreigners, about 1663. Afterwards he continued that employment with good success in Ruffel-street, near Covent-Garden; and at length became one of the Ushers of Merchant-Taylors School. But being there guilty of a very great fault (b), he was forced to withdraw into Ireland, from whence he never returned. He was a curious and critical person in the English and Latin tongues, did much good in his profession, and wrote several useful and necessary books for the instruction of beginners. The titles of them are as follows: I. 'The Compleat English Schoolmaster: or, the most natural and easy Method of spelling and reading English according to the present proper Pronunciation of the Language in Oxford and London, &c.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. II. 'The newest, plainest, and shortest Short-hand, containing, first, A brief Account of the Short-hand already extant, with their Alphabets and fundamental Rules. Secondly, A plain and easy Method for Beginners, less burdensome to the Memory than any other. Thirdly, A new Invention for contracting Words, with special Rules for contracting Sentences, and other ingenious Fancies, &c.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. III. 'Nolens Volens: or, you shall make Latin whether you will or no, containing the plainest Directions that have been yet given upon that Subject.' Lond. 1675, 8vo. With it is printed, IV. 'The Youth's visible Bible, being an Alphabetical Collection (from the whole Bible) of such general Heads as were judged most capable of Hieroglyphics; illustrated with twenty-four Copper-Plates, &c.' V. 'An English Dictionary, explaining the difficult Terms that are used in Divinity, Husbandry, Physic, Philosophy, Law, Navigation, Mathematics, and other Arts and Sciences. Containing many Thousands of hard Words (and proper Names of Places) more than are in any other English Dictionary or Expofitor: Together with the Etymological Derivation of them from their proper Fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other Language.' Lond. 1676, 8vo. reprinted several times since. VI. 'A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English [A]; containing all Things necessary for the translating of either Language into

(1) Preface to his Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Compendarius.

[A] A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English. Mr. Robert Ainsworth (1) gives the following character of that book. 'He [the author] hath indeed considerably enlarged the English-Latin part, which containeth many more English words and phrases than any Latin Dictionary published before his time. But not a few of those words are now entirely obsolete, many of them interpreted in a wrong sense, and worse translated into Latin. And

the Latin-English part is very defective both with regard to the several senses of the Latin words, and the citation of the Roman writers proper to fix their authority.' M.

* * [Coles's Dictionary continued to be a school-book in very general use, for some time after the publication of Ainsworth's Thesaurus. But it hath fallen, I believe, almost into total neglect, since abridgments

‘into the other. To which End many Things that were erroneous are rectified, many Superfluities retrenched, and very many Defects supplied. And all suited to the meanest Capacities, in a plainer Method than heretofore: Being for Ease reduced into an Alphabetical Order, and explained in the Mother-tongue. And towards the completing the English Part, (which hath been long desired) here are added a thousand of Words, Phrases, Proverbs, proper Names, and many other useful Things mentioned in the Preface to this Work.’ *Lond.* 1677, 4to. reprinted several times in 8vo. the 12th edition was in 1730. VII. ‘The most natural and easy Method of learning Latin, by comparing it with English: Together with the holy History of Scripture-War, or the Sacred Art Military, &c.’ *Lond.* 1677, 8vo. VIII. ‘The Harmony of the Four Evangelists in a metrical Paraphrase on the History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’ *Lond.* 1679, 8vo. reprinted afterwards. IX. ‘The Young Scholar’s best Companion: or, an exact Guide or Directory for Children and Youth, from the A, B, C, to the Latin Grammar, comprehending the whole Body of the English Learning, &c.’ *Lond.* 12mo. (c).

(c) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 680, 681.

abridgments of Ainsworth have appeared, by Mr. Thomas and other persons. The men, however, who have been benefactors to the cause of learning, ought to be remembered with gratitude, though their writings may happen to be superseded by more perfect productions. It is no small point of honour to be the means of paving the way for superior works.

There was an Elisha Cole, or Coles, contemporary with the compiler of the Dictionary, who was a Nonconformist Divine, and wrote a treatise on God’s Sovereignty. I do not introduce him because I think either the author or the book worthy of particular notice, but to mention a circumstance relating to myself. The work, which is composed in the

highest strain of Calvinism, upon what is called the superlapsarian scheme, was put into my hands, when thirteen or fourteen years of age, by some zealous friends, to instruct and confirm me in the doctrines it contained. The reading of it, however, produced a contrary effect. The author stated the objections to his opinions concerning absolute election, reprobation, and other points, and endeavoured to remove them: but to me his objections appeared stronger than his answers; so that I owe to Cole on God’s Sovereignty my first renunciation of Calvinism. The book is yet in some vogue, amongst readers of a certain class.] K.

(c) Knight, *ibid.* p. 8. Stow and Strype, *ubi supra*, B. ii. p. 120, 121. Dr. Knight is mistaken when he says, ‘That this school bore the name of his own parish,’ p. 8. for the one was St. Anthonine, and the other St. Anthony. This St. Anthony’s School was in Threadneedle-street, near the place where the French Church now stands. Stow, *ubi supra*, B. i. p. 163.

(d) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 11.

(f) Knight, p. 23.

(b) Reg. Ruffel Epi. Lincoln. apud eundem, p. 21.

(i) *Ibid.*

(1) Life of Dr. J. Colet, by S. Knight, as above, p. 1, 2.

(2) Stow’s Survey of London, with Strype’s Addit. edit. 1720, vol. ii. B. v. p. 124, 125, 126.

(3) Polydore Verg. Hist. Ang. l. xxvi. Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ.

(4) *Ibid.* and Knight, p. 7.

(5) Survey of London, &c. as above, B. iii. p. 16.

COLET (JOHN), a very learned Divine, and founder of St. Paul’s School, London, was the eldest son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. [A], twice Lord-Mayor of London, by Christian his wife, a gentlewoman of good birth, probably of the family of Knevet (a). He was born in the parish of St. Anthonine’s, now better known by the name of St. Antholin’s, within the city of London, in the year 1466 (b). It is taken for granted, that he had his first education at St. Anthony’s School, then the most eminent in London, but now utterly decayed (c). In 1483, he was sent to the University of Oxford, and in all probability to Magdalen-College, where there were, at that time, one or more of his surname (d). After having spent seven years in the study of Logic and Philosophy, he took his degrees in Arts, being then thoroughly acquainted with M. T. Cicero’s works, which he had most carefully perused; and also no stranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared, making the one serve as a commentary to the other [B]. He was moreover skilled in every branch of the Mathematics (e). Having thus laid a good foundation of learning at home, he went and travelled abroad, for his farther improvement; first to France, and then to Italy: and seems to have continued in those two countries from the year 1493 to 1497 (f). But before his departure, and indeed when he was but of two years standing at the University, being nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe, namely, on the 6th of August, 1485, he was instituted to the Rectory of Denington in Suffolk [C], to which he was presented by Sir William Knevet, Knt. and his Lady, and kept it to his dying day (g). He was also presented, by his own father, on September 30, to the Rectory of Thyrning in Huntingdonshire, to which he had institution, October 2, 1490 (h); but he resigned it before the latter end of the year 1493 (i), probably before he set out on his travels. Being come to Paris, he improved himself there by the conversation of learned men; particularly of Robert Gaguin, the

(a) The Life of Dr. John Colet, by Sam. Knight, D.D. edit. Lond. 1724, 8vo. p. 1. 2.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 8. See Stow’s Survey of London, with Strype’s Addit. edit. 1720, vol. i. B. iii. p. 15, 16.

(c) Wood, *ibid.* Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ, *Id.* Jun. 1521.

(g) Ex Registro Jac. Goldwell, Epi. Norwiche. l. xii. fol. xvi. ap. Knight, p. 20.

(6) Knight, p. 8. 10.

(7) *Idem*, p. 14.

(8) Knight, p. 21

[A] Was the son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt.] Sir Henry Colet was a younger son of Robert Colet, of Wendover, in Buckinghamshire, Esq; and born in that county at the manor of Hale. He was bred a Mercer in London, where he got very considerable riches (1). In the year 1477, he was the elder of the two Sheriffs of London; and in part of the years 1486, and 1487, Lord-Mayor of that city: as he was again, a second time, in part of the years 1495, and 1496 (2). By his wife Christian, he had two and twenty children, eleven sons, and eleven daughters (3). He died in 1510, and was buried at Stepney: but his widow lived to bury her only son the Dean, being then above ninety years of age (4). Sir Henry was a great benefactor to his parish church of St. Anthonine’s; and, in Mr. Stow’s time, the pictures of him, and his wife, ten sons, and ten daughters, were in the glass window on the north side of that church (5). John, who is the subject of this article, was the first-born;

and within a few years became the only surviving comfort to his parents (6).

[B] He was no stranger to Plato and Plotinus, which he not only read, but compared, &c.] But he was forced to read them only in their Latin translations (7). See below, note [D].

[C] When he was but nineteen years of age, and only in the order of an Acolythe—he was instituted to the Rectory of Denington, &c.] This practice of taking livings, while thus under age, has generally prevailed in the Church of Rome, and was one of those many abuses, which have been removed by the Reformation. But if Mr. Colet did enter upon a cure of souls before he could sufficiently consider the weighty charge belonging to it, he atoned for it, by his extraordinary care, when he came to a more mature age (8). The order of an Acolythe is one of the seven orders in the Church of Rome, as may be seen in all the rituals.

Historian,

Historian, who raised in him an earnest desire of being acquainted with Erasmus, the honour of his age. He became also acquainted with the celebrated Budæus, and Mr. De-loine, who procured him what he wished, by recommending him to Erasmus (k). In Italy, he contracted a friendship with several eminent persons; especially with his own countrymen, William Grocin, Thomas Linacre, William Lilly, and William Latymer, who were learning the Greek tongue (then but little known in England) under those great masters, Demetrius, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and Pomponius Sabinus (l). As he knew himself very little of it when he left Oxford (m), he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himself in that language [D]. And, having devoted himself to the study of Divinity, he read, whilst abroad, the best of the ancient Fathers, particularly Dionysius, Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Jerome (n). But he very much despised St. Augustin, which showed his good sense and judgment (o). In the course of his studies, both at home and abroad, he sometimes looked into D. Scotus, and T. Aquinas, and other school Divines. He also studied both the Civil and Canon Law. Moreover, there was not one book relating to the History and Constitution of Church and State, which he did not carefully peruse. And, in order to polish and improve his style, and qualify himself for an elegant Preacher, he frequently read such English Poets as were then extant (p). During his travels, he was presented to the Prebend of Botevant, in the cathedral church of York, into which he was installed by proxy, March 5, 1493-4 (q). He was also made Canon of St. Martin's Le-Grand, London, and Prebendary of Good-Easter, in the same church (r). Upon his return to England in 1496, or 1497, he was ordained Deacon December 17, and Priest the 26th of July following (s). He had, indeed, before he entered into orders, great temptations, both from his natural disposition, and otherwise, to lay his studies aside, and give himself up to all the gaieties of the Court [E]: but he curbed these idle inclinations (t); and, after having staid a few months with his father and mother at London and Stepney (u), he retired to Oxford (w). Here he did not spend his time in idleness, but undertook to read public lectures, without any stipend or reward, on St. Paul's Epistles [F], which were crowded with hearers, and much admired (x). And in this place he had the pleasure of contracting an acquaintance with the immortal Erasmus, (who came to Oxford about the end of the year 1497) which ended in the strictest intimacy imaginable, and continued to the end of their lives (y). The time when Mr. Colet expounded St. Paul's Epistles, was in the years 1497, 1498,

(k) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(l) Knight, p. 24.

(m) Ibid. p. 14.

(n) E. asmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ, ubi supra.

(o) Ibid.

(p) Ibid. See also Dr. Knight, p. 12.

(r) Dr. Knight, ubi supra, p. 22. Notes, p. 9.

(q) Wood, ubi supra, col. 12. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1727, 4to. p. 123.

(s) Ibid. p. 22.

(t) Ibid. p. 27.

(u) Ibid. p. 25.

(w) Idem, p. 29.

(x) Ibid. and p. 50; and Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.

(y) Knight, ubi supra, p. 31, 37.

[D] As he knew very little Greek when he left Oxford, he undoubtedly embraced the opportunity of perfecting himself in that language.] For at school he had no opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, nor scarcely in the University, at his first coming thither. Such was the infelicity of those times of ignorance, that the Greek language was not taught in any of our grammar-schools; nor was there imagined to be any great need of it in the two Universities, by the generality of scholars. Even to love or encourage the study of it, was looked upon as heresy. Hence the proverb (9), *Cave à Græcis, ne fias Hæreticus. Fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum similis*, i. e. 'Take care of Greek, lest you become a heretic. Avoid Hebrew, that you may not become like the Jews.' And for this reason those very few that understood Greek were afraid to teach it, lest they should be thought to propagate heresy (10). As for Oxford, nothing was known there but Latin, and that in the most depraved style of the schoolmen. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, was the first who taught Greek in that University; and from him the famous Grocin learned the first elements thereof. In Cambridge, Erasmus was the first who taught the Greek grammar. And so very low was the state of learning in that University, that in 1485, nothing was taught there but Alexander's *Parva Logicalia*, the old axioms of Aristotle, and the questions of Scotus, all in Latin; till in process of time, the Mathematics were brought in, and Aristotle in Greek, with several authors, whose names had not been heard of before (11). Linacre and Grocin were the only two Englishmen then able to teach Greek. Soon after, Bernard André, a native of Tholouse, opened a school for that language in London. But the first Englishman who, in any public school, taught Greek as well as Latin, was William Lilly, in St. Paul's School; the founder whereof, Dean Colet, seeing the necessity of having a tolerable knowledge of the Greek tongue, in order to proceed the better in his theological studies, did shun no pains, nor thought himself too old to learn it, or at least to improve himself therein (12).

(9) Erasmi Adagia.

(10) See Knight, p. 15.

(11) Erasmi Epist. Henrico Bovillo, Cal. Sept. 1516.

(12) Coleti Epist. Erasmo, edit. Bas. 1521, p. 91. See Dr. Knight, ubi supra, p. 14—19.

the Court.] And, indeed, he was endued with some natural propensities, that seemed fitter for a public life at large, than for the confinement of a college, or a gown. For he had naturally a spirit exceeding high, and impatient of the least injury and affront. He was too much addicted to love, and luxury, and sleep, and mightily disposed to an air of freedom and jocoseness, and had a tincture of avarice in him. But he conquered himself, and brought his high spirit to be subject to reason; so that he could bear a reproof even from his own servant. His disposition to love, sleep, and luxury, he restrained by a continual abstinence from suppers, a strict sobriety, a close application to his studies, and by a serious and religious conversation. So that by his philosophy, his sacred studies, his watchings, and fastings, and devotions, he preserved himself every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world. And yet whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious persons, or talking familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at feasts and entertainments, there nature would break forth. For which reason, he very much forbore acquaintance with laymen, and especially all public entertainments: where, if necessity brought him, he picked out some learned friend, and talked Latin with him, to avoid the prophane discourse of the table. And in the mean time he would eat but of one dish, and take but one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine: which yet he relished, if very good. There never was a more flowing wit; and, for that reason, he delighted in the like society: but even then, he chose rather to divert to such discourses as favoured most of religion. He was a great lover of little children, admiring their pretty innocence and simplicity (13).

[F] He undertook to read public lectures, without any stipend or reward, on St. Paul's Epistles.] And though he had neither taken nor desired any degree in Divinity, there was not a Doctor in Divinity, or Law, no Abbot, nor any other dignitary, but came gladly to hear him, and took notes of his lectures (14). For, at this time, it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures (15).

(13) Erasmi Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.

(14) Ibid.

(15) See Knight, p. 50, &c.

(m) Wood, *ubi supra*. 1499, &c. (z). In the year 1501, he was admitted to proceed in Divinity, or to the reading of the sentences (a). In 1502, he became Prebendary of Durnesford, in the church of Sarum: and on the 20th of January, 1503-4, he resigned his Prebend of Good-Easter (b). In 1504, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (c); and May 5, 1505, was instituted to the Prebend of Mora, in the cathedral church of St. Paul (d). The same year and month, he was made Dean of that church (e), without the least application of his own (f); at which time he resigned the Vicarage of Stepney, the date of his admission to which doth not appear (g). Being raised to this station, he reformed the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in a new practice there, the preaching himself upon Sundays, and all solemn festivals. In this course of preaching, he did not take a desultory text out of the Gospel or Epistle for the day, but chose a larger subject; as St. Matthew's Gospel, the Creed, or the like, and made successive sermons upon them, till he had gone through the whole. That his church might be constantly supplied, he called in to his assistance other learned and able persons, particularly William Grocin, and John Sowle, who read Divinity-Lectures. At last he procured a settlement for ever, for such a lecture to be constantly read in St. Paul's cathedral, three days in every week, by the Chancellor of the church, or his sufficient deputy (h). These Divinity-Lectures raised in the nation an enquiry after the Holy Scriptures, which were, in a manner, laid aside for the School-Divinity, and so prepared a way for the Reformation. And what helped to promote it, was the contempt which Dean Colet expressed for the religious houses, the abuses he shewed were in them, and the danger of imposing celibacy on the Clergy (i). This way of thinking, and the Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts, which were then looked upon as heretical and impious, exposed him to the hatred of the Clergy, and to a persecution from Dr. Fitz-James [G], Bishop of London (k). For, preaching frequently at St. Paul's, and before the King, and in other populous assemblies, he would not refrain from speaking, with some freedom and boldness, against the vulgar superstitions and prevailing corruptions in the church; whereby he incurred the indignation of the Bishop, who was a rigid and superstitious man, and had for a long while looked upon him with an evil eye (l). But the Dean's troubles and persecutions seemed only to have rendered him more devout and charitable, and weaned him from the world. Having therefore a plentiful estate, without any very near relations, and having already dispensed the yearly produce of it in the occasional demands of piety and charity, he resolved, in the midst of his life and health, to consecrate the whole property of it to some standing and perpetual benefaction (m). And this he performed, by founding St. Paul's School in London [H], which hath produced several learned and ingenious men (n).

(c) Wood, *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 7.

(d) Newcourt's *Reper. Eccles.* &c. vol. i. Lond. 1708, p. 180.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 46: Wharton. *Hist. de Episc. & Decan.* Londin. &c. p. 233, edit. Lond. 1695, 8vo.

(h) *Eraſmi Epiſt.* and Dr. Knight, *ubi ſupra*, p. 66. 69, 70.

(n) *Ib.* p. 102, &c. *Eraſmi Epiſt.* Jodoco Jonæ. See alſo Stow's *Survey of London*, with Strype's *Addit.* vol. i. edit. 1720, B. i. p. 163, &c.

[G] *The Dean's free manner of communicating his thoughts—exposed him to—a persecution from Dr. Fitz-James.* His Lectures and Sermons being chiefly employed in opening the sense of the Scriptures, then called the New Learning, he came to be counted a perverse Heretic, at least to be suspected of the crime of heretical pravity. The Bishop, upon this score, accused him to Archbishop Warham, as a dangerous man; and calling in the assistance of two other Bishops, of equal bigotry, and no less virulence, he began to create Dean Colet a great deal of trouble and vexation, using no other weapon but that of the charge of heresy, then reckoned the most fatal engine for the destruction of an enemy. So the Bishop drew up the following Articles against him. I. That the said Dr. Colet had taught, that images were not to be worshipped. II. That he had preached against the temporal possessions of the Bishops, by denying that the repeated exhortation of Christ to Peter, to feed his sheep, could be at all meant of hospitality, but of an exemplary life, and good doctrine; because the Apostles were then poor, and not able to be hospitable. III. That he had preached against some men's reading their sermons in a cold unaffected manner, whereby he must needs mean to reflect upon the Bishop himself, who, by reason of his old age, had taken up that way of preaching. But Archbishop Warham, who knew the integrity and worth of Dr. Colet, dismissed him, without giving him the trouble of putting in any formal answer. However, the Bishop not satisfied with that fruitless attempt, endeavoured afterwards to stir up the King, and the whole Court, against Dean Colet (16). Nay, we are told, that he was not only in trouble, but should have been burnt, if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary (17); and that, some years after his decease, his body had like to be taken up, and burnt (18).

VOL. IV.

[H] *And this he performed, by founding St. Paul's School in London.* This school was founded between the years 1508 and 1512, some years being taken up in purchasing the site, removing the incumbrances, erecting the new pile of buildings, providing suitable masters, and settling the endowment in trust for ever (19). This is the reason why our Historians vary so much about the exact year of its foundation: for some (20) place it under the year 1508; others in 1509 (21); others in 1510 (22); and, finally, others in 1512 (23). The worthy founder dedicated it to the honour of Christ Jesus in his childhood: and ordained, that there should be in it, an High-master, a Sur-master, and a Chaplain, who should teach gratis one hundred and fifty-three children, divided into eight classes. He endowed it with one messuage, and two shops, in Soper's-lane; six tenements in St. George's parish in Pudding-lane; two messuages in Bridge-street, in the parish of St. Magnus; four shops; some tenements without Aldgate, and all their appurtenances; manors, lands, and tenements in Buckinghamshire; the manor of Vach in Barton, and that of Berwicke; lands in Colchester; several fields and tenements, the places where they lie not expressed, only the occupiers names; a barn; four acres of land, the backside of White-hart-street; eight acres in London-field; nine acres, and gardens near it, with several tenements, amounting then in all to 122*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ a year, but now much improved. The Company of Mercers were appointed Trustees (24). The High-masters of this School, from the first to this time, have been these:—1. William Lilly, appointed by the founder in 1512.—2. John Rightwyfe, chosen in 1522.—3. Richard Jones, in 1532.—4. Thomas Freeman, in 1549.—5. John Cook, M. A. in 1559.—6. William Malin, or Malim, in 1573.—7. John Harrison, M. A. in 1581.—8. Richard Mulcaster, in 1596.—9. Alexander Gill, senior, in 1608.—10. Alexander

(19) Knight, p. 102.

(20) Polyd. Verg. *Hist. Angl.* l. xxvi. Alex. Nevil, *Annal.* ad finem, Nordovici.

(21) Geo. Lillii, *Chronic.* sub anno 1509.

(22) Cooper's *Chronic.* and Hollinshed's *Chron.* under the year 1510.

(23) Wood, *Ath.* vol. i. col. 12.

(24) Knight, *Appendix to Dr. Colet's Life*, p. 335, &c. 367, &c.

(m) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(a) *Idem*, *Faſti*, vol. i. col. 4.

(b) Knight, *ubi supra*, p. 21.

(f) Knight, p. 62.

(g) Newcourt, *ubi supra*, p. 46.

(i) Knight, p. 71, 72.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 86, 87, 88, 89, &c.

(l) *Eraſmi Epiſt.* Jodoco Jonæ.

(m) Knight, p. 97.

(16) *Eraſmi Epiſt.* Jodoco Jonæ.

(17) Bishop Latymer's *Sermons*, edit. 1595, 4to. p. 174.

(18) J. Bale, *Image of both Churches*, C. XI. and *Script. Brit. Cent.* VIII. n. 63.

(o) Knight, ubi
supra, p. 123,
124.

(20) Knight, p.
225. 260. Dug-
dale's Hist. of
St. Paul's.

(25) Ib. p. 370—
388. Stow's Sur-
vey of London,
edit. 1720, vol. i.
B. i. p. 167, &c.

(26) Page 261.

(27) Wood, Ath.
vol. i, col. 13.

(28) This is
falsely called by
Mr. Wood [*Ora-
tiones duæ ad
Clerum in Convo-
catione*, ann.
1511, &c. Lond.
8vo.] Ath. vol. i.
col. 11.

(29) Life, p. 197.
Dr. Knight sup-
poses, that Dean
Colet was Prolo-
cutor of this Con-
vocation, p. 199.

(30) MS. in the
Public Library at
Cambr. inter
MS. reg.

(31) Knight, p.
297, note (1).

(32) Ath. vol. i.
col. 13.

For the use of this school, he drew up some rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the Principles of Religion, of which we shall give an account below among the rest of his works (o). Besides his dignities and preferments already mentioned, he was Rector of the Fraternity or Gild of Jesus in St. Paul's Church (p), for which he procured new Statutes; and also Chaplain, and Preacher in Ordinary to King Henry VIII. and (if Erasmus is not mistaken) one of his Privy-Council (q). When he came to about the fiftieth year of age, he grew so weary of the world, that he fully purposed to throw himself into some monastery, and there end his days in quiet and solitude (r). In pursuance of this resolution, he built a convenient and handsome house within the precinct of the Charter-House, near Richmond Palace in Surrey, where he intended to retire in his old age, when broken with infirmities, and unable to discharge the duties of his function (s). But death prevented him: for having been seized by the sweating sickness at two several times before, and relapsing into it a third time, he fell into a consumption that carried him off on the 16th of September, 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age (t). He was buried on the south side of the choir of St. Paul's, with an humble monument prepared by him several years before, and having no other inscription but his bare name (u). But afterwards a handfomer monument was set up for him by the company of Mercers [I] (w). He wrote several things, of which there is an account in the note [K]. As to his person

Alexander Gill, jun. in 1635.—11. John Langley, in 1640.—12. Samuel Cromleholme, in 1657.—13. Thomas Gale, D. D. in 1672.—14. John Postlethwayte, M. A. in 1697.—15. Philip Ascough, M. A. in 1713.—16. Benjamin Morland, F. R. S. in 1721.—17. Timothy Crumpe, M. A. in 1733.—18. Mr. Charles, in 1736-7 (25).

[I] But afterwards a handfomer monument was set up for him, by the Company of Mercers.] It was destroyed, with St. Paul's cathedral, in the general conflagration in 1666. But the representation of it is preserved in Mr. William [afterwards Sir William] Dugdale's History of St. Paul's; and in Dr. S. Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet (26). On the two sides of the bust was this inscription. 'John Colet, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Pauls, and the only founder of Pauls-school, departed this life, anno 1519, the son of Sir Henry Colet, Knt. twice Lord Mayor of the cyty of London, and free of the Company and Mistery of Mercers.' Lower, there were other inscriptions in Latin. About the year 1680, when the church was taking down, in order to be rebuilt, his leaden coffin was found inclosed in the wall, about two feet and a half above the floor. At the top of it was a leaden plate fastened, whereon was engraved the Dean's name, his dignity, benefactions, &c. (27).

[K] He wrote several things, &c.] Those which he published himself, or that have been printed since his decease, are as follows. I. *Oratio habita à Doctore Joanne Colet, Decano Sancti Pauli, ad Clerum in Convocatione*, anno 1511. Printed the same year by Richard Pynson, in three sheets, 4to. This is very scarce, being hardly to be met with, excepting in the Bodleian Library, Oxon, among Archbishop Laud's MSS. It is reprinted by Dr. S. Knight, in his Appendix to the Life of Dr. John Colet (28). In the same book is also reprinted, an old English translation of it, intituled, 'The Sermon of Doctor Colete, made to the Convocation at Pauls.' Printed first by Thomas Berthelet; and supposed, by Dr. Knight, (29) to be done by the author himself. It was reprinted in 1661, 12mo. by Thomas Smith, of Christ's College, with notes; under this title, 'A Sermon of Conforming and Reforming, made to the Convocation at St. Paul's Church in London, by John Colet, &c.' It was reprinted again in the Phoenix, Vol. I. 8vo. and lately in a collection of 'Select Sermons,' fol. II. *Rudimenta Grammatices à Johanne Colet, Decano Ecclesiæ sancti Pauli London. in usum Scholæ ab ipso institutæ* (30); commonly called *Paul's Accidence*. Lond. 1539, 8vo. III. The construction of the eight parts of speech, intituled, *Absolutissimus de octo Orationis partium constructione Libellus*; which, with some alterations, and great additions, makes up the syntax in Lilly's Grammar. Antwerp, 1530, 8vo. IV. 'Daily Devotions: or the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice, &c.' Printed at London several times in 12mo. and 16mo. This is said not to be all of his composition (31). V. 'Monition to a godly Life.' Lond. 1534, 1563, &c. This Mr. Wood supposes (32) to be the same with, 'A right fruitful

Admonition concerning the Order of a good Christian's Man's Life, &c.' Lond. 1577, 8vo. VI. *Epistolæ ad Erasmus*. Many of them are printed among *Erasmi Epistolæ*; and some at the end of Dr. S. Knight's Life of Dean Colet.—The following pieces remain in manuscript. VII. *Commentarii in Epistolâ D. Pauli ad Romanos & Corinthios*, i. e. Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Given to the public library at Cambridge by Archbishop Parker. In the same volume are several pieces of Dean Colet, viz. VIII. *De Angelis cælestique hierarchia*, being a commentary in *Ecclesiasticam D. Dionysii Hierarchiam*. And IX. *Epistola Abbati Winchincobensi*, printed by Dr. Knight, at the end of the Dean's Life. The Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Corinthians, are also in manuscript, in Emmanuel-College Library, given thereto by Dr. Anthony Tuckney; and in that of Benet-College, the gift of Archbishop Parker. At the end of this last, there is the *Beginning of a Commentary on Genesis*, no where else to be met with. X. One of the Dean's own manuscripts, being an *Analytical Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles*; and a summary of his larger Comments was in the possession of Roger Gale, Esq. It is the fairest, and indeed the only one manuscript of Dr. Colet's, of that kind, extant (33). Bale and Pits mention also these books of his. 1. *Commentaria in Proverbia Salomonis*. 2. *In Evangelium S. Matthæi*. 3. *In Precationem Dominicam*; translated, as Mr. Wood tells us (34), into English. 4. *In Symbolum fidei*. 5. *Breviloquium doctorum Christi*. 6. *Responsio ad argumenta Erasmi de tædio & pavore Christi* (35); called by Bale and Pits, *Ad argumenta Erasmi*; and, *De reformatione Christi*; and made two different books. 7. *Conciones ordinariæ, & extraordinariæ*. Among which were two sermons on war, preached before King Henry VIII. 8. *Vita hominis Christiani*. 9. *Excerptiones doctorum*. 10. *Epistolæ ad Taylerum*. 11. *Ortolanus*. 12. *De moribus componendis*. 13. *De puerili institutione*. These two last seem to be the same as his *Rudimenta Grammatices* (36). As the Dean had an inaccuracy and uncorrectness in his way of writing (37), that was like to expose him to the censures of the Critics; and, besides, was no perfect master of the Greek tongue, without which he thought a man was nothing, that is, no scholar (38): it is therefore probable he had no intention of publishing any thing. The pieces mentioned above were found, after his death, in a very private corner of his study, as if he had designed they should lie buried in oblivion (39). Besides, they were written in such a manner, as if he intended nobody should understand them but himself (40). With regard to sermons, he wrote but few, for he generally preached without notes (41). M.

* * [Colet's practice, when young, of reading the English Poets which were then extant, in order to polish and improve his style, and to qualify himself for an elegant Preacher, is worthy of observation. The method he took was well adapted to his purpose. Nothing

(p) *Idem*, p. 83.
(q) *Erasmi Epist.*
Dat. Basil. 7 Cal.
Aug. 1518, and
Lovanii 1519.
Knight, p. 277.

(r) Knight, p.
222.

(s) *Idem*, p. 224.
254, ex Erasmo,
& *Elogiis Viro-
rum* aliquot in
Britannia, per
Geo. Liliu, 1559, 8vo.

(t) *Erasmi Epist.*
Jodoco Jonæ.
— & *Virorum*
aliquot in Britan-
nia *Elogia*, per
Geo. Liliu, 1559, 8vo.

(u) *Erasmi Epist.*
J. Jonæ.

(33) Dr. Knight,
Life of Dr. J. Co-
let, p. 197; and
Introduction to
it, p. vii, viii, ix.

(34) Ath. vol. i.
col. 13.

(35) See Dr.
Knight's Life of
Colet, p. 41, &c.

(36) Baleus, ubi
supra, p. 648,
649. Pits, de Il-
lustr. Angliæ
Scriptor. Ætas
xvi. ann. 1510,
n. 916.

(37) *Erasmi Epist.*
Jodoco Jonæ.

(38) Bale, ubi
supra.

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) Wood, Ath.
vol. i, col. 12.

(41) Knight, p.
181, note (i).

person and character, they are thus described. He was tall, comely, and very graceful: there was something in his mien and carriage extremely becoming; as was every thing he said

Nothing tends more to give a copiousness, freedom, and gracefulness of language, than an acquaintance with the Poets; and few writers have attained to elegance of composition, who had not a taste for poetry. Colet's advantages in this respect were very small, compared with those of the present age; but it was wise in him to make use of the aid which the times afforded. The dislike he had against attending to the exact rules of grammar is not to be commended. Such an attention ought not to be dispensed with in any genuine scholar; and, under proper direction, it will be so far from obstructing, that it will add to the beauty and dignity of style.

The life of Dean Colet, as written by our learned predecessor, Mr. Morant, is accurate, and he is exact and copious in his references to his authorities. But, with these excellencies, there is a driness of manner in his narration, which prevents us from having that full exhibition of the Dean's conduct and character which might have been attained, and which appears in Dr. Knight's account. As some things likewise are omitted, which may be thought to merit a place in the *Biographia*, we shall endeavour in part to supply the defect.

The beginning of Colet's acquaintance with Erasmus, which was a principal æra in the Dean's life, deserves to be related. He had heard a great character of Erasmus at Paris, and from that time was very desirous of an intimacy with him. No opportunity, however, offered of commencing it till that eminent man came to England; and then the foundation of their friendship was laid, not by a personal introduction to each other, but by letter. Erasmus, in the beginning of the year 1498, was at Oxford, whither he had been recommended by the Prior and Canons of St. Genesee at Paris, to Father Richard Charnock, Prior of the Regulars of the Order of St. Austin, in the College of St. Mary the Virgin. Here he was received, and accommodated with diet and lodging, in the most courteous and hospitable manner. Father Charnock, after a short trial of the parts and good qualities of his new guest, described him to Colet, as, in his opinion, a very excellent person, and of singular worth and goodness. With this character Colet was so much pleased, that he had not patience to wait for seeing the learned stranger; but, though he was himself then resident at Oxford, chose to make his first address with his pen, and sent to him, from his own chamber, an agreeable and elegant epistle, drawn up in such an obliging turn of sentiment and expression, as shewed the writer to be a scholar, a traveller, and a gentleman. He tells Erasmus, that his friend Brome had heartily recommended him by letter; but that he stood before highly commended to him by the fame of his reputation abroad, and by his works: that, whilst he was at Paris, he found the name of Erasmus not a little celebrated by learned men; and that he had read there an epistle of his to Gaguinus, which seemed to him the specimen of a perfect writer, both for literature and the knowledge of the world. But still the best recommendation of him was, that the venerable Prior with whom he resided, had the day before told Colet, that his new guest was a most excellent person, and endued with singular virtues. "For this reason," says Colet, my Erasmus, as far as learning and an acquaintance with things, and a sincere goodness can make an impression upon a man who rather wishes for these talents, than pretends to the possession of them, so far, by virtue of such accomplishments, you must always be most acceptable to me. When I shall see you, I shall do that for myself, in my own person, which others have done for you in your absence. They have improperly recommended you to me; whereas I shall commend myself to you, to be instructed by your wisdom: for the less ought to be commended to the greater, and the ignorant to the more learned. But if there be any thing in a person so inconsiderable as I am, wherein I can either be acceptable

or useful to you, I am entirely devoted to your service. I rejoice at your arrival in England, and wish that this island may be as pleasant to you, as I am persuaded you will be serviceable to it, by your great learning. I owe, and shall always owe, every thing to one whom I regard, not only as the most learned, but likewise as the best of men. Farewell (42)."

(42) Knight's
Life of Colet,
p. 31-34.

To this letter Erasmus immediately returned a very suitable answer, in which he said, that, could he find any thing commendable in himself, he should be proud of being commended by such a worthy person, to whose judgment he allowed so great a weight, that his silent esteem alone was preferable to all the applauses of a Theatre at Rome. The commendations, however, he added, that were given him by such a man, were so far from exalting him in his own opinion, that he was rather humbled by them; since they only served to put him in mind not of what he was, but of what he ought to be. For his part, he best knew his own deficiencies; and, therefore, he would take the liberty to give a character of himself. "You have in me, says he, a man of little or no fortune, a stranger to ambition, a warm devotee to friendship, and an ardent admirer of learning, though but slenderly acquainted with it; one who with the profoundest veneration for excellence in others, is conscious of the want of it in himself; who can easily yield to any person in literature, but to none in integrity; who is sincere, open, free, averse to falsehood and dissimulation; whose mind, though somewhat timid, is upright; and in whom nothing is to be expected besides an honest heart. If, my dear Colet, you can love such a man, you may count me as entirely your own as the very money you possess. Your country of England is most agreeable to me on many accounts, but especially on this; that it abounds with what above all things is delightful to me, men of admirable learning, among whom no one will be displeased that I reckon you as the chief. Indeed, such is your literature, that were it not accompanied with probity of manners, you would be deserving of universal admiration; and such is the sanctity of your life, that, were you devoid of acquired knowledge, you would justly be loved, respected, and venerated by every man." Erasmus then goes on highly to commend Colet's style, after which he thus concludes: "You speak whatever you mean, and mean all that you speak. Words arise from your heart, not from your lips; they arise from your sentiments, without giving them any assistance. In short, you have so happy a facility, that you can deliver without pains what another could scarcely express with the greatest labour. But to yourself I refrain from your praises, that I may not offend against decency; knowing how unwilling those are to be praised who are the most entitled to applause (43)."

(43) *Ibid.* p. 34
—37.

The foundation of friendship, which was thus laid between Colet and Erasmus, ended in the strictest possible intimacy, and continued to the end of their lives. Being now happy in each other's acquaintance, they were solicitous to improve it to their mutual benefit. At a public dinner at the University, after a Latin sermon, where the discourse was scholastical and theological, Colet sat as moderator. Among other discourse Colet said, that Cain's greatest offence, and what was most odious in the sight of God, was his distrusting the bounty of the great Creator, and placing too much confidence in his own art and industry, which induced him to till the ground; whilst his brother Abel, content with the natural productions of the earth, employed himself only in feeding sheep. Upon this question, which at present would be regarded as a very insignificant one, the company engaged; the Divine arguing by strict syllogisms, whilst Erasmus opposed in a more loose and rhetorical manner. But in truth, says Erasmus, this one Divine (Colet) was more than a match for us all.

(x) *Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ, & Geo. Lilius, ubi supra.*

said or did (x). His learning and piety were above the pitch of the times he lived in: but what made him most renowned, was his public spirit (y). In his writings, his style was

(y) Knight, p. 264, 265.

all. He seemed to be inspired from above, and to have in him somewhat more than human: he spoke not only with his voice, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour. When the disputation grew rather too long and severe for a cheerful entertainment, Erasmus broke it off, by telling a story of Cain, from pretended ancient writers, which was entirely an invention of his own, for the diversion of the company (44).

(44) *Ibid.* p. 44.

The fidelity of Colet's friendship for Erasmus appeared in his rebuking him for some fault or omission of which he had been guilty. Nor was this liberty disliked by Erasmus. It had a good effect upon him, and he thought that such admonitions were rather an establishment than a breach of friendship (45).

(45) *Ibid.* p. 47.

The strong sense of Colet led him wholly to despise the schoolmen. The Scotists he abhorred, because they pretended to be Divines, without so much as reading the Scriptures; nor had he a better opinion of the celebrated Aquinas. Erasmus relates, that he himself once took occasion to commend Thomas Aquinas as not contemptible among the later schoolmen, because he seemed to have studied the Scriptures, and to have consulted the primitive writers. Upon this occasion Colet maintained a profound silence. At another time, Erasmus having enlarged still more strongly upon the praises of Aquinas, Colet looked earnestly upon him, and asked him whether he spoke seriously, or was only in jest. Finding that he was in earnest, he broke out with great ardour, and said, why do you talk to me of that schoolman, who, if he had not been possessed of the greatest arrogance, could never have reduced all things into such positive and dogmatical definitions; and who, if he had not been endued with a worldly spirit, could not have so totally corrupted the pure doctrine of Christ by his profane philosophy. Erasmus, being struck with the enthusiasm of Colet, betook himself to a more diligent perusal of Aquinas's writings; the consequence of which was, that his admiration of that eminent schoolman was very much abated (46).

(46) *Ibid.* p. 52
—56.

The aversion which the Monks had at that time to Grecian literature, is manifest from the following story. A Divine, preaching at Court, took upon him to rail at Greek learning, and at new interpretations of Scripture. Pace, who was present, cast his eye upon the King, to observe how his Majesty was affected with the discourse. Henry smiled upon Pace by way of contempt; and, when the sermon was ended, sent for the Preacher, and appointed a debate to be held in his own presence, concerning the use of the Greek tongue. When the time came, Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) More delivered an eloquent vindication of that ancient language. The Divine, instead of making a suitable answer, fell upon his knees, and begged pardon for the offence he had given in the pulpit; alledging in excuse, that what he had done was by the impulse of the spirit. Not the spirit of Christ, says the King, but the spirit of infatuation. His Majesty then asked him, if he had read any thing of Erasmus, to which he replied, that he had not. Why then, returned Henry, you are a very foolish fellow, to censure what you have never read. I have read, says the Preacher, something they call *Moria*. Yes, answered Pace, such a subject is fit for such a reader. At last, the Divine, to soften the resentment against him, declared that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The King, being astonished at the ignorance of the man, dismissed him, upon this condition, that he should never again presume to preach at Court (47). We may observe by

(47) *Ibid.* p. 58,
39.

the way, that the poor Divine was not so much mistaken in his notion of the origin of the Greek tongue as the disputers with him imagined. There was some truth in his assertion, though he spoke with an entire ignorance of the subject. It is a fact, that many Greek words are derived from the Hebrew, or at least from the Oriental languages, of which the

Hebrew is a part; but this was a matter which had not at that time been investigated by the learned.

Dean Colet's clemency to Heretics, shews how much he rose above the spirit of the times. In that age, if any man, from a principle of humanity and goodness, was a favourer or reliever of those who rejected the doctrines of Popery, it was sufficient, in the eye of the Church, to render him a partaker of their crimes. Colet, in consequence of his tenderness and compassion for the honest people called Lollards, could not escape this imputation. One of them, who had been censured and condemned in the Spiritual Court, was committed to a prison of his Majesty's, and given up to the civil magistrate as an obstinate offender. But the Dean had the courage to interpose for him with the King himself, and by his own single interest obtained the poor man's life and liberty (48).

(48) *Ibid.* p. 94,
95.

So low was the state of literature in England when St. Paul's School was founded, that there was no little difficulty in procuring a second master, under William Lilly. Erasmus, being then at Cambridge, was requested by Dean Colet to look out for a proper person. He enquired among the Masters of Arts in that University, but could meet with none among the few who might be thought fit for the employment, that would choose to accept it. They did not relish so laborious an undertaking, however honourable the terms might be; and one of the seniors said, in a sneering way, "Who would lead a slavish life among boys, in a school, if he could find any other mode of living?" Erasmus defended the office of instructing youth in learning and good manners, as highly honourable and useful; and what he advanced upon the subject was extremely just, and indeed unanswerable. He spoke, however, to no purpose; for the Monks were incapable of attending to the voice of reason and argument (49).

(49) *Ibid.* p. 167
—169.

Dean Colet's enemies sought frequent occasions of ruining him in the opinion of the King. Henry having resolved upon hostilities with France, it was suggested to his Majesty, that the Dean, at this juncture, advanced the false doctrine, "that the most dishonourable peace was preferable to the justest war." The accusers were two Franciscan Friars, Standish and Bricot. The King, however, gave a signal instance of prudence and moderation. Sending for Colet, he advised him to proceed in reforming a corrupt and dissolute age, and in letting his light shine in the midst of so much prevailing darkness. Henry offered, at the same time, by humbling Colet's adversaries, to let all the world see that those who struck at him should not go unpunished. But the good Dean entreated that his enemies might by no means suffer on his account; saying, that he would rather give up his Deanery, and live altogether in privacy and retirement (50).

(50) *Ibid.* p. 202,
202.

At another time, Colet, being appointed to preach before the King on a Good-Friday, treated of Christ's victory over death and the grave, and exhorted his hearers to fight manfully under this captain of their salvation, and to come off more than conquerors. In the prosecution of his discourse, he spoke somewhat concerning reconciling the differences between Christian States and Princes, and endeavoured to persuade his auditors to conquer those lusts, whence come wars and fightings among men. Those worldly wicked persons, he said, who fought with each other from hatred and ambition, and who were hurried on to mutual slaughter and destruction, did not fight under the banners of Christ, but under the ensigns and tokens of the devil. He shewed how hard it was to die a christian death in a day of battle; how few undertake a war but from the most unwarrantable passions; and how inconsistent the imbruing the hands in blood, was with that fraternal charity without which no man shall see the Lord. In conclusion, he exhorted those who were finishing their warfare under the banner of their Saviour, not to imitate the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and other victorious Princes, but their

was plain and unaffected, but it had always something weighty and pungent. And this, which some might call carelessness, did not proceed from a want of what goes under the name

their own humble Lord and master Jesus. With this doctrine the King was not a little disturbed. He was afraid that such a powerful dissuasive from war might cool the minds of his subjects, and even intimidate the soldiers, at the very juncture of his commencing hostilities with France. He sent, therefore, for the Preacher, immediately after sermon, and upon his appearing, Henry ordered all his attendants to withdraw. Colet's enemies were now not a little elated, and had no other expectation but that he would instantly be sent from the Court to the Tower. But the King, on the contrary, spoke to him in the following friendly manner: "Mr. Dean, that you may fear no harm, I did not send for you to interrupt your holy labours in preaching, which I would rather encourage and promote; but to disburthen my own conscience of some scruples, and by your spiritual advice to direct myself in the present posture of my affairs." His Majesty then informed Colet, that he was now engaged in a war with the French King; not at his own desire, but by force and urgent necessity, for the defence of his dominions. Therefore, though the Doctor, in his truly christian sermon, had spoken admirably well of brotherly love and charity, and of laying aside the thoughts of revenge, and had almost reconciled him to his greatest enemies the French; yet since the hostilities he had commenced were not the result of choice, but of necessity, and undertaken to repel force with force, he must desire him, in another discourse, to vindicate the lawfulness of such a war as was defensive, and should be entered upon for the honour and safety of our country. Dean Colet, with all dutiful readiness, obeyed the King's command, and, at the next opportunity, spoke, in the same grave and eloquent way, of the grounds of a lawful war among Christian Princes and States, with such strength of reason and scripture, that he not only confirmed Henry and his Nobles in their intended enterprise, but even raised the spirits of the common people, who were before cool and indifferent in the matter. When the sermon was ended, the King thanked the Dean publicly before all the assembly, and said to his nobility, who stood around him; "Well, let every one choose his own Doctor; but this shall be my Doctor, before all others whomsoever." His Majesty, then taking a glass of wine, drank very graciously to Colet, and dismissed him with the highest marks of affection (51).

(51) *Ibid.* p. 203
—208.

A story, which displays the natural warmth of the Dean's temper, and the command he obtained over it, is related by Erasmus. Archbishop Warham's house and table were always open to men of learning, as well foreigners as natives of his own country, and none were more encouraged to accept of the civilities there bestowed than Erasmus and Colet, who often went to Lambeth, and returned together. Now the Dean had an old uncle, so froward and perverse in his disposition, that he could never agree with him; besides which, there was a suit, or quarrel, depending between them, for a sum of money which would have been considerable enough to have created a war between a father and a son. Colet going one day to dine with Warham, and taking Erasmus in the boat with him, he read, as he sat there, that part of his friend's Enchiridion which prescribed a remedy against anger and passion; not intimating why he was so intent upon the subject. It happened, at the Archbishop's table, that the Dean was seated opposite to his uncle, and was so troubled in his own mind, that he could not either talk or eat. The Archbishop had an admirable art of making all his company easy and chearful, by framing his discourse in such a manner as was suitable to their humours and inclinations. At this time he began to talk of ages; who were old, and who were young. The topic suited several who were present, and who had not spoken before; so that they began to be very free and familiar. Colet's uncle, in particular, like a true old man, boasted what he could do at his years. After

VOL. IV.

dinner, Warham conversed in private with the uncle and nephew, and brought them to terms of agreement. As Colet and Erasmus were returning in the boat, the former said to the latter, "Well, you are a very happy man, and have done me a great deal of service." Erasmus being surprized at this language, the Dean informed him, that he had been extremely incensed against his uncle, and had almost resolved to put off the kinsman, and even the Christian, and wage open war with him; but that, under this commotion of mind, he had taken the Enchiridion with him, and read over the advice for restraint of anger; which had done him so much good that he had commanded himself at table, and returned to such a temper with his old relation, that, presently after dinner, by the Archbishop's interposition, the whole affair had been made up. Erasmus used to relate this story to people who had differences, and were not easy to be reconciled (52).

(52) *Ibid.* p. 245
—248.

Notwithstanding Dean Colet's excellent understanding, he had some peculiarities of sentiment, that were contrary to sound sense, but which may be accounted for, from considering the superstition of the age wherein he lived. In his comment on the sixth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he scarcely permits the going to law; and in treating upon the seventh chapter of the same Epistle, he does not allow marriage to be lawful, but only regards it as a remedy *contra incontinentiam; ut ubi non sentitur illa infirmitas, ibi illa ad nuptias licentia non est usurpanda*. Neither did he think it necessary that Christians should marry for the sake of begetting children; "for that, saith he, might be left to the Gentiles—But what if the Gentiles should be wholly converted? Then, he adds, the kingdom of God would come: then would the world be *sanctus & animo & corpore*: then would the end take place, "and God be all in all (53)." It is possible, that these were not so much settled opinions, as notions hastily thrown out: it is certain, that they were not well digested. At another time, Colet entertained a juster idea of marriage. He used to say, that he never found better or purer manners than among the married men, whose natural affection to their wives, care of their children, and government of their families, kept them within the bounds of moderation and chastity (54).

(53) Knight's
Life of Dean
Colet, Introduc-
tion, p. xii.

According to the general temper of the age, Colet and his schoolmasters carried severity to their scholars to an undue length. It was the Dean's opinion, that there was a necessity for harsh discipline to humble the spirit of boys, to enure them to hardships, and to prepare them for the mortifications, sufferings, and afflictions they would meet with in the world. Erasmus, on the other hand, pleaded strongly for a gentle treatment of children. The same great author relates a story, understood to refer to the Dean, which places him in a very disagreeable light. We shall insert it in the original Latin; for if any tender mother were to read it, Colet would never be forgiven by her. "Novi theologum quendam, & quidem domesticæ, maximi nominis, cujus animo nulla crudelitas satisfaciebat in discipulos, quum magistros haberet strenue plagosos. Id existimabat unice, & ad deiciendum ingeniorum ferociam, & ad edomandam ætatis lasciviam pertinere. Nunquam agitabat convivium apud gregem suam, nisi quemadmodum comœdiæ exeunt in lætam catastrophem, ita post cibum sumptum, unus aut alter protraheretur virgis lacerandus; & interim sæviebat & in immeritos, nimirum, ut affluerent plagis. Ipse quondam adstiti proximus, quum à prandio ex more puerum avocaret, annos natum, ut opinor, decem. Recens autem à matre venerat in eum gregem. Præfatus est, illi matrem esse cum primis piam fœminam, ab ea sibi puerum studiose commendatam: mox, ut haberet occasionem cædendi, cœpit objicere nescio quid ferociæ, quum nihil minus præ se ferret puer; & innuit illi cui collegii præfecturam commiserat, huic ex

(54) *Ibid.* p. 73.

D

re

name of Rhetoric; but from a professed contempt of it, as an art only of amusing (z). (z) *Ibid.*, p. 179.
He could not bear, that the standard of a good style should be taken from the exact rules
of

(55) *Ibid.* p. 175,
176. Jortin's Life
of Erasmus, vol.
i. p. 170.

(56) Knight's
Life of Colet, p.
94. Jortin's Life
of Erasmus, *ubi*
supra, p. 169.

(57) Life of Til-
lotson, p. 20, 21.

"re satelles erat cognomen, ut caderet. Ille pro-
tinus dejectum puerum ita cecidit, quasi sacrile-
gium commississet. Theologus semel atque iterum
interpellavit, *satis est, satis est*. At carnifex ille
fervore surdus, peregit suam carnificinam pene
usque ad pueri syncopen. Mox theologus versus
ad nos, *nihil commovit*, inquit, *sed erat humilian-*
dus; nam hoc verbo est usus. Quis unquam ad
eum modum eruditur mancipium; imo quis asi-

num (55)?"
Dr. Jortin hath recited this story, as well as Dr.
Knight. They both of them, likewise, take notice
of the improper conduct of Mr. Collier, with regard
to Dean Colet. That bigoted writer, in his Ecclesi-
astical History, leaves out all the Dean's preaching
against image worship, and other corruptions of the
Church of Rome, and only gives an account of his
Lent Sermons, concerning war. With respect to
these last, he describes them as if they had been de-
livered in the reign of King Henry the Seventh;
whereas it is evident, from the occasion of them, that
they could not be preached before the preparations
which Henry the Eighth was making for hostilities
with France, in the year 1512. What is more extra-
ordinary still, Collier hath not so much as mentioned
Dean Colet's name in his Historical Dictionary (56).

Dr. Birch, speaking of the Dean's Convocation
Sermon, observes, that it is not contemptible either
for style or argument (57). As the translation of it
is understood to have been made from the Latin ori-
ginal, by Colet himself, we shall insert a specimen
of it, which may serve to display something of the
manners of the times, and to shew his turn of sen-
timent and composition.

"To exhort you reverent fathers to the endeavour
of reformation of the churches estate: because that
nothyng hath so disfigured the face of the church,
as hath the facion of secular and worldly lyuynge in
clerkes and pristes: I knowe nat where more conue-
niently to take begynnyng of my tale, than of the
apostle Paule, in whose temple ye are gathered to ge-
ther. For he writyng unto the Romanes, and vnder
their name vnto you saith: Be you not conformed to
this worlde: but be you reformed in the newnes of
yours understandyng, that ye may prove what is
the good wyll of god well pleasing and perfecte.
This dyd the apostle wryte to all christen men, but
most chiefly unto pristes and bysshops. Pristes and
bissshops are the lyghte of the worlde. For vnto them
sayde our sauour: you are the lyghte of the worlde.
And he sayde also: If the lyghte that is in the be
darkenes, howe darke shall the darkenes be? That is
to say, if pristes and bysshops, that shulde be as lyghtes
ronne in the darke way of the worlde, howe darke
than shall the secular people be? Wherefore saynt
Paul sayde chiefly unto pristes and bissshops: Be you
nat conformable to this worlde, but be ye reformed.
In the whiche wordes the apostle dothe two thinges.
Fyrst he doth forbyd that we be nat conformable to
the worlde and be made carnall. Farthermore he
doth command that we be reformed in the spyryte of
god, where by we are spirituall. I entendyng to
followe this order, I wyl speke fyrst of conformation,
than after of reformation. Be you nat (sayth he)
conformable to this worlde. The apostle calleth the
worlde, the wayes and maner of secular lyuynge: the
whiche chiefly dothe reste in foure euylles of this
worlde: that is to say in diuylishe pride, in carnall
concupiscence, in worldly couetousnes, in secular bu-
synes: These are in the worlde, as saynt John the
apostle witnesseth in his pitell canonicall. For he
saythe: All thyng that is in the worlde, is either the
concupiscence of the fleshe, or the concupiscence of
the eies, or pryde of lyfe. The same are now and
reynge in the church, and in men of the church,
that we may seme truly to say, all thyng that is in
the church, is either concupiscence of fleshe, or eies,
or pryde of lyfe. And fyrste for to speake of pryde
of lyfe, howe moche gredynes and appetite of honour
and dignitie is now a dayes in men of the church?

Howe ronne they, ye almost out of brethe from one
benefice to an other: from the lesse to the more, from
the lower to the hygher? who seethe nat this? who
seyng this sorowethe nat? More over these that are
in the same dignities the moost parte of them doth go
with so statly a countenance and with so hyghe lokes,
that they seme nat to be put in the humble byshoprike
of Christ, but rather in the high lordship, & power
of the worlde, nat knowynge, nor aduertisinge, what
Christe, the mayster of all mekenes, sayd unto his
disciples, whome he called to be byshoppes and
pristes: The princis of people (sayth he) haue lord-
shipp of them: and those that be in auctorite haue
power: but do ye nat so: but he that is greater
amonge you, let him be minister. He that is highest
in dignitie, be he the seruant of al men. The sonne
of man came nat to be mynstred vnto, but to mi-
nystre. By whiche wordes our sauour dothe playnly
teache, that the maistry in the church, is none other
thyng than a ministracion: And the hygh dignitie
in a man of the church to be none other thing than
a meke seruice.

"The seconde secular euyl is carnal concupiscence.
Hath nat this vice so growen and waxen in the church
as a fludde of theyr luste? so that there is nothyng
looked for more diligently, in this moost besy time,
of the moost parte of pristes, than that that dothe de-
lite & please the senses? They gyve them selfe to
feastes and bankettyng: They spend them selfe in
vaine bablyng: They gyue them selfe to sportes &
plays: They applye them selfe to huntynge and
haukyng. They drowne them selfe in the delytes
of the worlde. Procurers and fynders of lustes they
set by. Against the whiche kynd of men, Judas the
apostle crieth out in his pistle, sayeng: wo vnto them,
whiche haue gone the way of Cain. They are foule
& bestly festing in their meates without feare feadyng
them selfe: fluddes of the wylde see, fomyng out
their confusions: vnto whom the storme of darknes
is reserued for euerlastyng.

"Couetousnes is the thyrde secular euyl: the
whiche saynt John the apostle calleth concupiscence
of the eies: Saynt Paule calleth hit idolatry. This
abominable pestilence hath so entred in the mynde,
almost of all pristes, and so hath blynded the eies
of the minde, that we are blynde to all thynges, but
onely vnto those, which seme to bryng vnto us some
gaynes. For what other thyng seke we now a
dayes in the church, than fatte benefices and hygh
promotions? ye & in the same promotions, of what
other thyng do we passe upon, than of our tithes and
rentes? That we care nat howe many, howe charge-
ful, howe great benefices we take, so that they be of
greate valure. O couetousnes: saint Paule iustly
called the the roote of all euyl. Of the cometh this
heaping of benefices upon benefices: Of the so great
pensions assigned of many benefices resygned: Of
the, all the suyng for tithes, for offryng, for mor-
tuaries, for delapidations, by the ryght and title of
the church: For the whiche thing we stryue no lesse
than for our owne life: O couetousnes: of the cometh
these chargeful visitations of byshops: Of the
cometh the corruptnes of courtes and these daily
newe inuentions: where with the fely people are so
fore vexed. Of the cometh the besyfte and wanton-
nes of officials. O couetousnes mother of all ini-
quitie. Of the cometh this feruent study of ordina-
ries to dilate theyr iurisdiccions: Of the cometh this
woode and ragenge contention in ordinaries, of the
insinuation of testaments: of the cometh the vndewe
sequestration of frutes: Of the cometh the supersti-
tious obseruyng of all those lawes, that founde to any
lucre, settyng a fyde and dispisyng those that con-
cerne the amendment of maners. What shuld I re-
herse the reste? To be shorte, and to conclude at one
worde: All corruptnes, all the decaye of the church,
all the offences of the worlde, come of the coue-
tousnes of pristes. Accordyng to that of saynt Paule,
that here I repete agayne, and beate in to your eares:
Couetousnes is the roote of all euyl.

The

of grammar : which, he often said, did rather obstruct the purity of the language, not to be obtained but by reading the best and purest authors. This contempt of grammar-rules made him sometimes fall under the censure of the Critics (a). He was, however, a great master of style and language ; so that, though his preaching was popular, and adapted to vulgar capacities, yet withal it was agreeable to the better judgment of men of wit and

(a) *Idem*, p. 198.
Erasmi Epist. Jo-
doco Jones.

“ The fourthe secular euyl, that spotteth and maketh euyl fauored the face of the church, is the continuall secular occupation : wherein priests and byshops nowe a days doth besy them selfe, the seruantes rather of men than of god : the warriours rather of this worlde than of Christe. For the apostle Paule wryteth vnto Timothe : No man beinge goddes fouldiour, turmoyle hym selfe with seculare busynes. The warrynge of them is nat carnall but spirituall. For oure warrynge is to pray, to rede and study scriptures, to preache the worde of god, to mynister the sacraments of helth, to do sacrifice for the people, and to offere hostis for their sinnes. For we are mediators and means vnto god for men : The whiche saynt Paule wytnesse the, writinge to the Hebrewes : Euery byshoppe (sayth he) taken of men, is ordeyned for men in those thynges that be unto god, that he may offer gyftes and sacrifices for synnes. Wherefore those apostles, that were the fyrst priests and bisshops, dydde so moche abhorre from all maner of medlyng of secular thinges, that they wolde nat mynister the meate, that was necessarye to poore people, all though that was a great worke of vertue : but they sayd : it is nat mete, that we shulde leaue the worde of god, and serue tables : we wyll be continually in prayer, and preachynge the worde of god. And saynt Paul cryeth vnto the Corinthians. If you haue any secular besynes, ordeyne them to be iuges, that be mooste in contempt in the church. —

“ These be the foure euyls that I haue spoken of, O fathers, O priests, by the whiche we are conformable to this worlde, by the whiche the face of the church is made euyl fauored, by the whiche the state of it is destroyed, truly moche more than it was in the begynnyng by the persecution of tyrants : or afterwarde by the inuasion that folowed of heretykes. For in the persecution of tyrantes, the church beyng vexed was made stronger and bryghter : In the inuasion of heretykes the church beyng shaken, was made wyser and more cunning in holy wrytte. But sens this secularitie was broughte in, after that the secular maner of luyng crepte in, in the men of the church : the roote of all spiritual lyfe, that is to say, charite was extincte : The whiche taken awaye, there can nother wyse nor stronge church be in god (58).”

(58) *Life of Colet*, ubi supra, p. 291—296. 298.

Mr. Granger's short, but animated, character of Dean Colet must not be omitted. “ No higher testimony, says he, need to be given of the merit of Colet, than his great intimacy with Erasmus. There was a similitude of manners, of studies, and of sentiments in religion, betwixt these illustrious men, who ventured to take off the veil from ignorance and superstition, and expose them to the eyes of the world ; and to prepare men's minds for the reformation of religion, and restoration of learning. Erasmus, who did him the honour to call him his master, has given us a hint of his religious sentiments in his famous colloquy, intitled, *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*, in which Colet is the person meant, under the name of Gratianus Pullus.

“ Colet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and William Latimer, were the first that revived the learning of the ancients in England (59).”

(59) *Biographical History of England*, vol. i. p. 97. Second edition.

Mr. Granger hath mentioned nine engraved prints of Dean Colet (60).

(60) *Ibid.* p. 96.

In note [H], a list is given of eighteen high Masters of St. Paul's School, ending with Mr. Charles, who was elected in 1736-7. The gentlemen who have since been appointed to this important office, have maintained the character of the school with great ability ; and under the government of the present learned master, Dr. Roberts, it continues to be in a very flourishing condition.

Dr. Knight, who, in his Appendix to the Life of

Dean Colet, has given a short history of the high Masters of St. Paul's School down to Mr. Morland, has, likewise, added a brief account of the distinguished scholars that have been educated in this seminary. The catalogue is principally confined to those persons who either were writers, or who rose to considerable eminence in Church or State. It will appear, from the following names, that the School hath produced several illustrious men. Thomas Nightingale. He was educated under Lilly, and was admired at Oxford for his wit. He wrote a Latin Poem on the decease of Colet, and Elegies, in the same language, on the death of Lilly. Thomas Lupset, another disciple of the same master, became famous at Oxford for teaching the Greek tongue. He died in 1531. Sir Anthony Denny, a great Mecenas to learned men, and Privy Counsellor to King Henry the Eighth. Sir William Paget, a favourite with the same Monarch, and raised by him to many dignities ; created Baron of Beaufort in Edward the Sixth's reign, and Privy Counsellor to four successive Princes. Sir Edward North, afterwards Edward Lord North, Baron of Kirtling in Cambridgeshire. John Leland, Dr. William Whitaker, King's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and a great champion of the Protestant cause. William Camden. William Burton, a learned Divine and Antiquary. Edward Lane, M. A. author of several theological works. John Milton. Sir Peter Pett, an eminent Civilian. Sir Charles Scarborough, a celebrated Anatomist and Physician. Samuel Pepys, Esq; Author of the Memoirs relative to the State of the Navy, and bequeather of the Pepysian Library, to Magdalen-College, Cambridge. Samuel Johnson, noted for his political writings and sufferings. Dr. Benjamin Calamy. Dr. Richard Meggot, Dean of Winchester, and Canon of Windsor. Dr. Edward Reynolds, Archdeacon of Norwich, and Prebendary of Worcester. William Corker, M. A. senior Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge, the friend of Barrow, and a benefactor to the library of St. Paul's School. Thomas Smith, M. A. Public Librarian at Cambridge. Thomas Gipps, Fellow of Trinity-College, in the same University. Dr. William Nicholls, author of a “ Conference with a Theist,” and other theological works. Richard Blondel, an able Surgeon. Sir Thomas Davies, Sheriff and Lord-Mayor of London, and distinguished for his skill in the European languages. Dr. Humphrey Gower, Master of St. John's-College, Cambridge, and Margaret Professor of Divinity. Robert Nelson, Esq. Dr. Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough. George Doddington, Esq; uncle to the late Lord Melcombe. Dr. Thomas Tooke, an eminent School-master at Bishop Stortford. Samuel Rosewell, M. A. a dissenting Minister in London, and son of the Mr. Thomas Rosewell, whose trial by Lord Chief Justice Jefferies ranks among the most infamous proceedings of that execrable Judge. Roger Cotes, Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge. Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls, and Speaker of the House of Commons. Archibald, Earl of Forfar. Charles, the first Duke of Manchester. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Sir Edward Northey, Attorney-General. Dr. George Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Dr. Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Rochester. Dr. John Leng, Bishop of Norwich. Spencer Compton, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Wilmington. Spencer Cowper, Esq; Chief Justice of Chester. To these names we must not omit adding, Dr. Samuel Knight, Prebendary of Ely, from whom we have derived almost the whole of our information with regard to Dean Colet (62) ; and Dr. Arthur Ashley Sykes, the author of a great number of valuable publications, and one of the most eminent and learned Divines in the present century.] K.

(62) Knight's Life of Colet. Appendix, No. VII. p. 389—434.

learning,

c) Scotistas, stupidos omnino, ac sine ingenio homines judicabat: Thomistas, lymphatico spiritu arrogantes, i. e. He counted the Scotists stupid, senseless fellows; and the Thomists, mad. Balei Script. Brytanniae Centuria VIII. n. 63. p. 648. He abhorred the Scotists because they would be Divines, without so much as reading the Scriptures: Erasmus J. Jonæ.

(d) Knight, as above, p. 60, 61. 72.

learning, and was much admired by the great Sir Thomas More (b). He was, likewise, a great lover and encourager of the Greek tongue. With regard to *some of his notions*, he was a very eminent forerunner of the Reformation; and he and Erasmus jointly promoted it; not only by pulling down those strong holds of ignorance and corruption, the Scholastical Divinity, and routing entirely both the Scotists and Thomists, who had divided the Christian world between them (c), but also by discovering the shameful abuses of Monasteries, and the dangers of imposing celibacy on the Clergy: to which places, Colet gave little or nothing while he lived, and left not a farthing when he died; not so much out of hatred to their several orders, as because he found that few or none of them lived up to their vows and professions (d). He thought simple fornication in a Priest more excusable than pride and avarice; and was with no sort of men more angry, than with those Bishops, who, instead of shepherds, acted the part of so many wolves: he thought none more execrable than they, because, under the pretence of devotions, ceremonies, benedictions, and indulgences, they recommended themselves to the veneration of the people, while, in their own hearts, they were slaves to the world; that is, to glory and gain (e). He condemned auricular confession; and was content to say mass only upon Sundays and great festivals, or at least upon a very few days besides. He had gathered up several authorities from the ancient Fathers against the current tenets and customs of the Church; and though he did not care to fly in the face of the governors, yet he could not but favour those who disliked the way of worshipping images (f). As to his other qualifications, he was a man of exemplary temperance, and all other virtues. The Dean's table, which, under the name of hospitality, had before served to luxury, he contracted to a more frugal way of entertaining: and it having been his custom, for many years, to eat but one meal, that of dinner, he had always the evening to himself. As he dined late, he had but few guests; and the fewer, because his provision was frugal, though neat. The sittings were short, and the discourses such as pleased only the learned and the good. As soon as grace before meat was said, a boy read, with a loud voice, and distinctly, a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or the Proverbs of Solomon. When it was finished, the Dean raised, from some particular part of it, a subject matter of discourse. He was so impatient of whatsoever was foul or indecent, that he could not bear with an improper way of speaking. He loved to be neat and clean in his goods, furniture, entertainments, apparel, and books, and whatever belonged to him; but he despised all state and magnificence (g), there being in his demeanour the most unaffected simplicity imaginable (h).

(b) Knight, as above, p. 180. 156, &c.

(e) Erasmi Epist. Jodoco Jonæ.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Erasmus, ib.

(h) Knight, p. 266.

COLLIER (JEREMY), son of Jeremy Collier, was born at Stow Qui, or Quire, in Cambridgeshire, September 23, 1650. His father was a Divine, and considerable Linguist, and some time Master of the Free-school at Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk. His grandfather likewise was a Clergyman, settled at Bradford in Yorkshire, where he lived in esteem for his function. He was born at Yeadon, near Bradford, and descended from a gentleman's family of that name, seated at Thrusk, in the same county, in the reign of Henry VIII. His mother was Elizabeth Smith, of Qui, in Cambridgeshire, where her family were possessed of a considerable interest, and related to the Sternes of that town, being by her mother descended from the Keys, or Cays, of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. He was educated under his father at Ipswich, whence he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a poor Scholar of Caius-College, under the tuition of Mr. John Ellys. His admission bears date April 10, 1669, in the eighteenth year of his age. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1672-3, and that of Master of Arts in 1676, being ordained Deacon on the twenty-fourth of September the same year, by Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely, and Priest February 24, 1677, by Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London. Having entered into Priest's orders, he officiated some time at the Countess Dowager of Dorset's, at Knowle, in Kent, whence he removed to a small Rectory at Ampton, near St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, to which he was presented by James Calthorpe, Esq; and instituted by Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Norwich, Sept. 25, 1679. After he had held this benefice six years, he resigned it, and came to reside in London in 1685, and was, some little time after, made Lecturer at Gray's-Inn. But the Revolution coming on, the public exercise of his function became impracticable (a). He did not, however, think it compatible with his principles, at that critical conjuncture, to sit down contentedly, and say nothing; but finding, in that confusion which arose upon King James's going to France, that the Convention was, in a great measure, influenced by the papers written by a Clergyman who came over with the Prince of Orange, he thought the same liberty might be taken by a Clergyman who conceived differently from him, and accordingly broke the ice, and published the first pamphlet that appeared in defence of the cause which he espoused (b), and a very sharp piece it was [A]. When the government was

(b) From the information of a gentleman, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Collier.

(a) Thus far this article was (except some dates) drawn up by Mr. Collier himself.

[A] And a very sharp piece it was.] As this article cannot be rendered perspicuous, indeed hardly intelligible, without explaining the political and literary controversies in which this writer was engaged, we

shall endeavour to give as clear and concise an account of them as possible. In the month of December, 1688, the famous Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, sent abroad a very succinct, and well-written pamphlet,

was settled, by placing King William and Queen Mary upon the throne, Mr. Collier remained firm to the principles he had embraced, and continued not only to abstain from taking the oaths which the new legislature had imposed, but laboured all that in him lay to prevent others, more especially such members of the Church of England, from owning, or so much as complying with them. It was to this end that he wrote several warm and bitter pieces, which in those days had their effect, and consequently procured their author, in the opinion at least of those who were of his own party, the character both of a solid and shining writer [B]. There is no doubt but this conduct of his occasioned an eye to be kept over his proceedings, nor could it be supposed that any government would forbear the opportunity that occurred of giving some check, to so active, so industrious, and so dangerous a man. It was not long before such an occasion offered itself. Information was given to the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Secretary of State, that Mr. Collier, with one Mr. Newton, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was gone down to Romney-Marsh; which was enough to fix a suspicion, that they were either endeavouring to send intelligence to, or were labouring to receive it from, the other side of the water. Upon this, about the latter end of the year 1692, Messengers were sent down into Kent to apprehend them; which they accordingly did, and brought them to London, where, after a short examination before the Earl of Nottingham, who charged them with being in a design against the government, they were committed to the Gate-House (c). But, as no evidence of their being in any such design could be found, they were admitted to bail. So strict, however, were Mr. Collier's principles, that he had not long been at liberty, before he began to question the consistency of his own conduct in giving bail; upon which he went before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, surrendered in their discharge, and was committed to the King's Bench prison; but upon the application of some of his friends to that most upright and impartial Judge, he was discharged in a week or ten days (d). Yet even this

(c) As appears from the Contents of the Papers afterwards mentioned.

(d) As may be collected from the dates of several Papers mentioned in the note.

pamphlet, under the title of *An Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, and in particular whether we owe Allegiance to the King in these Circumstances, and whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again, or not? Published by Authority* (1). In this piece, the Doctor gives his sentiments very freely, as to the behaviour of King James, and the conduct that was to be observed towards him, as the reader will see from the following short quotation. 'In all

(1) See the Collection of Tracts written by Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

' that I have said concerning his desertion, I limit my reflections to his first leaving of Whitehall; for the accident at Feversham, and what followed after that, cannot be called a return to his people; and since the seals never appeared, and the King never spake of a Parliament, nor altered his measures in any thing, but still prosecuted his first design by his second escape, his deserting is still to be dated from his first going from Whitehall; and he having given that just advantage against himself, which came after all that series of injustice and violence, that had gone before it, no man can think, that it was not very fitting to carry it as far as it would go, and not to treat with him any more upon the foot of acknowledging him King (2). It was in answer to this treatise, and particularly to the argument insisted upon in this passage, that Mr. Collier wrote the piece mentioned in the text, and which was intitled,

(2) Enquiry into the present State of Affairs, p. 9.

I. *The Desertion discussed, in a Letter to a Country Gentleman.* Lond. 1688, 4to. He labours in this short pamphlet to shew, that the King, before his withdrawing, had sufficient grounds to be apprehensive of danger; that his leaving any representative behind him was impracticable at that juncture; and that there were no grounds, either from the laws of the realm, or of nature, to pronounce the throne void from such a retreat. To this pamphlet of Mr. Collier's, an answer was written by Edmund Bohun, Esq; in which he gives them the following character (3). 'The author of it is my acquaintance, and a person for whom I have a great esteem, both on the account of his profession, and of his personal worth, learning, and sobriety; so that I cannot believe he had any ill design, either in the writing, or the publishing of it; his zeal for the Church of England's loyalty, and the difficulty, and the unusualness of the present case, having been the occasions, if not the causes, of his mistake; and therefore I will endeavour to shew him, and the world, his error, with as much candour and sweetness, as he himself can wish; because I have the same design

(3) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, vol. i. p. 116.

' for the main that he had, viz. the honour of the Church of England, and the safety of government, and especially our monarchy.' But this was not the only answer Mr. Collier received; for his performance gave such offence, that after the government was settled, he was seized and committed to Newgate, where he continued a close prisoner for some months; but was at length discharged, without being brought to a trial. He afterwards wrote the following pieces, viz.

II. *A Translation of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Books of Sleidan's Commentaries.* Lond. 1689, 4to.

III. *Vindiciæ Juris Regii, or Remarks upon a Paper, intitled, An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the supreme Authority.* Lond. 1689, 4to. The author of this *Enquiry*, was also Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

IV. *Animadversions upon the modern Explanation of Hen. VII. cap. 1. or a King de Facto,* 1689, 4to.

[B] *The character both of a solid and shining writer.* As Mr. Collier was now embarked in an avowed opposition to the government, he laboured as much as in him lay to enlarge the strength of the party which he had joined; and with this view he continued to write, as the reader will see in the following catalogue of his works, during the space of less than two years.

V. *A Caution against Inconsistency, or the Connection between praying and swearing, in relation to the civil Powers,* 1690, 4to. This discourse is a dissuasive from joining in public assemblies.

VI. *A Dialogue concerning the Times, between Philobellus and Sempronius,* 1690, 4to. There was another dialogue, with much the same title, printed in 1692, and called a *second part*, but it was not Mr. Collier's, being a narrative of the *Revolution*, whereas Mr. Collier's relates chiefly to the authority of the *Convention*.

VII. *To the Right honourable the Lords and to the Gentlemen convened at Westminster,* October 1690, half sheet; it is a petition for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

VIII. *Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance considered, with some remarks upon his Vindication,* Lond. 1691, 4to.

IX. *A Brief Essay concerning the Independency of Church Power,* 1692, 4to. The design of this essay is to prove the public assemblies guilty of schism, upon account of their being held under such Bishops, as had assumed, or owned such, as had assumed the fees of those, that were deprived for not complying with the government, &c.

did not content him, as appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject [C]. In the space of some years following, there happened nothing that so far engaged this gentleman's attention, as to induce him to write against the transactions of the State, which were, generally speaking, the subjects that employed his pen. But upon the breaking out of that which was called the Assassination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noise, and deeply affected Mr. Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr. Collier, with Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt, both Clergymen of his own opinion, attended those unhappy persons at the place of execution, where Mr. Collier solemnly absolved the former, as Mr. Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the imposition of hands upon them both (e). This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noise, and was looked upon as a very high insult on the Civil and Ecclesiastical government; for which reason they fell under a severe prosecution on one side, in consequence of which Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were sent to Newgate, but afterwards were released without being brought to a trial; and Mr. Collier having still his old scruple about putting in bail, absconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived (f). On the other hand, both the Archbishops, and ten of their suffragans, viz. the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Coventry and Litchfield, Rochester, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chichester, and St. Asaph, published a very strong Declaration of their sense of this scandalous and irregular proceeding (g). To this our author wrote an answer with his usual vigour, and after that several other pieces, in support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair [D]. After this storm was a little over, Mr. Collier employed himself in reviewing and

(e) Compl. Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 719. Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 143.

(f) From the information before mentioned.

(g) This Declaration is to be found at large in the Appendix to the third Vol. of the State Tracts in the time of King William.

[C] As appears by several pieces of his written upon this subject. It seems that Mr. Collier had occasionally read Law, and this it was that induced him to make a scruple of remaining upon bail, because he apprehended that the very recognizance, by which bail was taken, carried in it an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the court, in which the bail was taken, and by consequence of the power whence the authority of that court was derived. In support of these principles, and in justification of his own conduct, he wrote the following pieces, of which it is said, there were only five copies printed.

X. *The case of giving bail to a pretended authority examined, dated from the King's Bench, November 23, 1692, with a preface dated December 1629, and a letter to Sir John Holt, dated November 30, 1692. And also a reply to some remarks upon the case of giving bail, &c. dated April 1693.* He wrote, soon after this,

XI. *A Persuasive to Consideration, tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England.* Lond. 1693, 4to. It was afterwards reprinted in 8vo. together with his vindication of it, against a piece entitled, *The Layman's Apology*, &c. written in confutation of that part of the Persuasive, which relates to the controversy about the frequenting the public assemblies.

XII. *Remarks upon the London Gazette, relating to the Straits Fleet, and the battle of Landen in Flanders, 1693, 4to.*

[D] In support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair. In order to form some notion of this transaction, it will be requisite to see that part of the Prelate's Declaration which relates to the conduct of these Clergymen, and in which they shew, that their proceeding was not to be justified by the doctrines or practice of the Church of England. Their words are these (4):

'For those Clergymen that took upon them to absolve these criminals at the place of execution, by laying all three together their hands upon their heads, and publicly pronouncing a form of absolution; as their manner of doing this was extremely insolent, and without precedent either in our Church, or any other that we know of; so the thing itself was altogether irregular.—The rubrick in our Office of the Visitation of the Sick, from whence they took the words they then used, and upon which, if upon any thing in our Liturgy, they must ground this their proceeding, gave them no authority nor pretence for the absolving these persons; nay, as they managed the affair, they acted, in this absolution, far otherwise than is there directed. That rubrick is concerning sick persons; and it is there required, First, *That the sick person shall be moved to make a special confession of his sins,*

if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; and then, after such confession, the Priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it. But here they absolved, and that publicly, persons condemned by law for execrable crimes, without so much as once moving them, at that time, to make a special confession of their sins, at least of those sins for which they were condemned. And on the other side, here were persons absolved that did not humbly desire absolution, as feeling any such weighty matter to trouble their conscience; but, on the contrary, in Sir John Friend's paper it is declared, that he had a great deal of satisfaction in suffering for that cause, which he firmly believed to be the cause of God and true religion. If these Ministers knew not the state of these men's souls before they gave them absolution, as it is manifest two of them, Mr. Snatt and Mr. Cook, did not as to Sir William Perkins, (they having since declared that they had not spoke with Sir William, till they were at the place of execution) how could they, without manifest transgression of the Church's order, as well as the profane abuse of the power Christ hath left with his Ministers, absolve them from all their sins? If they were acquainted with these men's sentiments declared in their papers, then they must look upon them either as hardened impenitents or as martyrs. We are so charitable to believe, that they would not absolve them under the former notion, for that had been in effect sealing them to damnation; but if they held these men to be martyrs, then their absolving them in that manner was a justification of those grievous crimes for which these men suffered, and an open affront to the laws both of Church and State. Upon the consideration of these things, and for the doing of right to our Church, which may otherwise suffer amongst such as are strangers to our constitution, by the evil principles and practices, both of the aforesaid criminals, and the three Clergymen that assisted them, who all pretended to be members of the Church of England, we do declare, that we disown and detest all such principles and practices, looking upon them as highly schismatical and seditious, dangerous both to the Church and State, and contrary to the true doctrine and spirit of the Christian religion. And we also take this occasion to warn and exhort all the people committed to our charge, to beware of such seducers, and to avoid them, lest, as the Apostle St. Peter speaks, *They be led away with the error of the wicked,* and fall from their steadfast adherence to the principles of the true Church of England, as it was established at the blessed Reformation of religion, and as, by God's especial Providence, it continues to this day.' What was farther done in this matter, will

(4) State Tracts in the Reign of King William, vol. iii. in the Appendix.

(b) See the particular subjects upon which they were written in the note.

and retouching several miscellaneous pieces of his, to which he added some others, and published them in a volume; and these were so well received, that about seven years afterwards he published another, and several years after that a third. These pieces of his were written upon religious, moral, and entertaining subjects, with such a mixture of learning and wit, and in a style so easy and flowing, that notwithstanding the prejudice of party which could not but be strong against him, they were generally well received, and have run through many editions since. One must indeed allow, that very few books had fairer for universal approbation, in an age, which, if not strictly virtuous, was at least highly decent; and when every body affected a concern for promoting whatever had a tendency to make men wiser, better, or more polite, all which ends were prosecuted with great effect in this collection of Essays (b) [E]. The very next year after the publication of the first volume of these Miscellaneous Discourses, Mr. Collier made an attempt to reform the Stage, which involved him in a very brisk controversy with several of the greatest wits, and ablest writers of the age; in which he acquitted himself with so much force and vivacity, that the most considerable of his antagonists were obliged, not only to quit the field of battle, but to confess that they were vanquished; and though some of them did not do this with the best grace, yet as their failing in point of manners ought to be attributed to the smart of their wounds, it is very far from reflecting upon the merit of our author, whose animadversions actually produced both repentance and amendment (i), and were the original cause

(i) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 192.

(c) Compl. Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 719; Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 174.

will best appear from Bishop Kenner's account, which runs thus (c): 'On April the 27th, the Lord Chief Justice (Holt) of the King's Bench, did likewise present to the Grand Jury, the shameful and pernicious practice of those three absolving Priests. Whereupon the Jury made a presentment to the Court, that Collier, Cook, and Snatt, Clerks, did take upon them to pronounce and give absolution to Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend, at the time of their execution at Tyburn, immediately before they had severally delivered a paper to the Sheriff of Middlesex, wherein they had severally endeavoured to justify the treasons for which they were justly condemned and executed. And that they, the said Collier, Cook, and Snatt, had thereby countenanced the same treasons, to the great encouragement of other persons to commit the like treasons, and to the scandal of the Church of England established by Law, and to the disturbance of the peace of this kingdom. Upon which the court ordered an indictment to be preferred against them, and on May the 8th, Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were committed to Newgate, for suspicion of high-treason and treasonable practices. But such was the lenity of the government, that no manner of punishment was inflicted on them; and Mr. Collier, with great assurance, published several papers to justify his practice.' The writings to which this Prelate referred were these:

XIII. *A defence of the Absolution given to Sir William Perkins at the place of execution, April 3d, with a farther Vindication thereof, occasioned by a paper entitled, A declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops, and Bishops, &c. The first dated April the 9th, 1696, the other April the 21st, 1696. To which is added a Postscript, in relation to a paper called an Answer to his Defence, &c. dated April 25. Also a Reply to the Absolution of a Penitent, according to the Directions of the Church of England, &c. dated May 20, 1696; and An Answer to the Animadversions on two Pamphlets lately published by Mr. Collier, &c. dated July 1, 1696, 4to.*

[E] All which ends were prosecuted with great effect, in this collection of Essays.] We have in the text, spoken in general of the several volumes of this collection, as if it had been composed in the same manner with other books of that kind; whereas, instead of being made up of detached discourses, it is rather composed of a variety of small pieces on different topics, which fell from the author's pen at a great distance of time; and after wandering most of them singly through the world, were at last drawn thus into a body to prevent their being lost. The title given them in their last edition is,

XIV. *ESSAYS upon several Moral Subjects, by Jeremy Collier, M. A. in three volumes, 8vo.* In order to give the reader a clear account of the contents of these volumes, which are not commonly understood to comprehend so large a part of their author's works as they really do, it is necessary to enter a little into particulars. The first volume is divided into two

parts, which were published separately. The first part consists of six Essays, viz. upon Pride, Clothes, Duelling, General Kindness, the Office of a Chaplain, and the Weakness of Human Reason. The four first are written in the way of dialogue, and with great spirit and vivacity; the two last are continued discourses. That on the Office of a Chaplain is particularly laboured, and has been looked upon as the author's master-piece, the reasoning being more close, the language more exact, and the thread of the argument better preserved, than in many of the rest. His Essay on the Weakness of Human Understanding is in some measure a declamation, but it ends with a moral reflection of great importance, and which perhaps this gentleman did not keep always in his mind (6). 'We may plainly perceive, says he, that the prejudices of education have a great stroke in many of our reasonings, and that the sentiments of men discover the colour of their original tinctures. And as there are some inbred principles impregnable against custom, so there are some customs which nature finds very difficult to deal with.'

(6) Collier's Miscellanies, vol. i. p. 240.

The second part contains seventeen discourses upon Fame, Music, the Value of Life, The Spleen, Eagerness of Desire, Friendship, Popularity, The Immateriality of the Soul, The Entertainment of Books, Confidence, Envy, The Aspects of Men, Despair, Covetousness, Liberty, Old Age, and Pleasure. Several of these are written in dialogue, but most of them are set discourses; and they are all of them calculated to inform the understanding, reform the manners, and to give a right turn to the thoughts of the reader.

The second volume contains the third part, in which, the author discourses of Pain, Revenge, Authors, Infancy and Youth, Riches and Poverty, Debauchery, Drunkenness, Usury, The Character of an Apostle, and of Solitude. Then follows a Translation of St. Gregory's Oration, in commendation of the Maccabees, Of the Unreasonableness of ill-timed Diversions, St. Cyprian's Discourse upon the Plague, His Description of the manners of the Age in which he lived, and his Discourse on Patience: it is closed by the author's Essay upon Discontent, written in dialogue. There is usually annexed to this volume, (though it was printed separately) An Essay upon Gaming, in a dialogue, which is at once an useful, entertaining, and most instructive performance. The third volume, and the fourth part, consists mostly of religious subjects, and was written after he had published the first volume of his Ecclesiastical History. In this he treats of Goodness, Honesty, Religious Temper, Lying, Fortitude, Flattery, Theft, Peace, and the Resurrection. All these topics are treated with very great plainness and freedom; and many of the thoughts are new and singular. Such as are written in dialogue, are well sustained; and if we abate the floweriness of the language, which was the fashion, I will not say the fault of that time, it will be difficult to find any essays more capable of affording a rational pleasure, than those of our author.

of

of that decorum, which has been, for the most part, observed by the modern writers of dramatic poetry. The titles of his pieces upon this occasion will be found in the notes [F]. His abilities and industry were next exercised in a much larger work than any he had hitherto undertaken, which was that of making Moreri's performance useful to the English nation; in which he laboured for many years with great success, taking all the precautions possible to be well informed as to the new articles he published; and so well were his endeavours in this kind received by the public, notwithstanding some exceptions that were taken to them, that few books have met with a better fate, or

[F] *Will be found in the notes.*] It was certainly a very bold thing in Mr. Collier, to attack at once the Wits and the Witlings of those times: among the first, were Mr. Dryden, Mr. Congreve, and Mr. Vanbrugh; amongst the latter, were Tom Durfey and many more; but he is certainly to be commended for forming so good a design, as that of reducing the stage to order, and thereby preventing the morals of mankind from being corrupted, where they ought to be amended: the first he published with this design, had the following title.

XV. *A short view of the immorality and profaneness of the English Stage, together with the sense of Antiquity upon this argument*, Lond. 1698, 8vo. It is a very methodical and learned work: he begins with shewing the immodesty and indecency of the stage, and the ill consequences that attend it; he proves next, that the Roman and Greek theatres were much more inoffensive than the English, and then produces the authorities of Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the French Poet Corneille, against the modern Stage. He proceeds to open the indictment by a charge of profaneness, which he supports by instances from several pieces of Mr. Dryden, Mr. Otway, Mr. Congreve, and Vanbrugh. His second charge is the abuse of the Clergy; his third relates to immorality encouraged by the Stage: he then descends to some remarks upon Amphitryon, exposes the horrid profaneness of the comical History of Don Quixote; then criticizes the Relapse, or Virtue in Danger; he concludes with producing the opinions of the Heathen Philosophers, Orators, and Historians, the restraints imposed upon the Stage by the laws in several countries, and the sentiments of the Fathers of the Church.

In answer to this, Mr. Congreve published a little piece, intitled, *Amendments of Mr. Collier's false and imperfect citations from the old Batchelor, the Double Dealer, &c.* It must be allowed, that in this piece, the ingenious author is very hard put to it, and struggles with infinite difficulty to give a fair gloss to passages, that, in the natural sense of the words, convey a very different meaning; and besides this, there is an air of anger and resentment runs through the whole piece, which plainly shews how much the author felt the weight of that censure he endeavours to ridicule, and would be thought to despise. Mr. Vanbrugh, afterwards Sir John Vanbrugh, likewise published a small piece in support of his own performances, under the title of, *A short Vindication of the Relapse, and the Provok'd Wife*; but this was very far from dejecting, or silencing our author. He thought he had a good cause, and that he was able to manage it with as much sense and spirit as any of his adversaries; and he found by experience too, that he was as well heard as they by the public; all which encouraged him to return to the charge, and to defend what he had written, not only against these, but against several other authors, who thought fit to enter the lists on the side of the Poets, against the Priest. These pieces of his were,

XVI. *A Defence of the Short View, &c. being a Reply to Mr. Congreve's Amendments, &c. And to the Vindication of the author of the Relapse*, Lond. 1699, 8vo.

XVII. *A Second Defence of the Short View, &c. Being a Reply to a Book intitled, The Ancient and Modern Stages surveyed, &c. Lond. 1700, 8vo.* The Book here replied to, was written by Dr. Drake.

XVIII. *Mr. Collier's Dissuasive from the Play-House; in a letter to a Person of Quality, occasioned by the late calamity of the Tempest*, Lond. 1703, 8vo.

XIX. *A farther Vindication of the Short View, &c. in which the Objections of a late Book, intitled, A Defence of Plays, are considered*, Lond. 1703, 8vo.

The Defence of Plays, has Dr. Filmer for its author.

We have shewn in the text, what the event was of this long dispute, in support of which, I shall produce what Mr. Dryden says upon this subject (7). 'I shall say the less of Mr. Collier, because in many things he has taxed me justly, and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly arraigned of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one: yet it were not difficult to prove, that in many places he has perverted my meaning by his glosses, and interpreted my words into blasphemy and bawdry, of which they were not guilty; besides that, he is too much given to horse-play in his raillery, and comes to battle like a Dictator from the plough: I will not say the zeal of God's house has eaten him up; but I am sure, it has devoured some part of his good manners and civility. It might also be doubted, whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted him to this rough manner of proceeding; perhaps it became not one of his function, to rake into the rubbish of ancient and modern plays: a Divine might have employed his pains to better purpose, than in the nastiness of Plautus and Aristophanes, whose examples, as they excuse not me, so it might possibly be supposed, that he read them not without some pleasure. They, who have written commentaries on those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have explained some vices, which, without their interpretation, had been unknown to modern times; neither has he judged impartially between the former age and us. There is more bawdry in one Play of Fletcher's, called, The Custom of the Country, than in all ours together, yet this has been often acted on the stage in my remembrance. Are the times so much more reformed now, than they were five and twenty years ago? if they are, I congratulate the amendment of our morals; but I am not to prejudice the cause of my Fellow-Poets, though I abandon my own defence. They have some of them answered for themselves, and neither they nor I can think Mr. Collier so formidable an enemy, that we would shun him. He has lost ground at the latter end of the day, by pursuing his point too far, like the Prince of Condé at the battle of Seneff. From immoral plays to no plays; *ab abusu ad usum non valet consequentia*. But being a party I am not to erect myself into a Judge.'

The first part of Mr. Dryden's apology is so very decent, and withal so very just, that one cannot help being sorry he did not rest it there; but as to what follows, it is little to the purpose: he has owned, that Mr. Collier has shewn him his faults, and yet he is out of humour that they were shewn. Was it in his power to prove his charge against the stage any other way than he has done? did not the quibbling and prevarications of his antagonists, compel him to explain things so broadly? and might not any criminal at the bar charge the Attorney-General, with being a traitor in his heart, for setting forth, and insisting upon his own treasons with the same force of argument, that is used in retorting upon Mr. Collier? The truth is, that men offend with gaiety of heart, but repent with bitterness of soul; which is the reason, that though they cannot help owning the physic has done them good, yet they cannot avoid bearing ill-will to the doctor.

(k) From the information before-mentioned.

longer maintained their credit [G]. After the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, great endeavours were used to recover Mr. Collier to the Church, by inducing him to comply with the terms prescribed by the State. All efforts of this kind, though supported not only with general promises of preferment, but with more particular assurances, were ineffectual; and Mr. Collier remained among the Nonjuring Clergy, as seeing no reason to alter his sentiments from any change that had happened, and being incapable of dissembling an alteration for the sake of temporal views (k). About the same time that he published the first volume of his Dictionary, he likewise obliged the world with a very elegant translation from the Greek, of that famous book of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, which has done more credit to his memory than even his excellent administration of public affairs during a reign which does honour to the Roman History (l). This translation was universally well received on its first appearance, and continues to be read with all the applause, that so well written, and so useful a treatise of Moral Philosophy deserves [H]. The situation of those times, and the many worthy and generous patrons of whatever regarded the honour of this kingdom who then flourished, encouraged Mr. Collier to hope, that an Ecclesiastical History of Great-Britain, which, in the extent he intended it, had never been attempted by any Protestant writer before, might meet with general acceptance. Accordingly, proposals were published for sending abroad such a work, and the offer very well received; and such encouragements given, as induced him to prosecute with diligence the great design he had formed, and at length finished, of a copious History of Church Affairs, from the first entrance of Christianity into this Island, to the close of the reign of Henry VII. This all parties allowed to be a work of great labour and learning, methodically and elegantly written; but in other respects they differed, as might well be supposed, in their judgments concerning its merit [I]. After the pains this book had cost him,

(l) See the Life of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, translated from the French of M. Dacier, prefixed to that work.

[G] Or longer maintained their credit.] We shall in this note give an account of the different times, in which the several parts of this Dictionary were published, and of other circumstances relating to them, that may be worth the reader's knowing.

XX. *The Great Historical, Geographical, Genealogical, and Poetical Dictionary, &c.* four volumes, fol.

The two first volumes were printed in the year 1701, and the author gave notice in his preface, that such of the articles as were of a later date than the year 1688, were composed by another hand. The third volume was published, under the title of *A Supplement, &c.* in 1705, and was reprinted in 1727. It is in the preface to this, that he answers the objections made to his conduct; and to prevent those articles being taken for his, which in this volume also, were written by another hand, they are placed under another alphabet. The fourth and last volume, which in the title page is called *An Appendix*, as in reality it is to the other three, was printed in 1721. The whole is certainly a great treasure of Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Learning; and is not only very useful and entertaining to young scholars, who may by the help of it acquire much knowledge, and enter thoroughly into the meaning of the books they read in any of these kinds of learning; but even to persons of the greatest abilities, and most comprehensive science, who have but small libraries, and live at a distance from London, and the two Universities. Yet this work is certainly capable of great improvements, and these might be made without enlarging the bulk, for it might be reduced under one alphabet; whereas at present there are four or five; and as by this means a multitude of repetitions, alterations, and corrections, might be thrown out, so this would make room for new articles, which might be easily found in the last edition of Moreri's Dictionary, now enlarged to seven volumes. The learned reader will easily discern, that this is no reflection either upon Mr. Collier's memory or his performance, since he did all that was possible to be done at the time he wrote; and the inconveniences before mentioned were unavoidable from his manner of publication, as that too, with respect to him, was a matter not of choice but of necessity.

[H] *That so well written, and so useful a treatise of Moral Philosophy deserves.*] This work of Mr. Collier's has since borne three impressions, all of them under the following title:

XXI. *The Emperor Marcus Antoninus his conversation with himself. Together with the preliminary Discourse of the learned Gataker, &c. to which is added, the Mythological Picture of Cebes the Theban.*
VOL. IV.

Translated into English from the respective originals, Lond. 1701, 8vo.

This is one of the best collections we have in the English tongue of the Morals of the Antients; and, in conjunction with the works of Plutarch, Epictetus, and Seneca, will make an admirable library of that kind. The pieces of which it is composed are very well chosen, and illustrate each other perfectly, so as to render all the passages in them clear and intelligible; and yet it is of a very moderate size, and has nothing in it redundant, or foreign to the purpose.

[I] *Concerning its merit.*] As this great work was published in two volumes at different times, it is requisite to speak of them separately. The first bore the following title:

XXII. *An Ecclesiastical History of Great-Britain, chiefly of England, from the first planting of Christianity, to the end of the Reign of King Charles II. With a brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in Ireland. Collected from the best antient Historians, Councils, and Records, fol. 1702, Vol. I. which comes down to the Reign of Henry VII.*

As the scheme of this work was in itself of large extent, it required a great knowledge in Divinity, History, and Antiquity, and a very assiduous application to the perusal of Records and manuscripts, as well as a vast variety of antient and modern authors; and the performance itself demonstrates very great care to have been taken in all these respects. The method in which this History is written is very clear and exact, his authorities are constantly cited by the author, his remarks are short and pertinent, and, with respect to the dissertations that are occasionally inserted, they are such as tend to illustrate and explain those perplexed points of which they treat, and contribute thereby to the clearer understanding of the narration. The style is very uniform and grave, which is the more remarkable, because the author, in other writings, has shewn as lively a fancy, and as much quickness of wit, as any writer of his own time; but he knew this would be improper here, and therefore it is with great judgment avoided. He speaks modestly and respectfully of most of the Historians who went before him, and if he is any where severe, he takes care that his reason shall go along with his censure. His own peculiar sentiments with respect to religion and government may be in some places discerned; but taking the whole together, it will be found as judicious and impartial a work, as the world, in doing justice to his talents, could have expected it: yet, as we have hinted in the text, it was far enough from escaping the censure of the Critics, but was still

(m) See the Preface to the third Vol. of his Miscellanies.

(n) From the information before-mentioned.

him, our author thought a season of repose necessary, or, as he himself expresses it, judged it convenient *to breathe a little after a folio* (m); yet without dropping, or so much as discontinuing his former design. But knowing that it required not only assiduity and vigilance, but the utmost prudence and circumspection likewise, he chose to act cautiously, and rather to apologize to the public for his delay, than to precipitate matters in order to hurry his work through the press. In the year 1713 he was consecrated a Bishop by Dr. George Hickes, who was himself consecrated Suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Bishops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough (n), Feb. 23, 1694. In the succeeding year came abroad the second volume of his Ecclesiastical History, which met with a different reception from persons of different sentiments, being applauded by some and censured by others. Of the latter there were those who made a considerable figure in the learned world, against whose objections the author thought it incumbent upon him to write [K]. As he grew in years, that great share of health which he had enjoyed was interrupted by frequent attacks of the stone, to which there is no doubt that his sedentary life might much contribute; so that from this time we hear of nothing that he published farther, excepting a collection of Sermons, of which, together with some smaller pieces prefixed to other men's works, an account will be given at the bottom of the page [L]. He lived, however, several years in an indiffe-

much happier in that respect than the second volume, in speaking of which we shall shew who these Critics were, as well as the titles of the pieces written by our author in his own defence, and in justification of his History.

[K] *Thought it incumbent upon him to write.* As the second volume of his Ecclesiastical History took in the entire account of the Reformation, and the struggles with the Puritans from their first appearance, to the overturning of our constitution in Church and State; so it must be naturally supposed, that a man of Mr. Collier's principles could never treat these delicate subjects, without affording some room, for such as were desirous of criticizing him, to take offence. Dr. Nicholson, Bishop of Derry, has treated him with great severity, not to say more, in the character he has given of his works. Bishop Burnet and Bishop Kennet, who were infinitely better judges as well as writers, have corrected him with great decency. Mr. Collier defended himself against them all, in the pieces of which we shall presently speak: but before we come to them, it may not be amiss to remark a single, and a shining, instance of his impartiality, and that is, in disculpating the Presbyterians from the false and scandalous imputations that had been thrown upon them, as if they consented to, or at least temporized in, the murder of King Charles I. from which he has vindicated them with equal perspicuity and justice; and has fully shewn, that as they only had it in their power to oppose, so to the utmost extent of that power they did oppose, and protest against that bloody fact, both before and after it was committed (8).

(8) Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 859, 860.

The pieces written by him in defence of his History are these:

XXIII. *An Answer to some exceptions in Bishop Burnet's third part of the History of the Reformation, &c. against Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History; together with a Reply to some Remarks in Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, &c. upon the same subject*, fol. Lond. 1715.

XXIV. *Some Remarks on Dr. Kennet's second and third Letters, wherein his misrepresentations of Mr. Collier's Ecclesiastical History are laid open, and his calumnies disproved*, Lond. 1717, fol. and 8vo. But in the octavo it is called *Some Considerations*, &c.

[L] *Will be given at the bottom of the page.* The collection of Sermons mentioned in the text, came abroad under this title.

XXV. *Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects*, Lond. 1725, 8vo. The last discourse of this collection had been printed separately, in 1723, with the following title. *The comparison between giving and receiving, with the reasons for preference; stated in a Sermon, preached at Whitehall, April 19th, 1687*, 4to.

XXVI. *God not the Origin of Evil, being an additional Sermon to a collection of Mr. Collier's Discourses*, &c. Lond. 1726, 8vo.

He published also *An Advertisement against Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*, which was printed on a slip of paper, and dispersed in all the Coffee-houses in 1724, and is to be seen in the Evening Post,

No. 2254. Besides this, he wrote several Prefaces, &c. As (1.) *An Advertisement concerning the Author, and the translation of Maxims and Reflections upon Play*, in answer to a Discourse of the lawfulness and unlawfulness of Plays, printed before a late Play intitled, *Beauty in Distress*, written in French, by the Bishop of Meaux, Lond. 1669. (2.) *A Recommendatory Preface to Tully's five Books de Finibus, &c. Done into English by S. P. (Sam. Parker) Gent. Together with an Apology for the philosophical writings of Cicero, in a letter to the Translator*; by Mr. Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1702. (3.) *A Recommendatory Preface to human Souls naturally immortal, translated from a Latin MS. by S. E.* Lond. 1707. Of this Preface Mr. Norris makes honourable mention in his letter to Mr. Dodwell, concerning the immortality of the Soul of Man, and says that Mr. Collier's single remark against Mr. Locke, is, in his opinion, worth all the book besides (9). It is also upon good grounds believed, that he was concerned, amongst others, in collecting the passages referred to by Dr. Henry Sacheverell, in his answer to the articles of his impeachment. C.

(9) Mr. Norris's Letter to Mr. Dodwell, p. 107.

*. * [Though out of regard to our ingenious predecessor, Dr. Campbell, we have retained his article of Collier without alteration, and have done the same with relation to his other articles, we cannot avoid, nevertheless, expressing our disapprobation of several things which are here advanced. Respect is undoubtedly due to men of ability, character, and learning, of every party; but yet a distinction ought to be made between those who appear in the cause of absurdity, bigotry, and slavery, and those who distinguish themselves on the side of reason, moderation, and liberty. The former, however worthy they might be in private life, and however upright in their intentions, cannot be entitled to the esteem and applause which belong to the latter. They ought not to be spoken of in the same terms of approbation, or treated as if their writings were equally just and meritorious. It might be imagined, from the general tenor of Dr. Campbell's article, that Collier deserved to be ranked among the principal ornaments of this country. And yet whoever attends to the incidents of his life, and considers the list of his works, will perceive that he was engaged in defending the most flagrant absurdities, and in exercising the most determined hostilities against the civil and religious interests of these kingdoms. The very mention of several of the subjects he wrote upon, would be sufficient, in the present age, to expose the extreme narrowness of his mind. His treatment of the most respectable characters can never be justified. In a pamphlet of his, entitled, "Remarks upon some late Sermons," he reflected upon the excellent Archbishop Tillotson with uncommon bitterness and indecency; and when properly animadverted upon by Dr. John Williams, persisted in defending his conduct (10).

Collier's Essays may be reckoned among the most valuable of his writings; but yet they do not by any means deserve the praises which Dr. Campbell has bestowed

(10) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 344.

indifferent state of health, sometimes tolerably free, and at others grievously afflicted by his old distemper, which brought him to his grave April 26, 1726; and, three days after, his

bestowed upon them. Though not destitute of ingenuity, they are composed in a bad taste. The author is fond of point and antithesis, and his language is quaint and affected. This part of his works was, indeed, much admired and extolled for a time, but could not stand the test of just criticism. The improprieties of composition with which the essays abound, were well and amply exposed in a book now little known, though of considerable merit, written by a Mr. Constable, and the title of which is, "Reflections on the Accuracy of Style." The reputation of Collier, as a polite author, quickly subsided. Dr. Campbell, therefore, was peculiarly unfortunate in saying of his Essays, that very few books had fairer for universal approbation.

The work of Mr. Collier that has been the most celebrated, and which produced the greatest effect, was his view of the immorality and profaneness of the English stage. Dr. Johnson's account of the attention it excited, and of the controversy occasioned by it, is too interesting to be omitted. "About this time, says the Doctor, began the long-continued controversy between Collier and the poets. In the reign of Charles the first, the Puritans had raised a violent clamour against the drama, which they considered as an entertainment not lawful to Christians, an opinion held by them in common with the Church of Rome; and Prynne published *Histrio-mastix*, a huge volume, in which stage-plays were censured. The outrages and crimes of the Puritans brought afterwards their whole system of doctrine into disrepute, and from the restoration the poets and the players were left at quiet; for to have molested them would have had the appearance of tendency to the puritanical malignity.

"This danger, however, was worn away by time; and Collier, a fierce and implacable non-juror, knew that an attack upon the theatre would never make him suspected for a Puritan: he therefore (1698) published *A short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, I believe with no other motive than religious zeal and honest indignation. He was formed for a Controversialist; with sufficient learning; with diction vehement and pointed, though often vulgar and incorrect; with unconquerable pertinacity; with wit in the highest degree keen and sarcastic; and with all those powers exalted and invigorated by just confidence in his cause.

"Thus qualified, and thus incited, he walked out to battle; and assailed at once most of the living writers, from Dryden to Duffey. His outset was violent: those passages which while they stood single had passed with little notice, when they were accumulated and exposed together, excited horror: the wise and the pious caught the alarm, and the nation wondered why it had so long suffered irreligion and licentiousness to be openly taught at the public charge.

"Nothing now remained for the Poets but to resist or fly. Dryden's conscience, or his prudence, angry as he was, withheld him from the conflict; Congreve and Vanbrugh attempted answers. Congreve, a very young man, elated with success, and impatient of censure, assumed an air of confidence and security. His chief artifice of controversy is to retort upon his adversary his own words: he is very angry, and hoping to conquer Collier with his own weapons, allows himself in the use of every term of contumely and contempt; but he has the sword without the arm of Scanderbeg; he has his antagonist's coarseness, but not his strength. Collier replied; for contest was his delight; he was not to be frightened from his purpose, or his prey.

"The cause of Congreve was not tenable: whatever glosses he might use for the defence or palliation of single passages, the general tenour and tendency of his plays must always be condemned. It is acknowledged, with universal conviction, that the perusal of his works will make no man better;

"and that their ultimate effect is to represent pleasure in alliance with vice, and to relax those obligations by which life ought to be regulated.

"The stage found other advocates, and the dispute was protracted through ten years: but at last comedy grew more modest, and Collier lived to see the reward of his labour, in the reformation of the theatre.

"Of the powers by which this important victory was achieved, a quotation from *Love for Love*, and the remark upon it, may afford a specimen.

"Sir Sampson. *Sampson's a very good name; for your Sampsons were strong dogs from the beginning.*

"Angelica. *Have a care—If you remember, the strongest Sampson of your name pulled an old house over his head at last.*

"Here you have the sacred history burlesqued, and Sampson once more brought into the house of Dagon, to make sport for the Philistines (11)."

The author of the Supplement to Mr. Doddsley's Preface to his select Collection of old Plays, has likewise given a short account of this controversy, which deserves to be inserted, as it contains two or three curious facts, not hitherto noticed.

"While the rival theatres were contending against each other with inveterate malice, an enemy to the very toleration of dramatic entertainments appeared, who, with considerable ability, and with all the rigid puritanical maxims of a severe sect, attacked the stage on account of its profaneness and immorality. This was the celebrated Jeremy Collier, who in 1697 (1698) published a book, containing a severe invective against the acting of plays, the profligacy of the performers, and the licentiousness of the poets; and having some truth and justice on his side, the advocates for the theatre found themselves hard pressed to answer the charges brought against their favourite diversion. It cannot be denied but that many authors, and some in great favour with the public, had written in a manner which warranted the censure of every person who professed the least regard to propriety or decency. Mr. Collier was opposed by Congreve, Vanbrugh, Dryden, Dennis, and others, with wit and humour, but without confuting the objections which had been started either against themselves individually, or against the stage in general. The public opinion ran so much against the defenders of the theatre, and in favour of their enemy, that King William considered Mr. Collier's book as a work which entitled the author of it to some lenity in a prosecution then carrying on in consequence of errors in his political conduct. This controversy produced as much as could be wished for from it. Mr. Cibber observes, the calling our dramatic writers to this strict account had a very wholesome effect upon those who wrote after this time. They were now a great deal more upon their guard; indecencies were no longer wit; and by degrees the fair sex came again to fill the boxes on the first day of a new comedy, without fear or censure.

"To forward the stage's reformation, prosecutions were commenced against some of the performers, for repeating profane and indecent words. Several were found guilty, and Betterton and Mrs. Bracegirdle were actually fined. These severities were not entirely thrown away. From this period may be dated the introduction of that more refined taste which hath done so much credit to the British theatre (12)."

An author, who seems to inherit Mr. Collier's principles concerning passive obedience and non-resistance, as well as his aversion to theatrical entertainments in general, hath lately given the following high character of his attack upon the stage. "I question, says the writer we refer to, whether any man can read Swift's Tale of a Tub, or Don Quixote's Visions, without finding himself the worse for it. In regard to all such indiscreet applications of wit, every young student may guard his mind, and rec-

(11) Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 49—53. Octavo edition, of 1783.

(12) Select Collection of Old Plays, vol. i. Second edition. Preface, p. xcviij—c.

his body was interred in the church-yard of St. Pancras. He was in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and preserved the free use of his senses to the very last. As to his character, we have already given it in the impartial history of his works, and shall therefore only add, that his morals were unexceptionable; and that, as his conduct had in it all the regularity becoming a Clergyman, so his behaviour had nothing stiff or pedantic, but all that life, spirit, and innocent freedom, which constitute the good breeding of a gentleman. His reputation as a man of letters extended beyond the bounds of his own country; for the learned and ingenious Father Courbeville, who translated into French the Hero of Balthazar Gracian, in the Preface of that work, speaks in the highest terms of praise of our author's Miscellaneous Works, which he says set him on a level with Montaigne, St. Evremond, La Bruyere, &c. The same reverend and learned person translated into French Mr. Collier's *Short View of the English Stage*, and thence takes occasion to speak of him again, with all the marks of admiration and esteem possible.

(13) Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils, p. 32.

"tify his judgment, by reading Mr. Collier's view of the profaneness and immorality of the English stage; a book which brought Dryden himself to repentance, and does indeed beggar every work upon the same argument. It is the triumph of wit over scurrility; of piety over profaneness; of learning over ignorance; and of Christianity over atheism (13)." This encomium is carried too far, and especially the assertion that Collier's book beggars every work upon the same argument. It is not to be compared with Rousseau's famous Treatise, in Answer to D'Alembert, concerning the question whether there ought to be a theatre at Geneva. Rousseau, in his reasonings against dramatic entertainments, particularly in small cities, is profound, philosophical, and discriminating; whereas Collier is harsh and violent, and doth not make the proper distinction between the use and abuse of plays.

Some of Mr. Collier's other writings have their merit and utility. He was a diligent and laborious compiler; but his Historical Dictionary does not seem at present to be in much use and estimation. It is very little service that we have hitherto been able to

derive from it in the prosecution of the Biographia.

Collier's Ecclesiastical History is not destitute of ability and learning; but it is written upon such narrow principles as must ever detract from its reputation. Bishop Burnet's character of it we apprehend to be too just to be reasonably called in question. "I shall say no more of that work, observes the Bishop, but that there appeared to me quite through the second volume, such a constant inclination to favour the popish doctrine, and to censure the reformers, that I should have had a better opinion of the author's integrity, if he had professed himself not to be of our communion, nor of the communion of any other Protestant Church (14)."

In Mr. Gutch's *Miscellanea Curiosa*, are preserved, "Observations upon the Remarks of Mr. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, on several passages in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation," by the learned Mr. John Lewis of Margate. It is apparent, from these observations, that Collier's dislike of that excellent prelate, rendered him guilty of grossly misrepresenting him, in a variety of instances.] K.

(14) Preface to Burnet's third volume of his History of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. vi.

* * [COLLINS (JOHN), a mathematician of considerable eminence in the seventeenth century, was born at Wood Eaton, in Oxfordshire, on the 5th of March, 1624 (a). He was the son of a Nonconformist divine [A]; and is said to have received such an education, "as disposed his mind to the full pursuit of truth, and formed and directed his thoughts to distinguish rightly, and to reason justly (b)." When he had attained the age of sixteen, he was put apprentice to a bookseller at Oxford; but the war between the king and the parliament breaking out soon after, he quitted that trade, and was employed in clerkship under Mr. John Marr, one of the clerks of the kitchen to the Prince of Wales, who was eminent for his skill in the mathematics, and for some excellent dials, with which the gardens of King Charles I. were adorned (c). From Mr. Marr he derived some instruction in mathematics; but was obliged to quit his employment under him, in consequence of the confusions that were occasioned by the civil war. He then went to sea for seven years, and spent the greatest part of that time on board an English merchant-man, which became a man of war in the service of the Venetians against the Turks. In this situation, having much leisure, he applied part of his time to the study of the mathematics, and merchants accounts; and, upon his return to England, taught them together with writing (d).

(a) Wood's Fasti Oxoniensis, vol. ii. col. 116.

(b) Gen. Dict.

(c) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(d) Birch's Hist. of the Royal Society, vol. iv. p. 232.

In the year 1652, he published 'An Introduction to Merchants Accounts [B],' which had been drawn up for the use of his scholars. In 1685, he published, in 4to, his 'Sector

[A] He was the son of a Nonconformist divine.] Wood says, 'His father was a Nonconformist divine, and though not suffered to preach in churches, yet in prisons to malefactors, which, with the correcting of the press, obtained him a subsistence (1).'

(1) Fasti, vol. ii. col. 116.

Dr. Calamy mentions a Nonconformist minister, whose name was John Collins, and who might possibly be the father of our author; but whether he was, or not, we are unable to ascertain. Of this Mr. Collins, the following is Dr. Calamy's account. He was not an incumbent any where when the uniformity act took place; but was Chaplain to General Monk, when he came out of Scotland. He afterwards succeeded Mr. Mallory as pastor of a considerable Independent Church in this city. He was also one of the Lecturers at Pinners-Hall. He was a man mighty in the Scriptures, and one of a sweet temper, and very charitable to all good men, with-

out confining himself to a party. He died anno. 1687 (2). Dr. Calamy also says, 'He had a son that was educated for the ministry at Utrecht, and was fellow-labourer with Mr. Bragg in this city, and one of the Lecturers at Pinners-Hall, who died a few years since (3).'

If the John Collins, mentioned by Dr. Calamy, was father to the mathematician, he must have survived his son. But, upon the whole, it is probable that he was not, as it is not likely that Dr. Calamy would have been entirely unacquainted with it, if he had been father to a man so well known in the learned world.

[B] *An Introduction to Merchants Accounts.*] This was reprinted in 1665, but the greatest part of the impression was consumed in the fire of London the year following. A new edition was published in 1674, in folio, with additions (4).

(2) Calamy's Account of Ejected Ministers, vol. ii. p. 837, 838. Second edit.

(3) Continuation, vol. ii. p. 962.

(4) Birch's Hist. of the Royal Society, vol. iv. p. 232.

on

on a Quadrant; or a 'Treatise concerning the Description and Use of four several Quadrants,' &c. The following year he published his 'Mariner's plain Scale new plained,' and his 'Treatise of geometrical Dialling;' and in 1664, he published, 'The Doctrine of Decimal Arithmetic, Simple Interest, &c. as also of Compound Interest and Annuities, generally performed for any time of payment (e).'

(e) Birch and Wood, *ut supra*.

After the Restoration, Mr. Collins was appointed Accountant to the Excise-Office, then kept in Bartholomew-lane, near the Royal Exchange. On the 10th of October, 1667, he had the honour of being proposed as a candidate for election into the Royal Society by Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury; and he was chosen a Fellow on the 17th of that month (f). The same year he communicated a paper to the Society, which was published in the Philosophical Transactions, N^o 30, for December, 1667, in which he fully explained, and demonstrated, the rule given by the learned Jesuit De Billy for 'finding the number of the Julian period for any year assigned, the cycles of the sun and moon with the Roman indiction for the year being given.' To this he added some very neatly contrived rules for the ready finding on what day of the week any day of the month falls for ever; and other the most useful and necessary kalendar rules (g).

(f) Birch, *ubi supra*.

(g) Gen. Dict.

In 1668, he had the offer of an employment in Ireland, but did not accept it, as he was not inclined to quit his own country (h). In the Philosophical Transactions, N^o 46, for April, 1669, was published a curious Dissertation, by Mr. Collins, "concerning the Resolutions of Equations in Numbers;" wherein are several hints towards some of the most considerable advances which have been since made in the refined parts of the mathematics, particularly with respect to the doctrine of differences (i).

(h) Birch, *ut supra*.

(i) Gen. Dict. Lowthorp's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, vol. i. p. 60.

When Anthony, the first Earl of Shaftesbury, was Lord High Chancellor, Mr. Collins was nominated by that nobleman, in divers references concerning suits depending in Chancery, to assist in stating intricate accounts: and this service was so ably performed by him, that his reputation in that respect occasioned him to be much employed in other places, and by other persons (k). He was also appointed Accountant to the Royal Fishery Company (l). In 1671, a paper by Mr. Collins was published in the Philosophical Transactions, N^o 69, containing an elegant construction of that chronographical problem: 'The distances of three objects in the same plane, and the angles made at a fourth place in that plane, by observing each object, being given; to find the distances of those objects from the place of observation (m).'

(k) Birch, *ut supra*, p. 233.

(l) Gen. Dict.

(m) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collins did not confine his attention wholly to mathematical studies, but engaged also in other inquiries, and such as were of a public-spirited nature. In 1680, he published, at London, a small treatise, in 4^{to}. intituled, 'A Plea for the bringing in of Irish Cattle, and keeping out the Fish caught by Foreigners; together with an Address to the Members of Parliament of the Counties of Cornwall and Devon, about the advancement of Tin, Fishery, and divers Manufactures.' In 1682, he published, in 4^{to}. a 'Discourse of Salt and Fishery,' under the following heads: I. The several ways of making salts in England and foreign parts. II. The characters and qualities of good and bad of these several sorts of salts; English refined being asserted to be much better than any foreign. III. The catching and curing or salting of the most eminent or staple sorts of fish for long or short keeping. IV. The salting of flesh. V. The cookery of fish and flesh. VI. Extraordinary experiments for preserving butter, flesh, fish, fowl, fruits and roots, fresh and sweet for long keeping. VII. The case and sufferings of the salt-workers. VIII. Proposals for their relief, and for the advancement of the fishery, woollen, tin, and divers other manufactures (n).

(n) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collins did not long survive the publication of this piece. After the act at Oxford, July 10, 1682, riding from thence to Malmesbury in Wiltshire, in order to view the ground to be cut for a river between the Isis and Avon, and drinking cyder while he was hot, he contracted an asthma and consumption, which at length put a period to his life. He died at his lodging on Garlick-hill, London, on the 10th of November, 1683; and his body was interred, three days after, in the parish-church of St. James, Garlick-hill, in the south-isle just behind the pulpit (o). In the Philosophical Transactions, N^o 159, for May, 1684, a letter was published, written by Mr. Collins to the learned Dr. John Wallis, containing his thoughts about some defects in Algebra; and wherein he proposes the genuine method of describing the *Loci* of Equations, and of determining the limits and number of their roots, with various other matters (p). His 'Arithmetic in whole Numbers and Fractions, both Vulgar and Decimal, with Tables for the forbearance and rebate of Money,' &c. did not appear till some years after his death, being published in London, in 1688, in 12^{mo}. by Mr. Thomas Plant, Accountant (q).

(o) Birch and Wood, *ut supra*.

(p) Gen. Dict. and Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 117.

(q) Birch, p. 234.

Besides his own productions, Mr. Collins was also a great promoter of many other valuable publications of the age in which he lived. It is asserted to be owing to him that the world is indebted, for the publication of Dr. Barrow's Optical and Geometrical Lectures, his edition of the works of Archimedes, and of Apollonius's Conics; Mr. Branker's Translation of Rhonius's Algebra, with Dr. Pell's additions; Mr. Kersey's Algebra; Dr. Wallis's History of Algebra; and many other excellent works, which are said to have been procured by his unwearied solicitations (r).

(r) Gen. Dict. art. Collins, note [C].

Collins's death, all his papers, and most of his books came into the hands of Mr. William Jones, F. R. S. amongst which were found manuscripts upon mathematical subjects of Mr. Briggs, Mr. Oughtred, Dr. Pell, Dr. Scarborough, Dr. Barrow, and Mr. Isaac Newton, with a multitude of letters received from, and copies of letters sent to, many learned persons, particularly Dr. Pell, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Barrow, Mr. Newton, Mr. James Gregory, Mr. Flamsteed, Mr. Thomas Baker, Mr. Brancker, Dr. Edward Bernard, Monf. Slufius, Monf. Leibnitz, Monf. Tschirnaus, Father Bertet, and others (s). It appeared from these papers, that Mr. Collins was so solicitous in his search after useful truths, so indefatigably industrious in prosecuting these inquiries, and of a disposition so communicative, that he held a constant correspondence, for many years, with all the eminent mathematicians of his time; and spared neither pains, nor expence, to procure what was requisite to promote real science; so that the world was obliged to him for a great part of the late important discoveries (t). He was considered as a kind of register of all new improvements in the mathematics; and was constantly stimulating others to useful inquiries, and pointing out the defects in different branches of science, and the methods by which those defects might be supplied; so that he was sometimes styled the English Mersennus (u). He was certainly a man of great merit; but appears not to have met with the encouragement that he deserved, from those who had it in their power to have rewarded him [C]. It was chiefly from the papers of Mr. Collins, that the claim of Sir Isaac Newton to the invention of fluxions was clearly established, as may be seen in the *Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum de Analyfi promotâ, jussu Regiæ Societatis lucem editum*, Lond. 1712, 4to (w).]

(t) *Ibid.*

(w) Birch, ut supra.

(s) Birch, ut supra.

(u) Gen. Dict.

[C] *Appears not to have met with the encouragement that he deserved, &c.* Dr. Birch says, that 'upon the loss of his place in the Excise-office, and that under the Commissioners of Accounts, he was recommended by Sir Philip Warwick, in a letter dated May, 1670, to Sir John Trevor, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, as long known to, and respected by him, for his great and useful parts, and greater modesty; and that, besides his knowledge of mathematics and accounts, he was a great master of trade. "I conceive," added Sir Philip, "he takes better measures of it, and knows the hinges it turns on better than any discourses I have met with, and can rectify the methods of several accounts relating to the navy and such affairs, if he be leisurely dealt with, for he neither makes noise nor shew. I find (for he is neither covetous nor greedy) he could reckon 200*l.* per annum for a reasonable subsistence: which, if his Majesty and my Lords Commissioners think fit to buy him at, sure he may be set on work immediately upon such subjects, as he will soon earn his wages, though it be an extraordinary allowance: and the next Commissioners of Appeals place, which falls in the Excise (which is now rather a bounty than a salary) may take off that extraordinary charge." Sir Philip Warwick wrote another letter in his favour, Aug. 6, 1677, to Mr. Brent, inclosing a paper recommending Mr. Collins to the Lord-Treasurer, the Earl of Danby; in which letter he styled him a man of good arts, and yet greater simplicity; able, but no ways forward; and observed, that he had deserved, when he was in employment, the small pension assigned him when he quitted that employment. Sir

Philip wrote a third letter of recommendation, Oct. 31, 1678, to Charles Bertie, Esq; Secretary to the Lord-Treasurer, mentioning, that in the small office, which Mr. Collins had in the Excise while the Earl of Southampton was Treasurer, he was very trusty to his charge, and very careful in the true stating of the accounts at Brook-house; and that he could have very ample testimonies of his services in attending the Commissioners, and more lately in his Office of Accountant to the Royal Fishery Company. "But as a man," continues Sir Philip, "that hath attended more his business than himself, he fell short of receiving those salaries, which were promised him: but I contract myself and my suit to you, and pray you to represent it, if it would do any good, in my name to my Lord-Treasurer, that he having, upon dissolving the then commission for Excise, but a poor pension of fifty pounds per ann. settled on him by Privy Seal, and of which he is now five or six years in arrear, you would be instrumental to get him such a portion, as might be comfortable for him, and whereof, I assure you, he stands in great need for his family as well as for himself, his present subsistence being only sometimes taking some intricate accounts of merchants, which are litigant, and others, who call him thereunto upon such occasions. I extend my request somewhat farther, that if my Lord-Treasurer have need of such a man's service, as he may probably upon the balance of trade or of a steady account of another nature, you would remember him, and gain him some employment; for thus he will recommend himself (5)."]

(5) *Ibid.* p. 233, 234.

COLLINS (ANTHONY), an eminent Writer of the present Century, was son of Henry Collins, Esq; a gentleman of a considerable estate; and was born at Heston near Hounslow in Middlesex, June 21, 1676 (a). He was educated in grammar learning at Eton-College near Windsor, and from thence was removed to King's College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Francis Hare (b). Upon his leaving college, he was entered a Student in the Temple; but disrelishing the study of the Law, he soon abandoned it. In 1698, he married Martha, the daughter of Sir Francis Child, Alderman of London (c), and by her had two sons, Henry and Anthony [A], and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha (d). In 1700, our author published a tract, intitled, *Several of the London Cases considered* (e). In 1703, and 1704, he held an epistolary correspondence with the great Mr. Locke, who expressed an high regard and friendship for our author [B]. In 1707,

(a) See his epitaph in remark [P].

(c) Sir Francis was Lord-Mayor the year following.

(d) See epitaph.

(e) Catalogue of Mr. Collins's Library, written with his own hand.

(b) Afterwards Bishop of Chester.

(f) See the epitaph in the remark [P].

[A] *He had—two sons, Henry and Anthony.* Henry, the elder, died in his infancy. Anthony the younger, a youth of great hopes, and educated at Benet-College in Cambridge, died, in the 22d year of his age, lamented by all that knew him (1).

[B] *Mr. Locke expressed an high regard and friendship for our author.* This appears from Mr. Locke's letters to Mr. Collins (2). In that dated from Oates in Essex, October 29, 1703, he writes as follows. "I were now setting out in the world, I should think

(2) Published by M. Des Maizeaux in his Collection of several pieces of Mr. John Locke, &c. Lond. 1720. See Page 271, &c.

1707, he published his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason* (f) [C]. The same year, our author engaged in the controversy, then on foot between Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Samuel Clarke, concerning the *Natural Immortality of the Soul* [D]. In December 1709, came out a pamphlet (g), intituled, *Priestcraft in Perfection* [E]; and, in February the year following, another intituled, *Reflexions on a late Pamphlet, intituled, Priestcraft in Perfection*; both written by our author. The same year, he published his *Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in some Remarks on the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermon* (h). In March 1711, Mr. Collins went over to Holland, where he became acquainted with Mr. Le Clerc, and other learned men, and returned to London in November following. In 1713, he published his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* [F]; and soon after made a second trip to Holland,

(f) A second edition of it was published in 1709.

(h) Intituled, Divine Predestination and Foreknowledge conflicting with the Freedom of Man's Will, Lond. 1710.

(g) See History of the Works of the Learned, for Dec. 1709, p. 753.

‘ it my great happiness to have such a companion as you, who had a true relish of truth, would in earnest seek it with me, from whom I might receive it undisguised, and to whom I might communicate what I thought true, freely. Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for truth's sake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other virtues; and, if I mistake not, you have as much of it, as ever I met with in any body. What then is there wanting to make you equal to the best, a friend for any one to be proud of? In another, dated from Oates, September 11th, 1704, he writes thus: *He that has any thing to do with you, must own that friendship is the natural product of your constitution; and your soul, a noble soil, is enriched with the two most valuable qualities of human nature, truth and friendship. What a treasure have I then in such a friend, with whom I can converse, and be enlightened about the highest speculations?* These extracts evince, that, at that time, Mr. Collins appeared to Mr. Locke in the light of an impartial, disinterested, enquirer after truth. How far that great man, who was undoubtedly a friend to Revelation, would, probably, have altered his opinion of our author, had he lived (3) to see his works (of which he had published none but his *London Cafes considered*) the readers of Mr. Collins's works will judge.

(3) Mr. Locke died the 28th of October, 1704.

[C] *His Essay concerning the use of Reason.* The title at length is: *An Essay concerning the use of Reason in Propositions, the evidence whereof depends upon human testimony.* Dr. Francis Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester, being animadverted upon in this essay, with relation to some passages in his *Considerations concerning the Trinity, and the way of managing that controversy*, printed at London in 1702, he subjoined to the third edition of it, in 1707, a *Vindication of it in answer to Mr. Collins's Essay.*

[D] *He engaged in the Controversy—concerning the natural Immortality of the Soul.* Upon this subject Mr. Collins published the following pieces. I. *A Letter to Mr. Dodwell, containing some remarks on a (pretended) Demonstration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the Soul, in Mr. Clarke's Answer to a late Epistolary Discourse.* London, 1707, and 1709, in 8vo. II. *A Defence of the Argument made use of in a Letter to Mr. Dodwell.* London, 1707, in 8vo. III. *A Reply to Mr. Clarke's Defence of his letter to Mr. Dodwell: with a postscript to Mr. Milles's Answer to Mr. Dodwell's Epistolary Discourse.* London, 1707, in 8vo. A second edition of this piece, corrected, was published in 1709, in 8vo. IV. *Reflections on Mr. Clarke's second Defence of his Letter to Mr. Dodwell.* London, 1707, in 8vo. There was a second edition in 1711, in 8vo. V. *An answer to Mr. Clarke's third Defence of his Letter to Mr. Dodwell.* London, 1708, in 8vo. There was a second edition, corrected, London, 1711, in 8vo.

[E] *A pamphlet intituled Priestcraft in Perfection.* The title at length is: *Priestcraft in perfection, or, a Detection of the fraud of inserting, and continuing that clause [The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith] in the twentieth article of the Articles of the Church of England.* The authority of this clause had been called in question, in a book intituled, *The Peril of being zealously affected, but not well; or Reflexions on Dr. Sacheverell's Sermon preached at St. Paul's, Nov. 5; 1709* (4). And it being now again professedly attacked by Mr. Collins, several Pamphlets, Sermons, and Books were published upon the subject.

Among which, the most remarkable were the two following. I. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the aspersions of a late libel intituled, Priestcraft in Perfection: wherein the controverted clause of the Church's power in the 20th Article is shown to be of equal authority with all the rest of the Articles; and the fraud and forgery, charged upon the Clergy, upon the account of that clause, is retorted upon the accuser. With a Preface containing some Remarks upon the Reflexions on that Pamphlet.* By a Priest of the Church of England, London, 1710, in 8vo. II. *An Essay on the XXXIX Articles of Religion, agreed on in 1562, and revised in 1571, &c.* By Thomas Bennet, D.D. In answer to these two Books, Mr. Collins published his *Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX Articles, &c.* (5). The second and third editions of his *Priestcraft in Perfection* were printed, with corrections, at London, in 1710, in 8vo; and at the end of the third is subjoined the following advertisement. ‘Whereas in the two former impressions of *Priestcraft, &c.* A letter from Oxford is cited, giving an account of an English edition of the Articles being cut out from a volume of Miscellanies in the Bodleian Library; I have omitted that passage in this edition, upon the sight of a letter from Oxford, which assures the gentleman, to whom it was written, that my friend was mistaken. I do not know at present in what part of England he is, and therefore I cannot as yet give the reader or myself that satisfaction in the matter, which I hope to do when I hear of his return to Oxford.’

[F] *His Discourse of Free-Thinking.* The title at length is: *A Discourse of Free-Thinking, occasioned by the rise and growth of a Sect called Free-Thinkers.* It was re-printed at the Hague, with some additions and corrections, in 1713, in 12mo; though, in the title-page, it is said to be printed at London. In this edition, the translations in several places are corrected from Dr. Bentley's Remarks; and some references are made to those Remarks, and to Dr. Hare's Clergyman's Thanks. And whereas, in the former edition, the Discourse ended with these words; ‘For I think it virtue enough to endeavour to do good, only within the bounds of doing yourself no harm;’ in the Hague edition, after the words *virtue enough*, is inserted this parenthesis; *in a country so ignorant, stupid, superstitious, and destitute of all private and public virtue, as ours.* The Discourse was attacked in several pieces, particularly the following. I. *Reflections on an Anonymous Pamphlet, intituled, A Discourse of Free-Thinking.* By William Whiston, A. M. Lond. 1713. There have been three editions of this pamphlet. Mr. Whiston observes (6), that ‘though the Discourse is commonly so worded, as to seem rather meant against the Heathen Idolatry, Popish Superstition, Real Priestcraft, and Tyranny over conscience, than against Christianity itself, with its sacred books, yet that the author's real design must appear from the ill characters given of the Clergy or Christian Priesthood in general; the oblique reproaches cast upon Revealed Religion; the visible slight put upon the whole Jewish nation and the Mosaic law; the plain disregard of the great foundation of religion, the immortality of the soul; and the many insinuations visibly tending to render the sacred books, both Jewish and Christian, contemptible and uncertain.’ II. An anonymous pamphlet, intituled, *Free Thoughts upon the Discourse of Free-Thinking*, London, 1713, in 8vo. III. *Queries recommended to the authors of the late Discourse of Free-Thinking.* By Mr. Benjamin Hoadly,

(5) See the remark [K].

(6) Page 3, 4.

(4) See Page 20, 21.

Holland [G], and from thence to Flanders, where he received great civilities from the Priests, Jesuits, and others. He intended to have visited Paris; but the death of a near relation (i) obliged him to return to London, where he arrived the 18th of October, 1713. In 1715, he retired into the county of Essex, and acted as a Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant of that county, as he had done before in the county of Middlesex, and liberty of Westminster. The same year he published, at London, *A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty* (k) [H]. In 1718, he was chosen Treasurer for the county of Essex [I]. In 1724, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Wrottesley, Bart. (l) by whom he had no children. The same year, he published his *Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England* [K]; also his *Discourse of the Grounds*

(i) Mr. Trollope.

(k) Reprinted with corrections in 1717.

(l) See epitaph.

(7) It is extant in his Collection of Tracts, in 8vo. Lond. 1715.

(8) Page 28.

(9) Page 31.

Hoadly, afterwards Bishop of Winchester (7). 'This ingenious writer declares (8), 'that, though some of the particulars, mentioned in his *Queries*, as 'designed plainly against the belief of Christianity, 'are produced in the *Treatise of Free-Thinking* under 'the specious pretence of their being good reasons 'and occasions for a *free and impartial examination*, 'and not expressly declared to be intended against 'the Gospel, in the same passages, in which the authors of that treatise produce them; yet he verily 'believes, that these authors themselves would inwardly laugh at any, who should suppose them to 'have had any other view in that performance.' And having placed several particulars from the *Discourse of Free-Thinking* in one view, he concludes with these words (9): *After this let any one doubt, if he can, what sort of Free-Thinking all that is produced in the first part of this treatise is designed to promote; or suppose it possible, that the chief view of these authors could be any other than the promoting that Free-Thinking, which they themselves contend to be Atheism and Infidelity.* IV. *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-Thinking; in a Letter to F. H. D. D. By Phileleuthernus Lipsiensis.* Lond. 1713, in 8vo. The author of this ingenious performance was the truly learned Dr. Richard Bentley; and the person to whom it is addressed, Dr. Francis Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. It exposes the weakness and fallacy of the *Discourse*, with great strength of argument and sprightliness of wit. A *Second* part, and a sheet or two of a *Third*, were printed the same year at Cambridge: but the learned author proceeded no farther. The first part of these *Remarks* gave birth to a pamphlet, said to be written by Dr. Hare, intitled, *The Clergyman's Thanks to Phileleuthernus, for his Remarks on the late Discourse of Free-Thinking. In a Letter to Dr. Bentley.* Lond. 1713, in 8vo. The author concludes this piece with remarking, that 'if we have gained by Dr. Bentley's *Remarks* in one respect, we are, on the other hand, 'in danger of losing no less than an edition of all 'Tully, and, what is of more consequence, a *New Gospel*; with both which, for the advancement of 'learning and religion (their learning and their religion) The Free-thinking Club were preparing to 'oblige the world. And the last of these (says he) 'was, I am told, quite finished, and ready to be published, when your *Remarks* unluckily came out to 'shew, that they are neither *Christians* nor *Scholars*. 'And this has suppressed at least for some time, if not 'totally sunk, both these undertakings.'

[G] *He made a second trip to Holland.* This was ascribed to the general alarm caused by the *Discourse of Free-Thinking*, and the author's being discovered by his Printer Mr. John Darby. Whereupon Dr. Hare, having observed, that *the least appearance of danger is able in a moment to damp all the zeal of the Free-*

(10) Clergyman's *Thinkers*, tells us (10), 'that a bare enquiry after the Thanks, p. 18.

Printer of their wicked book has frightened them, 'and obliged the reputed author to take a *second trip* 'to Holland; so great is his courage to defend, upon 'the least appearance of an opposition. And are not 'these (adds the Doctor) rare champions for *Free-Thinking*? And is not their book a demonstration, 'that we are in possession of the liberty they pretend 'to plead for, which otherwise they durst never have 'writ? and that they would have been as mute as 'fishes, had they not thought they could have opened with impunity.'

[H] *His Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty.* Dr. Samuel Clarke wrote *Remarks* upon

this *Enquiry* (11). But Mr. Collins did not publish any Reply to Dr. Clarke upon this subject; because, we are told (12), though he did not think the Doctor had the advantage over him in the dispute, yet, as he had represented Mr. Collins's opinions as dangerous in their consequences, and improper to be insisted upon, our author, after such an insinuation, found he could not proceed in the dispute upon equal terms. The *Enquiry* was translated into French by the Reverend Mr. D****, and printed in the first volume of *Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Messieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs celebres*; published by M. Des Maizeaux at Amsterdam, 1720, in two volumes, 12mo.

[I] *He was chosen Treasurer for the county of Essex.* In the discharge of this office Mr. Collins highly merited the thanks of several tradesmen and others, who had large sums of money due to them from the said county, but could not get it paid them, it having been spent and embezzled by their former Treasurer. The poorest of them, we are informed, he supported with his own private cash, and others he promised interest for their money till it could be raised to pay them. In 1722, the debts were all discharged, and by his care and management the county's debts were, from that time, discharged every three months, and with little more than half the money, which had been annually raised for upwards of twenty years before.

[K] *His Historical and Critical Essay upon the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England.* The title at length is: *An Historical and Critical Essay on the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England: wherein it is demonstrated, that this clause, The Church has power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith, inserted in the Twentieth Article, is not a part of the Articles, as they were established by Act of Parliament in the 13th of Eliz. or agreed on by the Convocations of 1562 and 1571.* This, we have already said (13), was designed as an Answer to the *Vindication of the Church of England*, &c. and Dr. Bennet's *Essay on the XXXIX Articles*, both published against his *Priestcraft in Perfection*. In the Preface he tells us, 'he was engaged in writing this work by a *worthy Minister of the Gospel*, who knew that he had made some enquiries into the *modern Ecclesiastical History of England*; and that he was preparing *An History of the Variations of the Church of England, and its Clergy, from the Reformation down to this Time, with an Answer to the Cavils of the Papists made on Occasion of the said Variations.* But nothing of this kind, from our author's hand, was ever printed. As to the *Essay* in question, he concludes it with drawing up in brief the Demonstration, promised in the title page, and given in the book; and which is as follows: *The Articles of the Church of England are supposed to have their Convocational Authority from the Convocation of 1562, which first agreed on them; and from the Convocation of 1571, which, after having revised, and made alterations in, and additions to, them, agreed on them again. The way of passing Acts of Convocation is by the subscription of the majority of the Members of each House by themselves. The MS. Articles, which passed the Convocation in 1562, and were subscribed by the majority of both Houses, are extant; as are the MS. Articles of 1571, with the subscriptions of the Upper House. And both these manuscripts are without the clause. The Parliament in 1571 did, by a statute, intitled, An Act for the Ministers*

(11) They are extant in the Collection of Papers between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke, &c. Lond. 1717, in 8vo.

(12) Des Maizeaux's Preface to the *Recueil de diverses Pieces*, &c. p. 10.

(13) In the remark [E].

Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion [L], which was immediately attacked by a great number of writers [M]. The same year, likewise, appeared his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* [N], which had several Answerers [O]. It is remarkable of Mr. Collins,

ters of the Church to be of sound Religion, confirm *Articles of Religion*, comprized in an imprinted English book, intituled, *Articles*, &c. put forth by the Queen's Authority. All the English printed books of the Articles extant before 1571, and while the Parliament were making this Statute, bore the title recited in the Statute, and were without the clause. Wherefore it follows, that the clause has neither the authority of the Convocation nor Parliament. The reader may see the whole state of this controversy, and a full vindication of the Church of England from the charge of forgery, in respect to the above-mentioned clause, in Mr. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (14), where particular notice is taken of our author.

(14) Part ii. B. vi.
p. 486—491.

[L] *His Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion.* The title at length is: *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, in two Parts: The first containing some Considerations on the Quotations made from the Old in the New Testament, and particularly on the Prophecies, cited from the former, and said to be fulfilled in the latter: The second containing an Examination of the Scheme advanced by Mr. Whiston, in his Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament, and for vindicating the Citations thence made in the New Testament. To which is prefixed, An Apology for free Debate and Liberty of Writing.* The drift of this discourse is to shew, that Christianity is founded on Judaism, or the New Testament on the Old: that the Apostles prove Christianity from the Old Testament: that if the proofs fetched from thence are valid, Christianity is firmly established on its true foundation; but if invalid, Christianity is false: and that those proofs are typical or allegorical.

[M] *It was attacked by a great number of writers.* I shall mention only the most remarkable. I. *A List of Suppositions or Assertions in the late Discourse of the Grounds, &c. which are not therein supported by any real or authentic Evidence; for which some such Evidence is expected to be produced.* By William Whiston, A. M. 8vo. 1724. This piece is subjoined to the author's *Proposals for printing by subscription, Authentic Records concerning the Jewish and Christian Religion*, dated Jan. 17, 1724, and given away to all the Members of Parliament. In this piece, Mr. Whiston treats Mr. Collins, together with Mr. Toland, in very severe terms, as guilty of impious frauds and lay-craft. II. *The literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, being a full Answer to a late Discourse of the Grounds, &c.* By William Whiston, A. M. 8vo. 1724. III. *A Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, wherein are considered all the Objections against this Kind of Proof, advanced in a late Discourse of the Grounds, &c.* By the Right Reverend Father in God Edward (Chandler), Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry (15), 8vo. 1725. This is a very learned and elaborate performance, and has passed through several editions. IV. *A Discourse of the Connection of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and Application of them to Christ.* By Samuel Clarke, D. D. Rector of St. James's, Westminster, 8vo. 1725. This was not intended for a direct answer to Mr. Collins's book, but as a supplement (occasioned thereby) to a proposition in Dr. Clarke's *Demonstration of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*; with which it has since been constantly printed. V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles, in their Defence of Christianity, considered, in seven Sermons, preached at Hackney in Middlesex, 1724. To which is prefixed, a Preface, taking notice of the false Representations of Christianity, and of the Apostles Reasonings in Defence of it, in a Book, intituled, The Grounds, &c.* By Thomas Bullock, A. M. Published at the Request of the Gentlemen of Hackney, 8vo. 1725. VI. *An Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion, wherein its real Foundation upon the Old Testament is shewn, occasioned by the Discourse of the Grounds, &c.* By Arthur Ashley Sykes, A. M. Rector of Rayleigh in Essex, 8vo. 1725. Mr. Collins

(15) Afterwards
Bishop of Dur-
ham.

gave it as his opinion, that, 'of all the writers against the Grounds, &c. Mr. Sykes alone has advanced a consistent scheme of things, which he has proposed with great clearness, politeness, and moderation (16).' VII. *The Use and Intent of Prophecy, in the several Ages of the Church. In six Discourses delivered at the Temple Church, 1724, published at the Desire of the Masters of the Bench of the two honourable Societies.* By Thomas Sherlock, D. D. Dean of Chichester, and Master of the Temple (17), 8vo. 1725. This was not designed as an answer to the Grounds, &c. but only to throw in light upon the argument from Prophecy, attacked by our author. VIII. *A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in two Parts. The first, A Discourse of the Nature and Use of Miracles. The second, An Answer to a late Book, intituled, A Discourse of the Grounds, &c.* By Samuel Chandler, 8vo. 1725. IX. *A Supplement to the Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, containing Observations on Dr. Clarke's, and Bishop Chandler's, late Discourses of the Prophecies of the Old Testament.* By William Whiston, A. M. 8vo. 1725. X. *Letters to the Author of the Discourse of the Grounds, &c. shewing that Christianity is supported by Facts well attested: that the Words of Isaiah, chap. vii. 14. Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, in their literal and only Sense, are a Prophecy of the Conception and Birth of the Messiah, fulfilled in Jesus; and that the Gospel Application of several other Passages in the Old Testament is just.* By John Greene, 8vo. 1726. XI. *A brief Defence of the Christian Religion: or, The Testimony of God to the Truth of the Christian Religion.* By Theophilus Lobb, M. D. 8vo. 1726. The reader will find an entire catalogue of all the pieces, written against the *Discourse of the Grounds, &c.* amounting in number to thirty-five, among which are *Sermons, London Journals, Woolston's Moderator, &c.* at the end of the Preface to the *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*.

(16) Scheme of
Literal Prophecy
considered, p. 12.

(17) Afterwards
Bishop of Salis-
bury and London.

[N] *His Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.* The title at length is, *The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, in a View of the Controversy occasioned by a late Book, intituled, A Discourse of the Grounds, &c.* It was printed at the Hague by Thomas Johnson, in 1726, in two volumes 12mo. and reprinted at London, with corrections, in 1727, in 8vo. It is dated at London, November 13, 1725, and addressed to the Right Honourable * * * *. In this piece (18) Mr. Collins mentions a Dissertation he had written, but never published, against Mr. Whiston's *Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles*; in which he endeavours to shew, that those oracles were forged by the Primitive Christians, who were thence called Sibyllists by the Pagans. He also mentions a manuscript *Discourse of his upon the Miracles recorded in the Old and New Testament*.

(18) Ch. ii. p. 61.
edit. 1726.

[O] *It had several Answerers.* The principal are: I. *The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Religion asserted, in eight Sermons; to which is prefixed a Preface, with some Remarks on a late Book, intituled, The Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered, &c.* By John Rogers, D. D. London, 1727, 8vo. in answer to which, Mr. Collins wrote *A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Rogers, on Occasion of his eight Sermons concerning the Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Preface prefixed to them. To which is added, A letter printed in the London Journal, April 1, 1727, with an answer to the same.* London, 1727, 8vo. II. *A Letter to the Author of the London Journal, Saturday, April 1, 1727.* It was written by Dr. Sykes, Dean of Burien, and is that answered by Mr. Collins, at the end of his *Letter to Dr. Rogers*. Dr. Sykes wrote a second letter in defence of his former, dated June 24, 1727, and printed in a pamphlet, intituled, *The true Grounds of the Expectation of the Messiah, in two Letters. The one printed in the London Journal, April 1, 1727. The other in Vindication of it; being a Reply to the Answer published at the End of A Letter to Dr. Rogers.* By Philalethes, London,

H

1727,

Collins, that his pieces were all anonymous. His health declined some years before his death, which fell out December 13, 1729, occasioned by a violent fit of the stone. He was interred in Oxford-Chapel, where is a monument, with a Latin inscription on it [P], erected to his memory by his widow. We shall say something of this remarkable gentleman's character below [Q].

1727, 8vo. III. *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their Application to Jesus Christ, in Answer to the Objections of the Author of the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.* By Samuel Chandler, London, 1727, 8vo. IV. *A Vindication of the Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament, in Answer to the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.* By the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield: in two Volumes. With a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Masson, concerning the Religion of Macrobius, and his Testimony touching the Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem, with a Postscript upon Virgil's 4th Eclogue. London, 1728, 8vo. V. *The Reasoning of Christ and his Apostles vindicated: in two Parts. The first being a Defence of the Argument from Miracles, proving the Argument from Prophecy, not necessary to a rational Defence of our Religion. The second being a Defence of the Argument from Prophecy, proving the Christian Scheme to have a rational Foundation upon the Prophecies of the Old Testament.* By Thomas Bullock, A. M. Rector of North Creak in Norfolk. London, 1728, 8vo.

[P] *His epitaph.*] It is as follows:

H. S. E.
ANTONIUS COLLINS, Armiger;
Egregiis animi dotibus ornatus,
Præstanti Ingenio,
Acri Judicio,
Tenaci Memoria:
A Puero usque mirifica virtutis indole præditus:
Spectatissimum semper vitæ morumque exemplar:
Veritatis Amicus & Indagator Sedulus;
Quam neque ex sententiis hominum pendere,
Neque Magistratus gladio vindicandam esse existimavit:
In libris (quorum opulenta ei copia) evolvendis
Assiduus & Indefessus:
Quantum inde profecerit,
Ex Scriptis ipsius editis iudicet Lector idoneus.
Erga Reges optimos, utrumque Georgium,
Libertatis utpote Civilis & Ecclesiasticæ
Tutores & Patronos,
Fide (si quis alius) constans.
Gratam sui
Erga Conjuges Amoris,
Erga Liberos Charitatis,
Erga Servos Lenitatis,
Erga omnes Benevolentia,
Memoriam reliquit.
Calculorum valetudine diu conflictatus,
Demum fractus, obiit XIII Dec. M.DCCXXIX.
Amicorum nuper Delicia, nunc, eheu! Desiderium.

Natus est XXI Junii M.DCLXXVI.
HENRICO Patre Armigero.
In Matrimonio habuit
MARTHAM FRANCISCI CHILD Equitis filiam;
Atque, ea defuncta,
ELIZABETHAM, GUALTERI WROTTESELY Baronetti.
Ex altera quatuor liberos suscepit;
Quorum
Duos filios, HENRICUM infantem,
ANTONIUM vero ad virilem ætatem jam provectum,
Extulerat:
Duas itidem filias, ELIZABETHAM & MARTHAM,
Innuptas reliquit.
Alteram charissimo viro,
Quocum conjunctissime vixerat,
Monumentum hoc mœrens posuit.

(19) Bibliothèque
Raisonnée,
T. iv. Par. i.
p. 233.

[Q] *Something of his character.*] We are told (19), that 'the corruption among Christians, and the persecuting spirit of the Clergy, had given him a prejudice against the Christian religion, and at last induced him to think, that upon it's present footing it is pernicious to mankind: and that, as he had a

' great fund of humanity, sweetness of temper, and moderation, he saw with grief, that these virtues were banished from society, and that religion was made use of as a cloak to authorize all kinds of violence and injustice.' Mr. Whiston, in his *List of Suppositions and Assertions*, &c (20), treating our author, together with Mr. Toland, as guilty of *impious frauds and Lay-craft*, expresses himself, with regard to the former, in these terms: 'A second instance must be Mr. Anthony Collins, a gentleman, who has many years taken superabundant care not to be suspected of believing so much as the Apostles Creed, or the books of the Old or New Testament, or indeed any Divine Providence at all. Yet does he claim a right to be admitted to take an oath upon the Bible, and to receive the Holy Communion itself; and he is at this day admitted to do both, and in virtue thereof is in the commission of the peace, as a good Church-man: i. e. notwithstanding his open and professed infidelity, he ventures, in the most public and solemn manner, to declare his unfeigned acknowledgment of the Divine Providence, of the truth of the Christian religion, and of the books of the Holy Scripture, that is possible to be done among men. It is with great regret I add this example of an old friend, and one whom I still love better than he loves himself; but it is too flagrant to be omitted. This I call *gross immorality, impious fraud, and Lay-craft*.' Mr. Armand de la Chapelle, having translated this passage into French (21), observes, that the expressions are *a little too choleric*, and that Mr. Collins would have reason to triumph upon this instance of passion in his antagonist. This occasioned the sending a letter to Mr. de la Chapelle (22), in which the writer observes, that 'Mr. Whiston having accused Mr. Collins of irreligion, but being sensible that this accusation, being destitute of proof, was ridiculous, he has artfully pretended, that the latter had been his friend, insinuating thereby that Mr. Collins had disclosed to him his most secret sentiments. And yet (adds the writer) I have been assured by persons who are very well informed, that Mr. Collins never had any intercourse of friendship with him; that he never spoke to him above eight or ten times in his life, in a coffee-house or elsewhere, and always in other company; and that he has not seen him for above five years. Is this sufficient for Mr. Whiston to claim the character of a friend?' Mr. Whiston, in another place (23), speaks thus of Mr. Collins. *The reputed author of Freethinking is, for all I have ever heard, a sober man; thanks to his natural aversion to intemperance; and that is more than can be said of some others of the club: but as for any other virtue, he has told us (*) it is such as he intends shall never hurt him. And it can't be thought uncharitable, if I say it rises from no higher origin than fear; for he has himself disclaimed all nobler principles.* But, of all writers, the author of the *Guardian* (24) has treated our author's character with the greatest severity in the following passages: 'He that should burn a house, and justify the action by asserting he is a free agent, would be far more excusable than this author in uttering what he has from the right of a Free-Thinker.' Again; *This gentleman may be assured he has not a taste for what he pretends to decry, and the poor man is certainly more a blockhead than an Atheist.* Again; 'When such writers as this, who have no spirit but that of malice, pretend to inform the age, Mohocks and Cut-throats may well set up for wits and men of pleasure.' Lastly; *If ever any man deserved to be denied the common benefits of air and water, it is the author of a Discourse of Free-thinking.* But, notwithstanding the reproaches cast upon Mr. Collins as an enemy to ALL religion, impartially obliges us to remark, what is said, and generally believed to be true, that, upon his death-bed, he declared, 'That, as he had always endeavoured, to the best of his abilities,

(20) Page 15.
See remark [M]
init.

(21) In his *Bibl. Angloise*, T. ii. p. 282, &c.

(22) *Ibid.* T. xii. p. 244, &c.

(23) *Reflections on an anonymous Pamphlet*, &c. p. 28.

(*) In his *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 178. edit. 1713.

(24) Vol. i. No 3.

abilities, to serve his God, his King, and his country, so he was persuaded he was going to that place, which God has designed for them that love him.' To which he added, *The Catholic religion is to love God and to love man*; and he advised such as were about him, to have a constant regard to these principles. His library, which was a very large and curious one, was open to all men of letters, to whom he readily communicated all the lights and assistance in his power, and (we are told) even furnished his antagonists with books to confute himself, and directed them how to give their arguments all the force of which they were capable. We shall only add, that he carefully avoided all the indecencies of conversation, and discouraged every the least tendency towards obscenity of discourse. B.

* * [Whatever may be thought of Mr. Anthony Collins's writings, that he was a most respectable man in private life seems to be founded upon evidence which cannot be contradicted. A few days after his decease, the following character of him was published in the newspapers.

"On Saturday last, died at his house in Harley-square, Anthony Collins, Esq. He was remarkably the active, upright, impartial magistrate: the tender husband, the kind parent, the good master, and the true friend.

"He was a great promoter of literature in all its branches; and an immoveable assertor of universal liberty in all civil and religious matters.

"Whatever his sentiments were in certain points, this is what he declared at the time of his death, viz. that as he had always endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to serve God, his King, and his country, so he was persuaded he was going to that place which God hath prepared for them that love him; and presently afterwards he said, the Catholic religion is to love God and to love man.

"He was an eminent example of temperance and sobriety, and one that had the true art of living. His worst enemies could never charge him with any vice or immorality (25)."

Mr. Thomas Hollis, writing to a correspondent at Rome, concluded his epistle as follows: "I shall now close a long letter, with a quotation from Mr. Locke's last letter to the excellent Mr. Collins, and shall bid you heartily farewell. There is no happiness equal to the consciousness of doing well." Upon this passage the able and spirited writer of Mr. Hollis's life has made a few remarks, relative to Collins's character, which cannot be omitted. "There are, we suppose, one or more classes of men who will think the term *excellent* improperly annexed to the name of Anthony Collins. It should cut off some part of the disgust, that he was the confidential friend of Mr. Locke. If he had any ill-will to revelation, a matter far from being out of doubt, suffice it to say, that he did not succeed in his efforts to disparage it. What we suppose might contribute to Mr. Hollis's esteem of him, was his avowed enmity to ecclesiastical usurpations, in the exposing of which he was not unsuccessful. For the rest, Mr. Collins was an excellent magistrate; amiable, prudent, virtuous, and humane in all domestic duties and relations; and of a benevolence towards all men, worthy of the character of the citizen of the world (26)."

The preceding assertion, that Mr. Collins's ill-will to Revelation is far from being out of doubt, may receive a slight confirmation from what we have related in the life of Lord Barrington. It is there said, that one of his lordship's publications staggered Mr. Collins's infidelity (27). However, if his infidelity was staggered, there doth not appear to be any good reason to suppose that it was ever entirely subdued. The best which can be thought concerning him is, that he might sometimes be only sceptical with regard to the truth of Christianity; and his writings furnish too much cause for considering him as, upon the whole, a positive unbeliever in our holy religion. At the same time, he was not so malignant an infidel as he hath often been represented. It has not been uncommon to connect his name with authors of atheistical principles; but this is doing a manifest injustice to his character. A worthy and respectable clergy-

man put a paper into our hands, containing two anecdotes which represent Mr. Collins as an Atheist, and as having introduced a young gentleman to a club of such persons in London. The paper, by some accident, has been mislaid; and we the less regret the loss of it, as we could not have inserted relations of things which must have been the result of mistake at least, if not of great prejudice, on the part of those by whom they were recited to our communicator.

To the list of those who wrote against the discourse on Free-Thinking, Dr. Swift is to be added. Our authority for this assertion is the Supplement to the Dean's Works, published by Mr. Nichols. We find there a tract, intitled, "Mr. Collins's Discourse of Free-Thinking; put into English, by Way of Abstract, for the Use of the Poor: by a Friend of the Author." This piece, which first appeared in 1713, is of an ironical nature. It is written in the assumed character of a whig and a Free-Thinker, and, amidst some good strokes of satire, contains no small portion of toryism, and of high-church bigotry (28). Of all the publications against the discourse on Free-Thinking, Dr. Bentley's was undoubtedly the best. It is replete with argument, learning, and wit; the objection against the New Testament, drawn from its various readings, is unanswerably refuted; and Mr. Collins's misconceptions, misrepresentations, and wrong translations of the authors he quotes, are admirably exposed.

There were several other answers to the "Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," and to the "Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered," besides those which are mentioned by our learned predecessor. We remember to have read three treatises upon the subject, which appeared to us to have very considerable merit. One was by Mr. Moses Lowman, the author of various works which are well known in the theological world; but the book we refer to is now almost wholly forgotten. The other two were written by a Mr. Thomas Jeffreys, a dissenting minister in Essex, who, if he had not died young, would probably have ranked among the most able advocates of revelation. The writings he lived to publish, and which were in answer to Mr. Collins, are much esteemed by those judicious readers who are acquainted with them; and they were highly approved of by Dr. Kennicott, who was an excellent judge of whatever relates to the question concerning the predictions of the Old Testament. Mr. Jeffreys's first publication was, "A Review of the Controversy between the Author of the Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion and his Adversaries," 8vo. 1726; and the second was intitled, "Christianity the Perfection of all Religion, natural and revealed, wherein some of the principal Prophecies relating to the Messiah in the Old Testament, are shewn to belong to him in the Literal Sense, in opposition to the Attempts of the Literal Scheme." 8vo. 1728.

Dr. Leland, in his "View of the Deistical Writers," has devoted one letter to the consideration of Collins, and has exposed his false assumptions, and his fallacious and sophistical mode of reasoning (29). The letter contains many judicious and sensible remarks, though we do not think that it is written in the Doctor's best manner, the subject being capable of a still more masterly discussion.

Mr. Collins's attack on our holy religion has, in fact, turned out highly to its advantage; as it hath caused the subject of prophecy to be more deeply investigated, and has produced several admirable treatises, which have thrown great light on the question, and have proved, beyond all reasonable doubt, that many important predictions of the Old Testament related to Jesus Christ alone, and in him only were fulfilled. One particular benefit arising from it is, that it has occasioned some of our most learned and judicious divines to reject the double sense of prophecies. Among these Divines may be reckoned the Doctors Sykes, Benson, Gregory Sharpe, and Kennicott. Indeed, it is upon the principle adopted by these gentlemen, that we think Christianity will most rationally and unanswerably be defended, as, in one or two future articles, we shall have more ample reason to observe.

Though

(25) Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq; vol. ii. Appendix, p. 718, 719.

(26) Ibid. vol. i. p. 176.

(27) Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 626. Second edition.

(28) Supplement to Swift's Works, vol. i. p. 251—306.

(29) View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i. p. 98—125.

Though the subject of the Old Testament predictions has received a very able discussion, we are by no means of opinion that it is entirely exhausted. There is still room for a farther elucidation of it, by some Divine, who shall unite real learning and critical sagacity with a rational and liberal mode of thinking.

We must not conclude this note without remarking, that though Mr. Collins was an amiable and worthy man in private life, he was, at the same time,

a most unfair writer. He seemed to have very little conscience in his quotations,—adapting them, without scruple, to his own purposes, however contrary they might be to the genuine meaning of the authors cited, or to the connection in which the passages referred to stood. So many facts of this kind were undeniably proved against him by his adversaries, that he must ever be recorded as a flagrant instance of literary disingenuity.] K.

* * [COLLINS (WILLIAM), a very ingenious Poet, was born at Chichester, in the county of Sussex, on the 25th of December, either in 1720, or 1721; but in which of the two years cannot now precisely be ascertained (a). His father was a Hatter, of good reputation in that city. The earliest part of his education was probably in his native place; but in 1733 he was admitted a scholar of Winchester-College, where he continued seven years, under the care of Dr. Burton. Here it was observed, that his English exercises were better than his Latin. The first effort of his poetical genius that is now known, was a copy of verses to a "Lady weeping," published in "The Gentleman's Magazine;" a repository in which several eminent men have begun their literary career [A]. In 1740, Mr. Collins stood at the head of the list of scholars, to be received in succession at New-College, Oxford; but unhappily there was no vacancy. This appears to have been the original misfortune of his life (b). In the hope that a vacancy might soon happen, he was, in the mean time, admitted a Commoner of Queen's-College, in the same University, and probably with a scanty maintenance. During his residence at Queen's, he was at once distinguished for genius and indolence; his exercises, when he could be prevailed upon to write, bearing the visible characteristics of both. No opportunity occurring of his being elected into New-College, he was recommended by his tutor to the Society of Magdalen, where he was chosen a *Demy*, in July 1741. The uncommon abilities and learning which he displayed on this occasion, principally contributed to his election. At Magdalen-College he continued till he had taken his Bachelor's degree; and, poetry being his chief pursuit, there it was that he wrote his Epistle to Sir Thomas Hanmer, and his Oriental Eclogues. The latter, under the title of Persian Eclogues, were published in 1742 (c). Notwithstanding their merit, they were not attended with any great success; a misfortune which sometimes happens to the most promising geniuses, especially when they print without a name, and have no person of consequence to introduce them to the notice of the world. It hath been objected to these Eclogues, that though the scenery and subjects of them are Oriental, the style and colouring are purely European. Of the force of this objection, Mr. Collins himself became sensible in the latter part of his life. He spoke to Dr. Warton and Mr. Thomas Warton with disapprobation of his Eclogues, as not sufficiently expressive of Asiatic manners, and called them his Irish Eclogues (d). Notwithstanding this circumstance, their poetical merit is very great; and Dr. Langhorne hath not scrupled to assert, "that in simplicity of description and expression, in delicacy and softness of numbers, and in natural and unaffected tenderness, they are not to be equalled by any thing of the pastoral kind in the English language (e)." There are Critics who do not think the Eclogues to be deficient in the delineation of Oriental manners [B].

(a) Langhorne's Memoirs of the Author, prefixed to Mr. Collins's Poetical Works, p. v. Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 309. New Biographical Dict. vol. iv. p. 41.

(b) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 309, 310.

(c) *Ibid.* Langhorne, *ubi supra*, p. v—vii. New Dict. *ubi supra*, p. 42.

(d) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 315.

(e) Langhorne's edition of Collins's Poetical Works, p. 114.

In

[A] *A repository in which several eminent men have begun their literary career.*] Mr. Collins's first production was as follows:

To Miss AURELIA C——R,

On her weeping at her Sister's Wedding.

Cease, fair Aurelia, cease to mourn;
Lament not Hannah's happy state;
You may be happy in your turn,
And seize the treasure you regret.

With love united Hymen stands,
And softly whispers to your charms;
"Meet but your lover in my bands,
"You'll find your sister in his arms (1)."

(1) Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 317.

[B] *Who do not think the eclogues to be deficient in the delineation of Oriental manners.*] In proof of our assertion, and of the beauty of the eclogues, we shall lay before our readers the account which was given of them in the Monthly Review, when they were republished, in 1757.

"Although these Eclogues are evidently of British original, they contain many of those bold figures with which the poetry of the East abounds. The thoughts are appropriated, the images wild and local,

the language correct, and the versification harmonious. They are four in number. The first is called Selim, or the Shepherd's Moral; the scene lies in a valley near Bagdat; the time, morning. This Eclogue is not more remarkable for the morality of its sentiments, than for the personifications it gives us of Modesty, Chastity, Meekness, Pity, and Love. The second Eclogue is intitled, Hassan, or the Camel-Driver. The Poet here artfully lays the scene in the Desert, and makes mid-day the time. With what strength of colouring is the beginning of this piece wrought up!

In silent horror o'er the boundless waste
The driver HASSAN with his camel's past.
One cruise of water on his back he bore,
And his light scrip contain'd a scanty store;
A fan of painted feathers in his hand,
To guard his shaded face from scorching sand.
The sultry sun had gain'd the middle sky,
And not a tree, and not an herb was nigh;
The beasts, with pain, their dusty way pursue,
Shrill roar'd the winds, and dreary was the view!
With desp'rate sorrow wild, th' affrighted man
Thrice sigh'd, thrice strook his breast, and thus began:
"Sad was the hour, and luckless was the day,
"When first from Schiraz' walls I bent my way!"—&c.
The

In 1744, Mr. Collins quitted Oxford, and came to London a literary adventurer, with many projects in his head, and very little money in his pocket. He designed a variety of works; but his great fault was irresolution; besides which, the frequent calls of necessity might break his schemes, and not suffer him to pursue any settled purpose. "A man doubtful of his dinner, says Dr. Johnson, or trembling at a creditor, is not much disposed to abstracted meditation, or remote enquiries. He published proposals for a History of the Revival of Learning; and I have heard him speak with great kindness of Leo the Tenth, and with keen resentment of his tasteless successor. But probably not a page of the history was ever written. He planned several Tragedies, but he only planned them (f)." At times, however, his poetical genius triumphed over his indolence; in consequence of which he published, in 1746, his "Odes descriptive and allegorical." The success of this publication was inferior to that of the Oriental Eclogues. Mr. Millar, the Bookseller, gave the author a handsome price, as things were then estimated, for the copy of the Odes; but the sale of them was not sufficient to pay the expence of printing. Mr. Collins, justly offended at the bad taste of the public, as soon as it was in his power, returned Mr. Millar the copy-money, indemnified him for the loss he had sustained, and consigned the unfold part of the impression to the flames (g). Highly as Mr. Collins's Odes deserved a superior fate [C], it is not surprizing that they were

(f) Johnson, ubi
supra, p. 310.

(g) Monthly Review, vol. xxxii. p. 294.

The other parts of the poem are not less finished. In particular, what Reader does not shudder, with Hassan, at the following description?

At that dead hour the silent asp shall creep,
If ought of rest I find, upon my sleep:
Or some swollen serpent twist his scales around,
And wake to anguish with a burning wound.
Thrice happy they, the wife contented poor,
From lust of wealth, and dread of death secure!
They tempt no dangers, and no griefs they find. —

And who is not melted with the account he gives of his parting from his mistress?

O hapless youth! for she thy love hath won,
The tender ZARA, will be most undone!
Big swell'd my heart, and own'd the pow'rful maid,
When fast she dropt her tears, as thus she said:
"Farewel the youth whom sighs could not detain,
Whom ZARA's breaking heart implor'd in vain!
"Yet as thou go'st, may ev'ry blast arise,
"Weak and unfelt as these rejected sighs!
"Safe o'er the wild, no perils mayst thou see,
"No griefs endure, nor weep, false youth, like me."
O let me safely to the fair return,
Say with a kiss, she must not, shall not mourn;
O! let me teach my heart to lose its fears,
Recall'd by Wisdom's voice, and ZARA's tears.

He said, and call'd on Heav'n to bless the day,
When back to Schiraz's walls he bent his way.

The third Eclogue is not the least beautiful of the four; it is named ABRA, or the Georgian Sultana. The scene is placed in the forest; the time evening.

In Georgia's land, where Teflis's tow'rs are seen,
In distant view along the level green,
While ev'ning dews enrich the glitt'ring glade,
And the tall forests cast a longer shade,
What time 'tis sweet o'er fields of rice to stray,
Or scent the breathing maze at setting day;
Amidst the maids of Zagen's peaceful grove,
EMYRA sung the pleasing cares of love.

To do, however, justice to this, we should be obliged to transcribe the whole, which abounds with an elegant rural simplicity. If this Eclogue presents us with a pleasing picture of pastoral felicity, the fourth and last terrifies us with a lively one of Eastern desolation. The Poet introduces two Circassian shepherds, flying at midnight from their country, which the savage Tartars are supposed to have successfully invaded. Sicander being wearied with the length of his flight, thus addresses his friend on the steep side of a mountain.

O stay thee, AGIB, for my feet deny,
No longer friendly to my life, to fly.
VOL. IV.

Friend of my heart, O turn thee and survey,
Trace our sad flight thro' all its length of way!
And first review that long-extended plain,
And yon wide groves, already past with pain!
Yon ragged cliff, whose dang'rous path we try'd!
And last this lofty mountain's weary side (2)!"

Dr. Langhorne hath likewise, distinctly illustrated the beauties of the Eclogues (3).

[C] Highly as Mr. Collins's Odes deserved a far superior fate.] The subjects of the Odes descriptive and allegorical were as follows: Ode to Pity. Ode to Fear. Ode to Simplicity. Ode on the Poetical Character. Ode, written in the Year 1746. Ode to Mercy. Ode to Liberty. Ode to a Lady, on the Death of Colonel Charles Ross in the Action at Fontenoy; written in May, 1745. Ode to Evening. Ode to Peace. The Manners, an Ode. The Passions, an Ode for Music. The Criticism upon these Odes, in the Monthly Review, is so much to their honour, and is in itself so just and masterly, that we shall not scruple to insert it.

"If a luxuriance of imagination, a wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity of expression so extraordinary, that it might be supposed to be suggested by some superior power, rather than to be the effect of human judgment, or capacity—if these are allowed to constitute the excellence of lyric poetry, the author of the Odes descriptive and allegorical, will indisputably bear away the palm from all his Competitors in that province of the Muse.

Twelve of Mr. Collins's Odes are printed in this Collection of his works, the first of which is an Ode to Pity.

The measure of this Ode is happily chosen, for the repetition of melody is calculated to express that tenderness and pathos which must be inseparable from an Ode to Pity:

By Pella's Bard, a magic name,
By all the griefs his thought could frame,
Receive my humble rite:
Long, Pity, let the nations view
Thy sky-worn robes of tenderest blue,
And eyes of dewy light.

An ordinary Painter would have been contented to represent the eyes of Pity as languishing and mild—the *dewy light* was a stroke which the happiest imagination alone could execute.

In writing an Ode on a subject of tenderness, the Poet could not possibly omit to mention his countryman Otway, who was indeed the Priest of Pity, like Collins ingenious, and like him unhappy:

But wherefore need I wander wide
To old Ilissus' distant side,
Deserted stream, and mute?
Wild Arun too has heard thy strains,
And Echo 'midst my native plains,
Been sooth'd by Pity's lute:

I

There

(2) Monthly Review, vol. xvi. p. 486—488.

(3) Collins's Poetical Works, p. 105—133.

were not popular, at their first appearance. Allegorical and abstracted poetry was above the taste of the times, and will ever be above the taste of the bulk of readers. Dr. Langhorne

There first the wren thy myrtles shed
On gentlest Otway's infant-head,
To him thy cell was shewn;
And while he sung the female heart,
With youth's soft notes unspoil'd by art,
Thy turtles mix'd their own.

The Ode to Fear is so nervous, so expressive, and so picturesque throughout, that we have seen no lyric performance superior to it in the English language. Thus it begins:

Thou, to whom the world unknown
With all its shadowy shapes is shewn;
Who seest appall'd th' unreal scene,
While Fancy lifts the veil between:
Ah Fear! ah frantic Fear!
I see, I see thee near.
I know thy hurried step, thy haggard eye!
Like thee I start, like thee disordered fly,
For, lo! what monsters in thy train appear!

The abbreviation of the measure in the fifth and sixth verses is most nervously expressive, and most happily adapted to the suddenness of the motion excited. Danger, which is properly introduced as a personage in the train of Fear, is so characteristically described, that there is no looking upon the picture without horror:

Danger, whose limbs of giant-mold,
What mortal eye can fix'd behold?
Who stalks his round, an hideous form,
Howling amidst the midnight storm,
Or throws him on the ridgy steep
Of some loose hanging rock to sleep.

Certainly it is not in the power of human invention to produce an image of greater force and propriety than that which is exhibited in the two last quoted verses, where danger is represented as sleeping on the loosely-hanging rock of a precipice. The dreadful Beings that attend him are described with equal strength of imagination:

And with him thousand phantoms join'd,
Who prompt to deeds accurs'd the mind:
And those, the fiends, who near allied,
O'er Nature's wounds and wrecks preside:
While Vengeance in the lurid air,
Lifts her red arm, expos'd and bare;
On whom that ravening brood of Fate,
Who lap the blood of Sorrow, wait;
Who, Fear, this ghastly train can see,
And look not madly wild, like thee?

The essential part which Fear bears in the drama, could not be overlooked by an Imagination like that of Mr. Collins, and he very properly refers to its effects on the Grecian theatre:

In earliest Greece to thee, with partial choice,
The grief-full Muse address'd her infant tongue:
The maids and matrons, on her awful voice,
Silent and pale in wild amazement hung.
O Fear, I know thee by my throbbing heart,
Thy withering power inspir'd each mournful line;
Tho' gentle Pity claim'd her mingled part,
Yet all the thunders of the scene are thine.

In the Antistrophe, which concludes this inimitable Ode, Fear is thus addressed:

Say, wilt thou shroud in haunted cell,
Where gloomy Rape and Murder dwell?
Or in some hallow'd feat,
'Gainst which the big waves beat,
Hear drowning seamen's cries in tempests brought.

After this he alludes to a scenery and a superstition common in some parts of England, which has great

poetical propriety in an Ode to Fear: we mean the superstition of St. Mark's eve:

Ne'er be I found, by thee o'eraw'd,
On that thrice hallow'd eve abroad,
When ghosts, as cottage-maids believe,
Their pebbled beds, permitted, leave,
And goblins haunt, from fire or fen,
Or mine, or flood, the works of men!

The allusions to scenes of ancient Enthusiasm and Poetry, in the Ode to Simplicity, are happily designed, and delightfully expressed:

By all the honey'd store
On Hybla's thymy shore;
By all her blooms, and mingled murmurs dear,
By her whose love-lorn woe,
In evening musings slow,
Sooth'd sweetly-sad Electra's Poet's ear:

By old Cephissus deep,
Who spread his wavy sweep,
In warbled wanderings round thy green retreat,
On whose enamel'd side,
When holy Freedom died,
No equal haunt allur'd thy future feet.

O sister meek of Truth,
To my admiring youth,
Thy sober aid, and native charms infuse!
The flowers that sweetest breathe,
Tho' Beauty cull'd the wreath,
Still ask thy hand to range their order'd hues.

Simplicity is essentially necessary to the perfection of every poetical work; and Mr. Collins has borne witness, by all his performances, but particularly by his Oriental Eclogues, to the truth of the following stanza:

Tho' Taste, tho' Genius bless,
To some divine excess,
Faint's the cold work, 'till thou inspire the whole;
What each, what all supply,
May court, may charm the eye,
Thou, only thou canst raise the meeting soul.

After this, how much in character is the next stanza, with which the Ode concludes?

Of these let others ask,
To aid some mighty task,
I only seek to find thy temperate vale:
Where oft my reed might sound
To maids, and shepherds round,
And all thy sons, O Nature, learn my tale.

The Ode on the poetical Character is so extremely wild and extravagant, that it seems to have been written wholly during the tyranny of imagination. Some, however, there are, whose congenial spirits may keep pace with the Poet in his most excentric flights, and from some of his casual strokes may catch those sublime ideas which, like him, they have experienced, but have never been able to express—Some, to whom Fancy

The cest of amplest power has given:
To whom the godlike gift assigns,
To gaze her visions wild, and feel unmix'd her flame.

But poetry so entirely abstracted, can only be entertaining to the few. The little Ode which follows this, and which is said to have been written in the beginning of the year 1746, will be more generally pleasing, as it is equally beautiful and simple:

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
With all their country's wishes blest!
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallow'd mold,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

Langhorne justly observes, that "it is in the lower walks, the plain and practical paths of the Muses only, that the generality of men can be entertained. The higher efforts of imagination are above their capacity (b)."

(b) Memoirs of Mr. Collins, ubi supra, p. xi, xii.

Whilst

By fairy-hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honour comes, a Pilgrim grey,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay.
And Freedom shall a while repair,
To dwell a weeping Hermit there.

The Strophe in the Ode to Mercy affords the finest subject for a picture that imagination can form:

O thou, who sit'st a smiling bride,
By Valour's arm'd and awful side,
Gentlest of sky-born forms, and best ador'd:
Who oft with songs, divine to hear,
Win'st from his fatal grasp the spear,
And hid'st in wreaths of flowers his bloodless sword!

There is something perfectly classical in Mr. Collins's manner, both with respect to his imagery and his composition; and Horace's rule of *ut Picura Poetis*, was never better observed than in the above-quoted verses.

The same style of painting, though somewhat bolder, characterises the Ode to Liberty:

Who shall awake the Spartan fire,
And call in solemn sounds to life,
The youths whose locks divinely spreading,
Like vernal hyacinths in fullen hue,
At once the breath of fear and virtue shedding,
Applauding Freedom lov'd of old to view?

The Poet, after these lines, refers to that beautiful fragment of Alceus:

εν μυστῇ κλαδί, &c.

which, together with a translation, the Reader will find in the first article of our review for October, 1762.

The ruin of the Liberties and of the State of Rome are described in a most picturesque and pathetic manner:

No, Freedom, no: I will not tell,
How Rome, before thy weeping face,
With heaviest sound, a giant statue fell.
Push'd by a wild, and artless race,
From off its wide, ambitious base,
When time his northern sons of spoil awoke,
And all the blended work of strength and grace,
With many a rude, repeated stroke,
And many a barbarous yell to thousand fragments broke.

The ancient tradition that there was formerly a temple of Liberty in Britain, awakes, at once, the enthusiasm, and the patriotism of our liberal Bard. Hear with what rapture he dwells upon the thought:

Then too, 'tis said, an hoary pile,
'Midst the green navel of our isle,
Thy shrine in some religious wood,
O soul-enforcing Goddess, stood!
There, oft the painted natives feet
Were wont thy form celestial meet:
Tho' now with hopeless toil we trace
Time's backward rolls, to find its place;
Whether the fiery-tressed Dane,
Or Roman's self o'erturn'd the Fane,
Or in what heaven-left age it fell,
'Twere hard for modern song to tell.
Yet still, if Truth those beams infuse,
Which guide at once, and charm the Muse,
Beyond yon braided clouds that lie
Paving the light-embroider'd sky:
Amidst the bright pavilion'd plains
The beauteous model still remains.
There happier than in islands blest,
Or bowers by Spring or Hebe drest,

The Chiefs who fill our Albion's story,
With warlike deeds, retir'd in glory,
Hear their consoled Druids sing
Their triumphs to th' immortal string.

In the Passions, an Ode for Music, (which, if we are not mistaken, was sometime ago set by Dr. Hayes) the emotions of the soul are described, and the movements of the verse adapted to them with equal happiness:

But thou, O Hope, with eyes so fair,
What was thy delighted measure?
Still it whisper'd promis'd pleasure,
And bad the lovely scenes at distance hail!
Still would her touch the strain prolong,
And from the rocks, the woods, the vale,
She call'd on Echo still thro' all her song;
And where her sweetest theme she chose,
A soft responsive voice was heard at every close,
And Hope enchanted smil'd and waved her golden hair.

The force of the following stanza must be universally felt:

First Fear his hand, its skill to try,
Amid the chords, bewilder'd, laid,
And back recoil'd he knew not why,
Even at the sound himself had made.

It is with peculiar pleasure that we do this justice to a Poet who was too great to be popular, and whose genius was neglected, because it was above the common taste (4)."

(4) Monthly Review, vol. xxx. p. 21-26.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting the Ode upon the Passions at full length.

When Music, heavenly maid, was young,
While yet in early Greece she sung,
The Passions oft, to hear her shell,
Throng'd around her magic cell,
Exulting, trembling, raging, fainting,
Possess'd beyond the Muse's painting;
By turns they felt the glowing mind
Disturb'd, delighted, rais'd, refin'd.
Till once, 'tis said, when all were fir'd,
Fill'd with fury, rapt, inspir'd,
From the supporting myrtles round
They snatch'd her instruments of sound,
And as they oft had heard apart
Sweet lessons of her forceful art,
Each, for madness rul'd the hour,
Would prove his own expressive power.

First Fear his hand, its skill to try,
Amid the chords bewilder'd laid,
And back recoil'd, he knew not why,
Even at the sound himself had made.

Next Anger rush'd, his eyes on fire,
In lightnings own'd his secret stings,
In one rude clash he struck the lyre,
And swept with hurried hand the strings.

With woeful measures wan Despair—
Low fullen sounds his grief beguil'd,
A solemn, strange, and mingled air,
'Twas sad by fits, by starts 'twas wild.

But thou, O Hope, with eyes so fair,
What was thy delighted measure?
Still it whisper'd promis'd pleasure,
And bad the lovely scenes at distance hail!
Still would her touch the strain prolong,
And from the rocks, the woods, the vale,
She call'd on Echo still thro' all the song;
And where her sweetest theme she chose,
A soft responsive voice was heard at every close,
And Hope enchanted smil'd, and wav'd her golden hair.
And longer had she sung,—but, with a frown,
Revenge impatient rose,

He

(i) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 311.

Whilst Mr. Collins resided in London, Dr. Johnson fell into his company. "His appearance, says the Doctor, was decent and manly; his knowledge considerable, his views extensive, his conversation elegant. By degrees I gained his confidence; and one day was admitted to him when he was immured by a Bailiff, that was prowling in the street. On this occasion recourse was had to the Booksellers; who, on the credit of a translation of Aristotle's Poeticks, which he engaged to write, with a large commodity, advanced as much money as enabled him to escape into the country. He shewed me the guineas safe in his hand.⁽ⁱ⁾" Not long after this event, Mr. Collins found some consolation in changing the scene, and visiting his uncle, Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, who was then with the British army in Flanders. In a little time the Colonel died, and left his nephew about two thousand pounds; a sum which our Poet could scarcely think exhaustible, and which he did not live to exhaust. One of the first things he did after his uncle's decease, was to repay the money he had obtained from the Booksellers, on the credit of translating Aristotle's Poeticks; for he no longer thought of performing that engagement. Mr. Collins's accession of fortune came too late to be of any essential service to him. His faculties had been so long harrassed by anxiety, dissipation, and distress, that he fell into a nervous disorder, which brought with it an unconquerable depression of spirits, and at length reduced the finest understanding to the most deplorable childishness. His disorder was not alienation of mind, but general laxity and feebleness, a deficiency rather of vital than intellectual powers. What he spoke wanted neither judgment nor spirit: but a few minutes exhausted him, so that he was forced to rest upon the couch, till a short cessation restored his powers, and he was again able to talk with his former vigour. When he felt the approaches of this dreadful malady, with the usual

He threw his blood-stain'd sword in thunder down,
And, with a withering look,
The war-denouncing trumpet took,
And blew a blast so loud and dread;
Were ne'er prophetic sounds so full of woe.
And ever and anon he beat
The doubling drum with furious heat;
And tho' sometimes, each dreary pause between,
Dejected Pity at his side,
Her soul-subduing voice applied,
Yet still he kept his wild unalter'd mien,
While each strain'd ball of fight seem'd bursting from
his head.
Thy numbers, jealousy, to nought were fix'd,
Sad proof of thy distressful state,
Of differing themes the veering song was mix'd,
And now it courted Love, now raving call'd on
Hate.

With eyes uprais'd, as one inspir'd,
Pale Melancholy sat retir'd,
And from her wild sequester'd seat,
In notes by distance made more sweet,
Pour'd thro' the mellow Horn her pensive soul:
And dashing soft from rocks around,
Bubbling runnels join'd the sound;
Thro' glades and glooms the mingled measure stole,
Or o'er some haunted streams with fond delay,
Round an holy calm diffusing,
Love of peace, and lonely musing,
In hollow murmurs died away.
But O, how alter'd was its sprightlier tone!
When Cheerfulness, a nymph of healthiest hue,
Her bow across her shoulder flung,
Her buskins gemm'd with morning dew,
Blew an inspiring air, that dale and thicket rung,
The hunter's call to Faun and Dryad known;
The oak-crown'd Sisters, and their chaste-eyed
queen,
Satyrs and sylvan boys were seen,
Peeping from forth their alleys green;
Brown Exercise rejoic'd to hear,
And Sport leapt up, and seiz'd his beechen spear.
Last came Joy's ecstatic trial,
He with viny crown advancing,
First to the lively pipe his hand address'd,
But soon he saw the brisk awakening viol,
Whose sweet entrancing voice he lov'd the best.
They would have thought, who heard the strain,
They saw in Tempe's vale her native maids,
Amidst the festal sounding shades,
To some unwearied minstrel dancing,
While, as his flying fingers kiss'd the strings,
Love fram'd with Mirth, a gay fantastic round,
Loose were her tresses seen, her zone unbound,
And he, amidst his frolic play,

As if he would the charming air repay,
Shook thousand odours from his dewy wings.

O Music, sphere-descended maid,
Friend of pleasure, wisdom's aid,
Why, Goddess, why to us denied?
Lay'st thou thy ancient lyre aside?
As in that lov'd Athenian bower,
You learn'd an all-commanding power,
Thy mimic soul, O nymph endear'd,
Can well recall what then it heard.
Where is thy native simple heart,
Devote to virtue, fancy, art?
Arise, as in that elder time,
Warm, energetic, chaste, sublime!
Thy wonders, in that god-like age,
Fill thy recording Sister's page—
'Tis said, and I believe the tale,
Thy humblest Reed could more prevail,
Had more of strength, diviner rage,
Than all which charms this laggard age,
Even all at once together found
Cæcilia's mingled world of sound—
O bid our vain endeavours cease,
Revive the just designs of Greece,
Return in all thy simple state!
Confirm the tales her sons relate⁽⁵⁾!"

(5) Collins's Poetical Works, p. 81—87.

"If the music, says Dr. Langhorne, which was composed for this Ode, had equal merit with the Ode itself, it must have been the most excellent performance of the kind, in which poetry and music have, in modern times, united. Other pieces of the same nature have derived their greatest reputation from the perfection of the music that accompanied them, having in themselves little more merit than that of an ordinary ballad: but in this we have the whole soul and power of poetry—Expression that, even without the aid of music, strikes to the heart; and imagery of power enough to transport the attention, without the forceful alliance of corresponding sounds. What, then, must have been the effect of these united!" The Doctor, after illustrating some of the peculiar beauties of the Poem, concludes with observing, that, "upon the whole, there may be very little hazard in asserting, that this is the finest Ode in the English language⁽⁶⁾." In the collection of Collins's works, there are two poems we have not yet mentioned. These are, a Dirge in Cymbeline, and an Ode on the death of Mr. Thomson, both of which are very beautiful. The Epistle to Sir Thomas Hanmer is the least interesting of our author's productions. We scarcely need to inform our readers, that his various excellencies as a Poet are particularly marked out by Dr. Langhorne.

(6) Observations on the Genius and Writings of Collins; annexed to his Poetical Works, p. 178—181.

weakness

weakness of men so diseased, he eagerly snatched that temporary relief with which the table and the bottle flatter and seduce. But his health continually declined, and he grew more and more burthensome to himself. Having continued, with short intervals, in this pitiable state, till the year 1756, he died in the arms of his sister. In his last illness, he shewed to Dr. Joseph and Mr. Thomas Warton, an Ode, inscribed to Mr. John Hume, on the Superstition of the Highlands; which they thought superior to his other works, but which no search has yet found (k).

(k) Langhorne's
Memoirs, *ubi su-
pra*, p. xii—xiv.
Johnson, *ubi su-
pra*, p. 311, 312,
315, 316.

Not long after our Poet's decease, the following character of him was drawn up by Dr. Johnson: "Mr. Collins was a man of extensive literature, and of vigorous faculties. He was acquainted not only with the learned tongues, but with the Italian, French, and Spanish languages. He had employed his mind chiefly upon works of fiction, and subjects of fancy; and, by indulging some peculiar habits of thought, was eminently delighted with those flights of imagination which pass the bounds of nature, and to which the mind is reconciled only by a passive acquiescence in popular traditions. He loved Fairies, Genii, Giants, and Monsters; he delighted to rove through the meanders of enchantment, to gaze on the magnificence of golden palaces, to repose by the waterfalls of Elysian gardens. This was, however, the character rather of his inclination than his genius. The grandeur of wildness, and the novelty of extravagance, were always desired by him, but were not always attained. Yet as diligence is never wholly lost, if his efforts sometimes caused harshness and obscurity, they likewise produced, in happier moments, sublimity and splendour. This idea, which he had formed of excellence, led him to Oriental fictions, and allegorical imagery; and, perhaps, while he was intent upon description, he did not sufficiently cultivate sentiment. His poems are the productions of a mind not deficient in fire, nor unfurnished with knowledge either of books or life, but somewhat obstructed in its progress by deviation in quest of mistaken beauties.

"His morals were pure, and his opinions pious. In a long continuance of poverty, and long habits of dissipation, it cannot be expected that any character should be exactly uniform. There is a degree of want by which the freedom of agency is almost destroyed; and long association with fortuitous companions will at last relax the strictness of truth, and abate the fervour of sincerity. That this man, wise and virtuous as he was, passed always unentangled through the snares of life, it would be prejudice and temerity to affirm. But it may be said, that at least he preserved the source of action unpolluted, that his principles were never shaken, that his distinctions of right and wrong were never confounded; and that his faults had nothing of malignity or design, but proceeded from some unexpected pressure, or casual temptation.

"The latter part of his life cannot be remembered but with pity and sadness. He languished some years under that depression of mind which enchains the faculties without destroying them, and leaves reason the knowledge of right, without the power of pursuing it. These clouds, which he found gathering on his intellects, he endeavoured to disperse by travel, and passed into France, but found himself constrained to yield to his malady, and returned. He was for some time confined in a house of lunatics, and afterwards retired to the care of his sister in Chichester, where death, in 1756, came to his relief.

"After his return from France, the writer of this character paid him a visit at Islington, where he was waiting for his sister, whom he had directed to meet him: there was then nothing of disorder discernible in his mind by any but himself; but he had withdrawn from study, and travelled with no other book than an English Testament, such as children carry to the school: when his friend took it into his hand, out of curiosity to see what companion a man of letters had chosen, 'I have but one book,' says Collins, but that is the best (l).

(l) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 312—315.

To this character Dr. Johnson hath since added, that Mr. Collins's diction was often harsh, unskilfully laboured, and injudiciously selected. "He affected, says the Doctor, the obsolete, when it was not worthy of revival; and he puts his words out of the common order, seeming to think, with some later candidates for fame, that not to write prose is certainly to write poetry. His lines commonly are of slow motion, clogged and impeded with clusters of consonants. As men are often esteemed who cannot be loved, so the poetry of Collins may sometimes extort praise when it gives little pleasure (m).

(m) *Ibid.* p. 315, 316.

That Dr. Johnson's estimate of the genius and writings of Mr. Collins is too severe, will be allowed by most readers. A very different opinion of his poetical excellence is maintained in the notes [B] and [C]; and other testimonies may be produced to the same purpose, from Critics of undoubted reputation. Mr. Thomas Warton, speaking of Collins, calls him his lamented friend, "whose Odes will be remembered while any taste for true poetry remains (n)." "The genius of Collins, says Mr. Knox, seems in some measure to have resembled that of Tickell. Dignity, solemnity, and pathos, are the striking features of his compositions. None but a true Poet could have written the Song over Fidele in Shakspeare's Cymbeline (o)." Mr. Potter, treating of the Ode, VOL. IV. K asserts,

(n) History of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 361. note.

(o) Knox's Essays, moral and literary, vol. ii. p. 379. Edition of 1782.

asserts, that Collins was the first of our Poets who reached its excellence. "His mind
 "was impressed with a tender melancholy, but without any mixture of that sullen gloom
 "which deadens its powers: it led him to the softest sympathy, that most refined feeling
 "of the human heart. His faculties were vigorous, and his genius truly sublime: his
 "style is close and strong, and his numbers in general harmonious. He was well ac-
 "quainted with Æschylus and Euripides, and drew deep from their fountains. His
 "thoughts had a romantic cast, and his imagination a certain wild grandeur, which some-
 "times perhaps approaches to the borders of extravagance; but this led him to descrip-
 "tions and allegories wonderfully poetical: such, for instance, is the antistrophe in his
 "Ode to Liberty, and the first part of his Ode to Fear: Æschylus himself has not a
 "bolder conception, and the grandeur of thought is as greatly expressed. Dr. Johnson
 "speaks of this sublime Poet with a tenderness which reflects honour on himself: he al-
 "lows him sometimes to have sublimity and splendour; but in the coldness of criticism
 "expresses some disapprobation of his allegorical imagery, and is unjust to his harmony (p)." (p) Potter's In-

quiry into some
 Passages in Dr.
 Johnson's Lives
 of the Poets, p.
 15.

Though we agree with these ingenious Critics, in giving a much higher rank to Collins as a Poet than Dr. Johnson seems willing to allow him, and though we condemn the excesses to which the Doctor's strictures are carried, it must be acknowledged, that they are not in every respect destitute of foundation. Mr. Collins is occasionally, though not frequently, harsh in his numbers: his personifications appear, in a few instances, to be multiplied beyond just cause; and he is sometimes blameably obscure. Of the last fault, his Ode on the Poetical Character is a striking example. But when every possible deduction is made from his merit, he will still stand entitled to a very large proportion of praise; and his Ode on the Passions must ever be joined with Dryden's St. Cecilia, and Gray's Bard, as among the boldest and brightest efforts of the Lyric Muse.

We shall conclude this article with a Sonnet from Dr. Langhorne's "Visions of Fancy;" and we insert it with the greater pleasure, as it hints at the moral which is deducible from the life of our unfortunate Poet.

Reclining in that old and honoured shade,
 Where MAGDALEN's graceful tower informs the sky,
 Urging strong thought thro' contemplation high,
 Wisdom in form of ADDISON was laid;
 Who thus fair truth's ingenuous lore convey'd
 To the poor shade of COLLINS wandering by.
 The tear stood trembling in his gentle eye,
 With modest grief reluctant, while he said—
 "Sweet Bard! beloved by every Muse in vain!
 "With powers whose fineness wrought their own decay!
 "Ah! wherefore, thoughtless didst thou yield the rein
 "To fancy's will, and chase her meteor ray?
 "Ah! why forgot thy own Hyblæan strain?
 "(q) Peace rules the breast, where reason rules the day (r)." K.

(q) Oriental
 Eclogues.

(r) Monthly Re-
 view, vol. xxx. p.
 123.

* The account from which the materials of the present article are chiefly derived, and which has appeared in several publications, was the joint production of Dr. Fothergill and Michael Collinson, Esq. We are indebted to the latter gentleman for some additional information.

(a) From the information of Michael Collinson, Esq.

* * [COLLINSON (PETER), * an excellent Citizen, a distinguished Naturalist and Antiquary, and a zealous promoter of useful knowledge, was born on the 14th of January, 1693-4 (a). The family from which he descended had long been seated in the North of England; and his great-grandfather, who was of the same christian name with himself, lived on his paternal estate, called Hugal-Hall, or Height of Hugal, near Windermere-Lake, in the parish of Stavely, about ten miles from Kendal in Westmoreland. What was his father's profession, or where he inhabited, cannot be fully ascertained; and we are equally incapable of determining at what place young Collinson received the first rudiments of his education. Being intended for trade, he does not appear to have had any great degree of instruction in the learned languages. The business in which he was brought up, was that of a wholesale dealer, in what is called man's mercery; and he had a brother, James, who seems to have been bred to the same business. It is supposed, that man's mercery was the employment of their father. At a proper age, the two brothers engaged in trade as partners, and this was a happy circumstance for both of them; because, as they lived in entire harmony, and their occupation did not require their presence together, each of them had leisure to attend to his particular studies and pursuits, whether of pleasure or improvement (b). Mr. Peter Collinson had discovered, from his youth, a strong attachment to Natural History. The examination of insects, and their several metamorphoses, employed many of those hours which, at his time of life, are too frequently devoted to less innocent and less improving objects. Plants also engaged his attention, and he began very early to make dried specimens. So diligent was his curiosity with respect to matters of this kind, that, whilst he was yet a young man, he obtained the notice and esteem of the most eminent Naturalists of the age. Derham, Woodward, Dale, Lloyd, and Sir Hans Sloane, honoured him with their acquaintance and their friendship. He had a particular intimacy with Sir Charles Wager, which

(b) Annual Re-
 gister for 1770.
 Part the 2d, p.
 53, 54.

which he converted to the purposes of science. At the instigation of Mr. Collinson, Sir Charles made it his business, in the course of his numerous voyages, to pick up a variety of curiosities, which did not a little contribute to enrich Sir Hans Sloane's collection. With the same kind and liberal view, Sir Charles Wager encouraged the commanders under him, who were stationed in different parts of the globe, to procure whatever was rare and valuable in the several branches of Natural History. Among the vast number of articles in Sir Hans Sloane's immense treasury of nature, there were very few with which Mr. Collinson was not well acquainted; his familiarity with Sir Hans being such, that he visited him at all times, and continued to do so till his death (c). To the other friends which Mr. Collinson's scientific attainments procured him, though at a later period, must be added John, Earl of Bute; a nobleman who has now been long known in the world for his skill in botany, his distinguished encouragement of that part of philosophy, and his patronage of the liberal arts in general (d).

(d) From the information of Michael Collinson, Esq.

(e) Annual Register, ubi supra.

It was not to Natural History only that the knowledge of the gentleman who is the subject of the present article was confined. His acquaintance with the antiquities of his own country was very considerable. He was, therefore, well qualified to become a member of both the great literary institutions with which London is adorned. Accordingly, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in December 1728, being then nearly thirty-five years of age. To the Society of Antiquaries he had the honour of belonging from its first institution (e). How diligent and useful a member he was of the Royal Society, is apparent from many parts of the Philosophical Transactions, to which we refer such of our readers as are desirous of obtaining a more particular view of his zeal in extending the boundaries of science. Besides his personal communications, which were curious and valuable, he promoted and preserved a most extensive correspondence with the learned and ingenious of all countries. We shall only here take notice, that, in the fifty-first volume of the Philosophical Transactions, Mr. Collinson, in a letter to the Honourable J. Th. Klein, Secretary to the City of Dantzick, has maintained the opinion of the migration of swallows, in opposition to that gentleman, who insisted that they are not birds of passage, but that, at the time of their going away, they retire under the water, and live therein all the winter. This hypothesis Mr. Collinson regards as incongruous to nature and reason, and urges the authority of Sir Charles Wager, one Captain Wright, and Mr. Adanson, as eye-witnesses of the travels of swallows (f). We have the rather been led to the mention of the controversy, as our author's sentiments have been ingeniously and ably opposed by Mr. Daines Barrington, first, in the sixty-second volume of the Philosophical Transactions, and since, with considerable additions, in the late publication of his Miscellanies (g).

(g) Miscellanies by the Honourable Daines Barrington, p. 174—244.

Mr. Collinson was not a little zealous, as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, to promote the ends of the institution. One distinguished testimony of his attention in this respect, is his paper relating to the round tower at Ardmore in Ireland. There are several of these towers in that kingdom, and different opinions have been formed concerning the design for which they were constructed. Mr. Charles Smith, upon the authority of some ancient Irish manuscripts, maintains that they were used for imprisoning penitents, and with him Mr. Collinson agrees. According to the manuscripts, these penitents were placed in the uppermost story of the tower, where having made probation, or done penance for a limited time, according to the heinousness of their crimes, they then were permitted to descend to the next floor; and thus they proceeded by degrees, until they came to the door, which always faced the entrance of the church, where they stood to receive absolution from the Clergy, and the blessings of the people (h). Plausible as this account may appear, it has been ably controverted by Owen Salusbury Brereton, Esq; who thinks that the towers in question were ancient Irish structures, and that, from their situation near churches, and having a floor and windows only at the top, the principal use of them was to receive a person to call the people to worship, with some wind-instrument (i). Mr. Collinson's extensive correspondence enabled him to procure, for the Society of Antiquaries, a relation of some very curious Tartarian antiquities (k). Wherever he was, or however seemingly engaged, nothing that deserved notice at any time escaped him; and he minuted down every striking hint that occurred to him either in reading or in company. With such hints he was perhaps still more furnished by conversation than from books; for there was scarcely a man of learning and ingenuity in England, of any profession, with whom he was not acquainted. As to the foreigners who came into this country either for improvement or pleasure, those of them who were eminent for their knowledge in Natural History, or for their proficiency in any art or science, were constantly recommended to his friendly attentions. Among these was the celebrated Linnæus, with whom, during his residence in England, Mr. Collinson contracted a peculiar intimacy, fostered by congeniality of pursuits, and cemented and increased by a variety of reciprocal good offices. Their friendship continued unbroken, till it was interrupted by death. The numerous recommendations of foreigners to Mr. Collinson were the natural result of his extensive correspondence, and did not a little contribute to enlarge it. In his obligations of this kind, he maintained the strictest punctuality. He acquainted the learned and ingenious

(c) Ibid.

(f) Monthly Review, vol. xxv. p. 2, 3.

(h) Archæologia, vol. i. p. 305—307.

(i) Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 80—82.

(k) Ibid. p. 222—226.

in

(l) Annual Register, *ubi supra*, p. 54, 55.

in distant quarters of the globe, with the discoveries and improvements that were here made in different branches of knowledge; and there is scarcely any part of the world from which he did not receive informations of a similar kind in return. From this various intelligence he had it in his power to promote, in several important respects, the honour and advantage of his native country (l).

From a letter of Dr. Franklin's, in the Annual Register, vol. xix. Part the 2d, p. 53.

(m) Annual Register, vol. xiii. *ubi supra*. See also Dr. Franklin's letter, referred to above.

In the year 1730, a subscription Library was begun at Philadelphia, in North-America, to which Mr. Collinson made a number of valuable presents, and procured others from his friends. As the Library Company had a considerable sum arising annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to transact the business for them, he voluntarily and cheerfully undertook that service, and executed it for more than thirty years successively. He not only assisted in the choice of books, but took upon himself the whole care of collecting and shipping them, without ever charging or accepting any consideration for his trouble. The success of this library, which was not a little owing to his kind countenance and good advice, encouraged the erection of others, in different places, on the same plan; so that, after some time, there were upwards of thirty subsisting in the several Colonies, which contributed greatly to the spreading of useful knowledge in that part of the world. The books recommended by him were all of the most valuable kind, and the catalogue of the first library was much respected and followed by those libraries that succeeded*. To the Directors of the Library at Philadelphia, among whom was Mr. Benjamin, now the famous Dr. Franklin, Mr. Collinson transmitted the earliest information of every European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and of every philosophical discovery. He sent over, in 1745, an account of some new experiments in electricity, that had lately been made in Germany, together with a glass tube, and proper directions with regard to the manner in which the experiments should be repeated. This was the first notice which Dr. Franklin had received on that curious subject; a subject which, being encouraged by the friendly reception Mr. Collinson gave to his letters concerning it, he has since prosecuted with a success that has rendered him eminent in all the countries of Europe (m), and, indeed, in every civilized part of the globe. Whatever different opinions may be formed of his political conduct, the Franklinian system of electricity will hand down his name, with great philosophical reputation, to the latest posterity.

Among other instances of Mr. Collinson's active zeal to promote the advantage of his country, we must not omit to mention the account which he procured, and published, of the management of sheep in Spain, with respect to their migration from the mountains to the plains, and back from the plains to the mountains [A]. Perhaps this account, in some

[A] *The account which he procured, and published, of the management of sheep in Spain, &c.* Though this account hath already appeared in the Annual Register for 1764, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same year, it is so curious and entertaining, and may hereafter be of such great utility, that we rather expect the thanks, than the censure of our readers, for giving it a place in the present article.

Account of the Sheep and Sheep-walks of Spain, in a Letter from a Gentleman in Spain, to Mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S.

"SIR,

"There are two kinds of sheep in Spain. The coarse-wooled sheep, who remain all their lives in their native country, and who are housed every night in winter; and the fine-wooled sheep, who are all their lives in the open air, who travel every summer from the cool mountains of the northern parts of Spain, to feed all the winter on the southern warm plains of Andalusia, Manca, and Extremadura. From computations made with the utmost accuracy it has appeared, that there are five millions of fine-wooled sheep in Spain, and that the wool and flesh of a flock of ten thousand sheep produced yearly about twenty-four reals a head, which we will suppose to be nearly the value of twelve English sixpences; of these but one goes clear a head to the owner yearly, three sixpences a head go yearly to the king, and the other eight go to the expences of pasture, tithes, shepherds, dogs, salt, shearing, &c.

"Thus the annual product of the five millions of sheep amounts to thirty-seven millions and a half of sixpences, a little more or less, of which there are about three millions and a half for the owners; above fifteen millions enter into the treasury, and seven millions and a half go to the benefit of the public.

Hence it is that the Kings of Spain call these flocks in their ordinances, *the precious jewel of the crown*.

"Formerly this jewel was really set in the crown. A succession of many kings were lords of all the flocks: hence that great number of ordinances, penal laws, privileges, and immunities which issued forth in different reigns for the preservation and special government of the sheep: hence a royal council was formed under the title of the council of the grand royal flock, which exists to this day, though the king has not a single sheep. Various exigencies of state, in different reigns, alienated by degrees the whole grand flock from the crown, together with all its privileges, which were collected and published in the year 1731, under the title of laws of the royal flock; a volume in large folio of above five hundred pages.

"The wars and wants of Philip the first's reign forced that king to sell forty thousand sheep to the marquis of Iturbieta, which was the last flock of the crown.

"Ten thousand sheep compose a flock, which is divided into ten tribes. One man has the conduct of all. He must be the owner of four or five hundred sheep, strong, active, vigilant, intelligent in pasture, in the weather, and in the diseases of sheep. He has absolute dominion over fifty shepherds and fifty dogs, five of each to a tribe. He chuses them, he chastises them, or discharges them at will; he is the prepositus or chief shepherd of the whole flock. You may judge of his importance by his salary: he has forty pounds a year and a horse, whereas the first shepherd of a tribe has but forty shillings a year, the second thirty-four, the third twenty-five, the fourth fifteen, and a boy ten shillings a year. All their allowance is two pounds of bread a day each. They may keep a few goats and sheep in the flock, but the wool is for the master; they have only the lambs and the flesh. The chief shepherd gives them three shillings in April, and three in October, by way of regale for the road; and these

some future period, may not be considered as one of the least of the benefits which have accrued from his extensive and inquisitive correspondence. When America is better peopled;

are all the sweets these miserable wretches enjoy; exposed every day in the year to all weathers, and every night to lie in a hut. Thus fare, and thus live, generally to old age, 25,000 men, who clothe Kings in scarlet, and Bishops in purple; for that is the number computed to keep the fine-wooled sheep of Spain, with the same number of dogs of the large mastiff kind, who are allowed two pounds of bread a piece a day. I often saw these flocks in the summer sheep-walks of the hills and vales of Leo, Old Castile, Cuenca, and Arragon. I saw them in their winter plains of Manca, Extremadura, and Andalusia. I often met them in their peregrination from the one to the other. I saw and I saw again. One eye is worth an hundred ears. I enquired, I observed, and even made experiments. All this was done when I happily got acquainted with a good plain old Friar, who had a consummate knowledge of all the mechanical, low, minute circumstances and economy of a flock. He told me that he was the son of a shepherd, that he had followed fifteen long years the tribe of sheep his father led; that at twenty-five years of age he begged an old primer, that at thirty he could read, that at thirty-six he had learned Latin enough to read mass and the breviary; that he was ordained by Don Juan Navarra, Lord Bishop of Albarazzin, who, as it is known, even to a proverb in Spain, has ordained thousands, declaring these forty years, in a loud voice, *That a Priest is the most precious boon which a Bishop can bestow, in the name of God, to mankind, even though he was as unlearned as an apostle*: that thus ordained he entered into the order of St. Francis; that he had never meddled in their affairs these twenty-four years past, but only said mass, confessed, instructed, and gave an eye to about five hundred wethers who grazed in the neighbouring downs for the use of the convent; that he had read the Bible, the Lives of the Saints, and the Lives of the Popes, with no other view in the world but to find out all that was said about shepherds; that good Abel was the first shepherd, that all the patriarchs were shepherds, that the meek shepherd Moses was chosen to deliver the people of God out of bondage; that Saul, in seeking his father's flocks, found a kingdom; that David went out from his flock to slay the Philistine giant; that 14,000 sheep was the chief reward Job received for his invincible patience; that Isidro, the protecting saint of Madrid, was not, as is vulgarly believed, an husbandman, like wicked Cain, but that he was really a keeper of sheep; that the great Pope Sixtus Quintus was verily and truly a shepherd, and not a swine-herd; that, for his part, he had forsaken his sheep to become a shepherd of men. He had all these things by heart, just as he had all the minute circumstances of the sheep he had followed; and this latter would have been imperfect, had I not met him.

"The five millions of sheep pass the summer in the cool mountains and hills above-named. Before we begin their itineraries to their winter walks, let us see how a few flocks live in a couple of cantons, which I will chuse to serve as examples for all the rest: one is the Montana, the other is Molina Arragon. I select these two for these reasons; because I passed two summers in one, and a summer in the other: one is the most northern part of Spain, and at the greatest distance from the winter walks; the other is towards the east, and the shortest journey the sheep have to make: one is the highest, and the other the lowest, summer walk in Spain; and because one is full of aromatic plants, and the other has none.

"At the extremity of Old Castile there is a territory called the Montana: it is divided into two parts. The low mountains is that chain of mountains which bounds the Cantabrian sea. The city of Santander is its chief port, from whence you ascend southerly, twelve long leagues, a succession of high craggy mountains, to the town of Reynosa in the Upper Montana, which ascent reaches three leagues more, and then you always descend about fourteen leagues to the city of Burgos, the capital of Old Castile. Reynosa

VOL. IV.

is in the center of an open plain, surrounded by a ridge of high mountains, at whose feet are low hills of pasture land. The source of the great river Ebro is an hour's walk to the west of Reynosa. All the spring rain, and snow waters of the mountains to the north of Reynosa, run into the bay of Biscay. The waters of the southern chain are collected in the river Pisuerga, which running into the river Duero, are carried to the Atlantic ocean at Oporto, and all the water that falls into the plains of Reynosa, runs with the Ebro into the Mediterranean, seven leagues below the city of Tortosa. Hence we see that the adjacent parts of Reynosa divide the waters of three seas, which lie north, east, and west. Eight leagues square of this Upper Montana is the highest land of Spain: the mountains rise in the atmosphere to the line of congelation. I see snow from my window this fourth of August that I am writing this. Some years ago, there used to fall so much snow, that the people were forced to dig lanes through the snow to go to church in winter; but there has fallen little snow since the Lisbon earthquake, and some years none at all. It certainly changed the climates of many parts of Spain. No man living saw, nor heard his father say he saw, snow fall in or about Seville, till the year 1756, which extraordinary appearance struck a dread into some convents: they rung the bells to prayers, and made processions to appease the wrath of heaven, as if the falling flakes foreboded the last day. I found many plants only beginning to flower here, which I saw in seed below at Santander. I remember to have seen in Switzerland all the plants but two, which grow in the mountains, hills, and plains of Reynosa, a small yellow-flowered genistella, with an herbaceous, triangular-jointed stem, and wild gooseberry bushes. The high mountains abound with oak, birch, holly, and hazel.

"The hills and plains are fine pasture: I never saw a meadow in any other part of Spain, nor cows and horses feed on hay. These mountains are formed of sand-stone, lime-stone, plaster-stone, [talc] and emery-stone. The sand-stone is at the summit of the mountains and hills in some, and the lime-stone forms the body. You see the contrary in others, but the sand-stone abounds, and the plaster is always the lowest. As for example, the high mountain of Arandilla, which is about a small league north of the town, is all sand-stone at the summit; its body is a mass of ash-coloured lime-stone, in which you find imprisoned petrified cornua ammonis and scollop-shells, and beds of plaster-stone at his foot towards the plain, which join to strata of black marble veined with white and yellow; which is no more than a purer lime-stone like all other marble, and you find great blocks of emery-stone in the plain and on the hill to the east of Reynosa, of which I will say a word, because I think its nature is not truly known, at least that of emery, which the looking-glass grinders of the king's fabric at St. Ildefonso say is the most biting emery they ever used, and I never saw any other in its native matrix. That iron has been, and is now, in a fluid state, percolating through the earth, and that it subsides, crystallises, or is precipitated to form different bodies, is demonstrated by the black and red bloodstone (hematites) by some beautiful stalactites, which are almost pure iron; by the eagle-stone; by figured pyrites; by native vitriol, and by native crocus. When this fluid iron penetrates a rock of sand-stone, and only stains the surface of each grain of a brownish, reddish, or yellow colour, it is only sand and crocus. But when this fluid iron, joined with the crystalline matter, is in a fluid state, in the very act of the crystallisation of each grain of sand, it incorporates with it, increases its weight and hardness, it is emery. The earths of the mountains and hills are of the nature of the rock below. If it be lime-stone, the soil cast into any acid liquor will boil up with a violent effervescence, and the acid will dissolve it. If the rock below be sand-stone, plaster-stone, or emery, the earths of the hill or mountain will remain quiet in the acid; there is

L

no

peopled, when the mountainous parts are become more habitable, when the low-lands are unloaded of their vast forests, and properly cultivated, the finest sheep in the world may

no effervescence nor dissolution. I often observed that when the rocks below are mixed, (calcareous and non-calcareous) the soil of the surface is of a mixed nature too; and I always found the action of the acid to be weak or strong upon these earths, in proportion to the stone that abounds. The farmers have found out by experience the genus of these two simple, and even the mixt soils; they know that corn grows best in the sod that covers the lime-stone, that the mixed requires much manure, and that the deep, fat, clayey soil, which covers the sand-stone, must have more ploughing and other labour than the farmer can afford; and corn-land and calcareous or lime-stone land, are synonymous terms in this country. These rocks and earths would be improperly mentioned in a letter upon wool, were it not that the sheep find out the nature of these three soils as surely as farmers and acids.

"The first thing the shepherd does when the flock returns from the south to their summer downs, is to give them as much salt as they will eat. Every owner allows his flock of a thousand sheep one hundred arroves or twenty-five quintals of salt, which the flock eats in about five months: they eat none in their journey, nor in their winter walk. This has ever been the custom, and it is the true reason why the kings of Spain cannot raise the price of salt to the height it is in France; for it would tempt the shepherds to stint the sheep, which, it is believed, would weaken their constitutions and degrade the wool. The shepherd places fifty or sixty flat stones at about five steps distance from each other, he strews salt upon each stone, he leads the flock slowly through the stones, and every sheep eats to his liking. But then they never eat a grain of salt when they are feeding in lime-stone land, whether it be on the grafs of the downs, or on the little plants of the corn-fields after harvest-home. The shepherd must not suffer them to stay too long without salt: he leads them into a spot of [argillaceous] clayey soil, and in a quarter of an hour's feeding, they march to the stones and devour the salt. If they meet a spot of the mixed soil, which often happens, they eat salt in proportion. Ask the shepherd why the sheep eat no salt in lime-stone soil, and but little in the mixt? Because, Sir, it is corn-land. I know, and indeed who does not know, that lime abounds in saline matter; but then the salt which chymists extract from it may not be the genuine salt of the lime-stone before calcination, for the fire may form new combinations. It may be sea-salt, or at least the muriatic acid which rises in the vegetation of grafs, and satisfies the sheeps taste for salt. The latter end of July the rams are turned into the tribe of ewes, regulated at six or seven rams for every hundred. When the shepherd judges they are served, he collects the rams into a separate tribe to feed apart; but then there is another tribe of rams that feed apart too, and never serve the ewes, but which are merely for wool, and for the butchery: for though the wool and flesh of wethers are finer and more delicate than those of rams, yet the fleece of a ram weighs more than the fleece of a wether, who is likewise shorter-lived than the ram, which compensation is the reason there are so few tribes of wethers in the royal flock of Spain. The fleeces of three rams generally weigh twenty-five pounds: there must be the wool of four wethers and that of five ewes to weigh twenty-five pounds. There is the same disproportion in their lives, which depend upon their teeth; for when they fail they cannot bite the grafs, and they are condemned to the knife. The ewes teeth, from their tender constitutions, and the fatigue of breeding, begin to fail after five years of age, the wethers after six, and the robust ram not till towards eight. It is forbidden to expose rams flesh to sale, but the law is eluded; they cut the old rams, and as soon as the incision is healed, they are sold to the butchers at a lower price than coarse-wooled wethers. That is the reason such bad mutton is generally eaten in Madrid, and that is the reason there are more rams and fewer lamb-stones

fold and eaten every day in the year in Madrid, than in the rest of Europe.

"At the latter end of September they put on the redding or ochre: it is a ponderous iron earth, common in Spain: the shepherd dissolves it in water, and dawbs the sheeps backs with it from the neck to the rump. It is an old custom. Some say it mixes with the grease of the wool, and so becomes a varnish impenetrable to the rain and cold; others, that its weight keeps the wool down, and so hinders it from growing long and coarse; and others, that it acts as an absorbent earth, receives part of the transpiration, which would foul the wool, and make it asperous.

"The latter end of September the sheep begin their march towards the low plains. Their itinerary is marked out by immemorial custom, and by ordinances, and is as well regulated as the march of troops. They feed freely in all the wilds and commons as they pass through; but as they must necessarily pass through many cultivated spots, the proprietors of them are obliged by law to leave a passage open for the sheep, through vineyards, olive-yards, corn-fields, and pasture land common to towns; and these passages must be at least ninety yards wide, that they may not be too crowded in a narrow lane. These passages are often so long that the poor creatures march six or seven leagues a-day to get into the open wilds, where the shepherd walks slow to let them feed at ease and rest, but they never stop: they have no day of repose: they march at least two leagues a day, *ever following the shepherd*, always feeding or seeking with their heads towards the ground till they get to their journey's end, which, from the Montana to Extremadura, is about one hundred and fifty leagues, which they march in less than forty days. The chief shepherd's first care is to see that each tribe is conducted to the same district it fed in the year before, and where the sheep were yeanned, which they think prevents a variation in the wool: though indeed this requires but little care; for it is a notorious truth, that the sheep would go to that very spot of their own accord. His next care was to fix the toils where the sheep pass the night, lest they should stray, and fall into the jaws of wolves. Lastly, the shepherds make up their poor huts with stakes, branches, and brambles; for which end, and for firing, they are allowed by the law to cut off one branch from every tree. I believe this to be the reason, that all the forest-trees near the sheep-walks in Spain are as hollow as willow-pollards. The roots of trees and the quantity of sap, increase yearly with the branches: if you lop off these, all the sap that should go to the annual production, and to the nourishment of buds, stems, leaves, flowers, fruit, and growth of the branches, remains in the trunk; from hence stagnation, fermentation, and rottenness. Next comes the time when the ewes begin to drop their lambs, which is the most toilsome and most solicitous part of the pastoral life. The shepherds first cull out the barren from the pregnant ewes, which are conducted to the best shelter, and the others to the bleakest part of the district. As the lambs fall, they are led apart with their dams to another comfortable spot. A third division is made of the last yeanned lambs, for whom was allotted from the beginning the most fertile part, the best soil, and sweetest grafs of the down, that they may grow as vigorous as the first yeanned, for they must all march the same day towards their summer-quarters: the shepherds perform four operations upon all the lambs about the same time in the month of March, but first they pay the twentieth lamb; the other half tithe is paid in the winter walk: they cut off their tails five inches below the rump for cleanliness: they mark them on the nose with a hot iron: they saw off part of their horns, that the rams may neither hurt one another nor the ewes: they render impotent the lambs doomed for docile bell-wethers, to walk at the head of the tribe; they make no incision; the shepherd turns the testicles with his finger twenty times

may possibly cover the plains of Carolina, Georgia, East and West-Florida, in the winter months, and retreat to the mountains as the summer heats increase and dry up the herbage. In

times about in the scrotum, till he twists the spermatic vessels as a rope, and they wither away without any danger. As soon as the month of April comes about, which is the time of their departure, the sheep express, by various uneasy motions, a remarkable restlessness, and strong desire to go off. The shepherds must exert all their vigilance lest they should escape; and it has often happened, that a tribe has stolen a forced march of three or four leagues upon a sleepy shepherd: but he is sure to find them, for they return exactly the same way they came; and there are many examples, of three or four strayed sheep walking an hundred leagues to the very place they fed in the year before. Thus they all go off towards their summer mountains in the same order they came, only with this difference, the flocks that go to Leon and Castile are shorn in the road, where we will stay a little to see the apparatus of this operation, whilst the other flocks march on to Molina Arragon. They begin to shear the first of May, provided the weather be fair; for if the wool were not quite dry, the fleeces which are close piled upon one another would ferment and rot: it is for this reason that the sheering houses are so spacious. I saw some which can contain in bad weather twenty thousand sheep, and cost above 5000*l.* sterling: besides, the ewes are creatures of such constitutions, that if they were exposed immediately after sheering to the air of a bleak night, they would all perish.

“ There are one hundred and twenty-five sheermen employed to shear a flock of ten thousand sheep: a man sheers twelve ewes a day and but eight rams: the reason of this difference is, not only because the rams have larger bodies, stronger and more wool, but the sheermen dare not tie their feet as they do those of the unresisting ewes. Experience taught, that the bold rebellious ram would struggle even to suffocation in captivity under the sheers: they gently lay him down, they stroke his belly, they beguile him out of his fleece: a certain number of sheep are led into the great shelter-house, which is a parallelogram of four or five hundred feet long, and one hundred wide, where they remain all day: as many as they judge can be dispatched by the sheermen next day, are driven from the shelter-hall into a long, narrow, low gut, which is called the sweating-place, where they remain all night, crowded as close together as the shepherd can keep them, that they may sweat plentifully, which, as they say, is to soften the wool for the sheers, and oil their edges. They are led by degrees in the morning into the spacious sheering-hall, which joins the sweating-room. The shepherd carries them off as fast as they are sheered, to be marked with tar; and as this operation is necessarily performed upon one at a time, it gives a fair opportunity to the shepherds to cull out for the butchery all the sheep of the flock who have out-lived their teeth. The sheered sheep go to the fields to feed a little if it be fine weather; and they return in the evening to pass the night in the yard before the house, within the shelter of the walls; but if it be cold and cloudy they go into the house. They are thus brought by degrees to bear the open air; and their first days journeys from the sheering-house to the mountains are short, where we will leave them to conclude their annual peregrination, and go see how fare the flocks of Molina Arragon, which have by this time got thither; but while the mule is saddling, a word of the shorn wool.

“ The sheep and shearers dispatched, the first thing done is to weigh the whole pile of wool; the next is to divide each fleece into three sorts of wool: the back and belly give the superfine; the neck and sides give the fine; the breast, shoulders, and thighs, the coarse wool. A different price is fixed upon these three classes, though the general custom is to sell the whole pile together at a mean price. It is sold after it is washed, when it is to go out of the kingdom, or to any considerable distance in it; for as it never loses less than half its weight in washing, and often more when the sweating is violent, half the carriage is saved.

“ Here I see that I have changed the order I proposed in setting out; for I have followed the sheep from the mountains to the plains, and back again; but it is not worth mending.

“ Thirty-one leagues S. E. of Madrid, and five leagues S. of the source of the river Tagus, is the town of Molina Arragon, capital of a lordship of the crown, which is twelve leagues wide, as many long, and almost in the center of Spain. The high lands of this little territory are covered with pine-trees; the low lands feed about 150,000 sheep. Here I learnt some truths, which prove that the three following opinions should be ranked amongst vulgar errors.

“ 1. That sheep eat and love aromatic plants, and that the flesh of those that feed on hills where the sweet herbs abound has a fine taste.

“ 2. That salt springs are not found in the high primitive mountains, but in the low hills and plains only.

“ 3. That metallic vapours destroy vegetation; that no rocks nor mountains pregnant with rich veins of ore are covered with rich vegetable soil.

“ The town of Molina is almost in the middle of the sheep-walks. The solid part of the country is formed of red and grey sand-stone, lime-stone, white and grey granite, and plaster-stone, white, grey, yellow, blueish, greenish, and blood-red; in some places these are all beautifully mixed in one stratum. Time and moisture uncompound these stones: for they have mouldered, and are daily mouldering into the soil of the country, which is always of the same nature as that of the rock. The red fuller's earth, with which the manufacturers of Molina clean their cloth, is evidently the very grains of sand of the red rock degraded into earth. The rocks about the town contain either salt or saltpetre: you see the hewn stones of the houses covered with saline efflorescences which are drawn out by the sun after rain. The whole territory of Molina is full of salt springs; but there is a copious salt spring rising out of a land yet higher than the source of the Tagus, and not far from it, which is one of the highest lands in all the inward parts of Spain, for it divides the waters of the ocean and Mediterranean. The Tagus runs one hundred and fifty leagues to Lisbon, and the two rivers Gaudalquivir and Sucar, which rise near it, run to Valencia. This spring furnishes salt to the jurisdiction and bishopric of Albarrazin. There is another salt spring, in a high land too, which supplies the eighty-two towns and villages of Molina Arragon with salt. Now I will mention the salt spring that issues out of a spot in the Montana, which is higher than the source of the Ebro, and about a quarter of a mile from it.

“ There are many iron, copper, lead, and pure pyritous ores in these sheep-walks, where grow the same plants and the same sweet grass as in the other parts. I will give one example: about two hours walk N. W. of Molina there is a little hill called the Platilla: it is about half a league over from valley to valley; its body is solid, rocky, of white granite, through which run in different directions, and without any order, an infinite number of blue, green, and yellow veins of rich copper ores, which hold a little silver, mineralized by a great quantity of arsenic and sulphur. The very surface of the rock is in many places stained blueish and green, and the veins of ore are not above a foot deep in the fissures and in the solid rock, which contain lead ore sometimes up to the surface.

“ The following plants grow out of the soil which covers these arsenical sulphureous veins, and which is not above a foot deep. True oak, ilex, whose leaves fall, white-thorn, juniper; these are poor shrubs, because they are browsed by the goats. Cystus, wild rose, uva-ursi, phlomis salvia, fol. fl. luteo, verbascom of the highways, stœchas, sage, thymum legitimum, clus, serpyllum, greater and lesser; rosemary, helianthemum, pimpinella, chamædris, filipendula, stachys lychnoides, incana angustifolia flo. aureo.

In consequence of the late American revolution, such an improvement would not now be productive of that benefit to this kingdom, which Mr. Collinson expected from it: but it is worthy of consideration, whether the œconomy of Spain might not be introduced with advantage even in England; with this difference, that the hills should be chosen for the residence of the sheep in winter, and the wetter low-lands reserved for their pasture in summer (n).

(n) Annual Register, vol. xiii. *ubi supra*.

reo. var. The great asphodel, coronilla of the meadows, gallium luteum, yarrow, campanula radice esculenta à jacobea, which I saw grow in the sand of the sea-side, and is all quite white. A gladiolus, and a little glaucium, which grow in corn-fields in Spain; leucanthemum of the meadows, orchis, ornithogalum, muscaria, polygala, and about twenty kinds more, which are found likewise in meadows, corn-fields, highways, hedges, and sea-shores; yet the non-calcareous earth of this mineral hill is covered with the same sweet small grasses as the rest of the country, even the lime-stone land. I made the same observations at the three greatest mines in Europe; St. Mary of the mines in Alfatia; Claustahl in the Hartz-mountains of Hanover; and Freyberg in Saxony. The mines of St. Mary are at the head of a valley in the Voge-mountains; its hills are some of them covered with oak and pines, others with apple, pear, plum, and cherry-trees: others are fine green downs for sheep and cows, with a great variety of plants; others are fields of wheat, which in the year 1759 (as I find it in my notes) gave a product of eight for one. All these things grow in a foot or two deep of soil, which covers a rock full of the most arsenical, sulphureous silver, or copper, lead, and cobalt ore in Europe, and most of their veins near the surface.

"The mines of Claustahl are in a plain which is, in truth, the summit of a mountain. The Dorothy and Caroline veins of silver, lead, and copper ore stretched away eight miles to the Wildman mountain. The finest meadows and sweetest grasses, are upon these veins, and all their branches near the city; they feed nine hundred cows, and two hundred horses. They are mowed in June; a second grass springs up, which is mowed in August. A multitude of plants grow in these meadows over the mines, as valerian, gallium fl. albo, coronilla, chrysanthemum segetum, leucanthemum, viola tricolor. bistort. bonus henricus, St. John's wort, agrimony, ladies mantle, tussilago, &c.

"The mines of Freyberg are in the lower hills near the city: I saw them all covered with barley in the month of July. A stranger would not imagine that men were reaping corn over hundreds of miners heads, who were blowing up veins of ore, arsenic, and brimstone.

"It is true, I also saw mines in the barren naked mountains and hills; but it is certain that their barrenness is not the effect of mineral vapours. The air, moisture, heat, and cold, have more power over the surfaces of some rocks than others, to moulder the stone into earth: such is the high mountain Ramelsberg, at whose foot is the imperial city of Goslar, whose inhabitants live, and have lived these nine hundred years, by the mine of this steep barren mountain. I crept up to its summit, and found it was split and cracked into millions of fissures, from a foot wide to a hair's breadth; that in other places the rock was shivered into small rotten stones, which, in some spots, were perfectly uncompounded and fallen into earth, from whence sprang a little grass, moss, and a few plants. In short, I saw that the time of its decay into vegetable mould was not yet come, and that the mountain Ramelsberg will be one day as green as Claustahl; which shews, I think, that the world is not so old as some men fancy. I will make no apology to Mr. Peter Collinson for this digression: I heard Fame declare him twenty years ago an enemy to error; he must love truth, though he finds it placed out of order.

"As my duty obliged me to pass hundreds of days at the Platilla mine of Molina, I saw thousands of sheep feed around it. I observed, that when the shepherd made a pause, and let them feed at their will, they sought only for the fine grass, and never touched any aromatic plant; that when the creeping *terpillum* was interwoven with the grass, the sheep

industriously nosed it aside to bite a blade, which trouble made them soon seek out a pure gramineous spot. I observed too, when the shepherd perceived a threatening cloud, and gave a signal to the dogs to collect the tribe, and then go behind it, walking apace himself to lead the sheep to shelter; that as they had no time to stoop they would take a snap of *stœchas*, *rosemary*, or any other shrub in their way; for sheep will eat any thing when they are hungry, or when they walk fast. I saw them greedily devour henbane, hemlock, glaucium, and other nauseous weeds, upon their issue out of the sheering-house. If sheep loved aromatic plants, it would be one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall the farmers of Spain. The number of bee-hives is incredible: I am almost ashamed to give under my hand, that I knew a parish priest who had five thousand hives. The bees suck all their honey, and gather all their wax from the aromatic flowers, which enamel and perfume two-thirds of the sheep-walks. This priest cautiously seizes the queens in a small crape fly-catch; he clips off their wings; their majesties stay at home. He assured me that he never lost a swarm from the day of this discovery to the day he saw me, which I think was five years.

"The shepherd's chief care is not to suffer the sheep to go out of their toils till the morning sun has exhales the dew of a white frost: and never let them approach a rivulet or pond after a shower of hail, for if they should eat the dewy grass, or drink hail-water, the whole tribe would become melancholy, fast, pine away, and die, as often happened. Hail-water is so pernicious to men in this climate, that the people of Molina will not drink the river water after a violent shower of hail: experience taught the danger: but let it be never so muddy, and rise never so high after rain, they drink it without fear. Perhaps this may be the unheeded cause of many endemical epidemics of other cities. The sheep of Andaloufia, who never travel, have coarse, long, hairy wool. I saw a flock in Extremadura whose wool trailed on the ground. The itinerant sheep have short, filky, white wool. I do believe, from a few experiments and long observation, that if the fine-wooled sheep stayed at home in the winter, their wool would become coarse in a few generations. If the coarse-wooled sheep travelled from climate to climate, and lived in the free air, their wool would become fine, short, and filky in a few generations.

"The fineness of the wool is due to the animal's passing its life in an open air of equal temperature. It is not colder in Andaloufia and Extramadura in the winter, than it is in the Montana or Molina in summer. There is little frost in Andaloufia; sometimes it snows in June in Molina. I felt a cold day upon the least cloud in summer. Constant heat or constant cold, with housing, are the causes of coarse, black, and speckled wool. All the animals I know, who live in the open air, constantly keep up to the colour of their fires. There are the most beautiful brindled sheep in the world among the coarse-wooled sheep of Spain. I never saw one amongst the fine-wooled flocks; the free but less abundant perspiration in the open air is swept away as fast as it flows; whereas it is greatly increased by the excessive heat of numbers of sheep housed all night in a narrow place. It fouls the wool, makes it hairy, and changes its colour. The swine in Spain, who pass their lives in the woods, are all of one colour, as the wild boars. They have fine, filky, curled bristles. Never did a Spanish hog's bristle piece a shoe. What a quantity of dander is daily secreted from the glans of a stabled horse! the curry-comb and hair-cloth ever in hand. How clean is the skin of an horse that lives in the open air.

I am, Sir, &c.

W. B. (1)."

So

(1) Annual Register for 1764. Part 2d, p. 77—89.

So early as the year 1740, Mr. Collinson had risen to considerable reputation among those who were best acquainted with Botany and Natural History in Great-Britain. His collection was very large, and his specimens well chosen. He had a botanical garden at Mill-Hill, near Endfield, which contained many curious plants, not at that time to be found in any other, the number of which was continually increasing till his death. The collection and garden which he had formed, procured him the acquaintance of a variety of persons of rank and distinction in the kingdom, who were distinguished by their taste in planting and horticulture, or desirous to make rural improvements. With some of these he frequently spent a few days at their seats, commending and censuring what he approved and disapproved in the designs they were carrying on, with an integrity and taste which did equal honour to the simplicity of his manners, and the rectitude of his judgment. The experience of a long life had furnished him with an extensive knowledge of the various methods of cultivation, and of the particular soil and aspect which were best adapted to different plants and trees. By his superior skill in the fittest method of improving beauties, and hiding incurable defects, he often prevented young planters from committing capital mistakes, and rectified others, into which they had been misled by the ignorant or the designing. He prevailed upon many of his friends to adopt, and to persevere in the rational amusements of planting and horticulture; and this they did to the mutual advantage of themselves and their country (o). "Planting, he used to say, and (o) *Ibid.*
 "gardening, supply a fund of entertainment, the most lasting and reasonable of any occupation in this life; pleasures not to be purchased. The trees which we ourselves
 "have planted, the fruits we have raised, the plants we have cultivated, seem to be like
 "our children, a kind of new creation. Their shade, their taste, their fragrance, and
 "their beauties, affect us with a richer repast than any others. What a pleasing scene,
 "would he observe, lies open to a young man of fortune, devoted to such amusements!
 "Each succeeding year produces new shades, other fruits, fresh beauties, and brings besides most certain profit. To behold the rising groves, barrenness made fertile, our
 "country improved, ourselves made useful and happy, and posterity enriched! When on
 "this favourite subject, a very natural reflection often escaped him, that he seldom knew
 "a man possessed of a taste for such pleasures, who was not at the same time temperate
 "and virtuous. And indeed he had a right to make the observation; for he had the satisfaction of reckoning among his most intimate friends, men of the most amiable and
 "unblemished characters, in all stations, parties, and distinctions (p)." Nor was Mr. (p) *Annual Register*, vol. xix. for 1776. Part 2d, p. 50.
 Collinson only employed in promoting this taste among his friends, in enlarging their views, and in correcting and refining their judgments, but also in furnishing them with the means of increasing their plantations. It is but doing justice to his memory, to mention that he was the first who introduced the great variety of seeds and shrubs, which are now the principal ornaments of every garden; and that it was owing to his indefatigable industry, that such a number of persons of the first distinction are enabled to behold groves transplanted from the western continent, flourishing as luxuriantly in their several domains, as if they were already become indigenous to Britain (q). (q) *Ibid.*

Mr. Collinson's business in the mercantile way was chiefly to North-America and the West-Indies, and particularly to the former. He had perused every performance that had been written respecting the Natural History and produce of our own settlements, and indeed of all the European Colonies in the New World. This enabled him to make enquiries into whatever was curious and useful, and brought him acquainted with the most intelligent people who came from America. One result of his various enquiries was, that a taste for Natural History, and botanical researches, was excited in that part of the globe. It perhaps may safely be asserted, that every thing of this kind which has appeared in the American Colonies, was principally owing to his encouragement. That eminent Naturalist, John Bartram, may almost be said to have been created such by Mr. Collinson's assistance. He it was who first recommended to him the collecting of seeds, and afterwards aided him in disposing of them in this country. Animated by his friend, Mr. Bartram persevered in investigating the plants of America with indefatigable labour, and with a success which has rendered his name not a little illustrious. The quantities of new seeds which Mr. Collinson received from the western world, not only supplied his own garden with every thing that was curious, but furnished him with the means of procuring others in exchange, from the most distant parts of the globe. This mutual exchange was carried on from America through Europe and Asia, even so far as to Pekin. In managing such an extensive correspondence, Mr. Collinson's punctuality, care, and (r) *Ibid.* p. 51.
 generosity, were eminently distinguished (r).

In consequence of Mr. Collinson's connection with the Americans, he frequently urged to them the benefit, nay the necessity of cultivating flax, hemp, wine, silk, and other products. In most of the northern and southern Colonies, there are a variety of native grapes growing wild in the woods, and thriving among the trees and bushes by which they are supported. As these yield fruit in plenty of different kinds, and many of them are capable of producing a rich and good wine, it would be easy in autumn to collect a sufficient quantity for the purpose of making a trial. A few persons have done it with

(1) *Ibid.*

success, and nothing is wanting but a general application to the proper modes of conducting the business (1).

Mr. Collinson was fond of fruit to an extreme, and of flowers he was a perpetual admirer. He was seldom without them in his house, from the early snowdrop to the autumn cyclamen. He would often relate, with pleasure, the astonishing advancement that had been made during his time in horticulture. He used to mention instances of various plants which, at their first introduction, would not bear our winters without shelter, but which now endured almost our hardest frosts; so that foreigners stood amazed at the power of vegetation in this country, and the happy temperature we enjoy, notwithstanding the unmerited murmurs of the unthinking and the injudicious, against a climate eminently favourable to the real happiness of mankind (2). Why Mr. Collinson was not elected a Curator of the British Museum, may continue a matter of surprize, so long as the Museum itself exists. He was one of the founder's most intimate and ancient friends, was well acquainted with every subject it contained, and had done perhaps more to promote the knowledge of Natural History, than any individual in that trust. But never did the least hint upon the subject escape from him, or any symptom of disgust, from such an apparent neglect, shew itself in his behaviour. He had no higher an ambition than to render his knowledge subservient to the common good, whether in or out of the direction of that vast and inestimable treasure (3).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 52.

(4) Observations communicated by Michael Collinson, Esq.

Excepting some attacks of the gout, Mr. Collinson generally enjoyed perfect health, and great equality of spirits. Those trials which are incident to man he bore with resignation and fortitude. In such a course of life he arrived to his seventy-fifth year; when, being on a visit to Lord Petre, in Essex, for whom he had a singular regard, he was seized with a total suppression of urine, which baffled every attempt to relieve it, and, on the 11th of August, 1768, deprived his family, his friends, and his country, of a man devoted to their interest and advantage (4). In 1724, he had married Mary, the daughter of Michael Russell, Esq; of Mill-Hill, in the parish of Hendon, Middlesex, a lady of exemplary character, with whom he lived in the greatest conjugal felicity, and whom he had the great misfortune to lose, in the year 1753. By this lady he left issue, a son and a daughter (5), Michael Collinson, Esq; and Mary, married to John Cator, Esq; of Beckenham, in Kent, and some time Member of Parliament for Wallingford, Berks. Mr. Peter Collinson had the satisfaction of seeing both his children take the same bias with himself, and of being aided by them in his pursuits. He left behind him a vast treasure of dried specimens of plants. His garden was repeatedly exposed to cruel depredations, by which he lost a multitude of the valuable productions of his botanical skill and labour. Many others were destroyed by the villains in the very act of plunder. Nevertheless, there still remains a small treasure of rare plants, in greater perfection than can be seen perhaps in any other spot (5).

(6) Annual Register, vol. xix. *ubi supra.*

(7) From the information of Michael Collinson, Esq.

(8) Annual Register, vol. xix. *ubi supra.*

Mr. Collinson's stature was below the middle size, and the habit of his body somewhat corpulent. In his dress he was plain, and probably the more so from having been bred a Quaker. His aspect was pleasing and social, and his temper open and communicative; for to lock up knowledge from others he considered as treason to mankind. Though he was an œconomist, his œconomy was not of that severe kind, which prevented him from having a heart that sympathized with distress, and a hand that was open to relieve it (6). He rose very early, and, whilst in the country, his time was almost constantly employed in his garden, observing and assisting the operations of nature, or in the study of other parts of physical knowledge, which contributed to his health and pleasure. Inclosed in Mr. Collinson's will, was found a paper, importing, that he hoped he should leave behind him a good name, which he valued more than riches; that he had endeavoured not to live uselessly; and that all his days he constantly aimed to be a friend to mankind (7). As it was thus the wish of this excellent Citizen to quit the world with an honourable reputation, so it affords the truest satisfaction to those who were the most nearly connected with him in friendship and in blood, even in the tenderest moments of reflection, that his desire has been fully gratified. No man has gone down to the grave with a fairer character, or more generally been lamented, at his decease, by his friends and acquaintance. Indeed, it could not be otherwise: for his life was a continued exertion of laudable industry, and all his studies and pursuits had the honour and happiness of mankind for their object. It was for this end that he promoted great and useful undertakings, communicated to the public curious and interesting accounts of improvements in Husbandry and Natural History, and endeavoured to rescue from oblivion the memories of those persons who had deserved well of their fellow-creatures (8). Such were the views, and such the conduct of Mr. Peter Collinson. Without pretensions to what usually goes under the appellation of literature, he was distinguished by his extensive and various knowledge; and without public station, he was the means of producing national advantages. He obtained, during life, an influence which wealth cannot give; and his name will be had in honourable remembrance, when external dignities and splendid titles are forgotten.] K.

(9) Annual Register, vol. xiii. Second part, p. 57.

(10) Annual Register, vol. xix. *ubi supra.*

(11) From hints communicated by Michael Collinson, Esq.

COLSTON

COLSTON (EDWARD), a person ever memorable for his great and extensive charities, in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth century, was the eldest son of William Colston, Esq; [A], by Sarah his wife, and born in Temple parish, in the city of Bristol, November 2, 1636 (a). He was brought up to trade, probably under his father, (who was a most eminent Spanish Merchant) and resided some time in Spain; as did also his brothers, two of whom were inhumanly murdered there by assassins [B]. Through a very laudable industry, and in the course of a long and happy life, he acquired very great riches [C]; of which he expended a considerable part in works of beneficence and charity. In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St. Michael's-Hill Alms-house, in Bristol [D]. The same year, he gave houses and lands, without Temple-gate, in that city, to the Society of Merchants for ever, towards the maintenance of six poor old decayed sailors, to the yearly value of twenty-four pounds. In 1696, he purchased a piece of ground in Temple-street, in the same city; and built, at his own charge, a school and dwelling-house for a master, to instruct forty boys in writing, arithmetic, and the Church-catechism [E]. In 1702, he gave five hundred pounds towards rebuilding Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, on the College Green, in Bristol; and for the maintenance, cloathing, and education of six boys there, and putting them out apprentices, he appropriated an estate, out of which is paid to the master the yearly sum of sixty pounds, exclusively of all taxes and charges, besides ten pounds for placing out the boys apprentices. In the year 1708, he settled his great benefaction of the Hospital in St. Augustine's Back, in the city aforesaid, consisting of a master, two ushers, and one hundred boys [F]. He also gave six pounds *per annum* to the Minister of All-Saints in Bristol, for reading prayers every Monday and Tuesday morning throughout the year; and one pound a year to the Clerk and Sexton. Likewise six pounds yearly, for ever, for a monthly sermon and prayers to the prisoners in Newgate there; and twenty pounds to be paid yearly, for ever, to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen ser-

(a) From Mr. Colston's monument, in All-Saints church in Bristol; and from an account sent by the Rev. Mr. Tucker.

[A] Was the eldest son of William Colston, Esq;] Who was a very eminent Spanish Merchant, as is said above. He was usually stiled *Deputy Colston*, because generally deputed by the corporation of the city to officiate for the Mayor-Elect, when he went to London to take the oaths; which the Mayors of Bristol always did before the new charter granted to that city by Queen Anne. This circumstance is a strong proof, both of his station in life, and of his character for integrity and virtue. Sarah, his wife, was a Counsellor's daughter (1). Their son, Mr. Edward Colston, erected a monument to their memory, in the church of All-Saints in Bristol; the inscription on which is as follows: 'To the dear memory of his father William Colston, Esq; and of his Mother Sarah Colston, interred near this place in the sepulchre of his ancestors; as also their four sons, William, Thomas, Robert, and William, and their two daughters, Martha and Martha, who were all natives and inhabitants of this city. William his father died 21st Nov. 1681, aged 73 years; and Sarah his mother the 23d Dec. 1701, aged 93 years.'

Edward Colston, their eldest son, born likewise in this city, but inhabitant of London, hath dedicated this monument.'

[B] Two of whom were inhumanly murdered by assassins.] There is a tradition, that when Mr. Colston and his two brothers were in Spain, in their disputes with the Papists it was often objected to them, 'That the Reformed religion produced no examples of great and charitable benefactions;' to which they were wont to reply, That if it pleased God to bring them safe home, they would wipe off that aspersion. Upon which, two of them were poisoned, to prevent their return: but their elder brother, Mr. Edward Colston, escaped. Such is the tradition: but it is more certain, that one or both of them, were assassinated by banditti's or braves; very common in Spain and Portugal.

[C] He acquired very great riches.] The visible means whereby he acquired his riches, were as follows: 1. Being the eldest son, he received a handsome fortune from his parents. 2. Surviving all, if not most of, his brothers and sisters, he received theirs likewise: and the brothers had made very great additions to theirs by trade. 3. The Colston family had at that time the two most valuable branches of trade, in that part of the kingdom, almost entirely to themselves, viz. the fruit, and the oil, trade; Mr. Colston having two ships always employed in that business: and oil was

much more in use formerly than at present. Mr. Colston not only supplied all, but purchased it abroad at a very great advantage, by advancing money to those necessitous people, the Spaniards and Portuguese, before their vintage, and being allowed a discount. 4. He never insured a ship, saving that expence, and yet he never lost one (2).

[D] In the year 1691, he built upon his own ground, at his own charge, St. Michael's-hill alms-house in Bristol.] The front and two sides are faced with free-stone. It contains a chapel neatly adorned; twenty-four apartments: and other conveniencies, for twelve men and twelve women. The elder brother receives six shillings; and each of the others three shillings, weekly; besides an allowance for coal, &c. To a Clergyman is paid the sum of ten pounds yearly. He is to read the Common-Prayer, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, twice every day, except when prayers are read in St. Michael's church; at which every member of this alms-house is to attend. The endowment, or estate given for this charity, arises chiefly from fee farm rents, and amounts yearly to two hundred and eighty-two pounds, three shillings, and four-pence. The overplus of this estate is paid towards the maintenance of the six Sailors in the merchants alms-house in King's-street. The charge of building and finishing this house amounted to about two thousand five hundred pounds.

[E] To instruct forty boys, in writing, arithmetic, and the Church-catechism.] The boys are likewise to be cloathed. The estate given for this charity is an annuity of fourscore pounds yearly, clear of all charges.

[F] In—1708, he settled his great benefaction, of the hospital in St. Augustine's Back, in the city aforesaid, &c.] For the maintenance, cloathing, and education of these boys, and for placing them apprentices, he gave an estate, mostly arising by fee-farm rents, to the yearly value of thirteen hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen shillings, and six-pence farthing. And the charge of first fitting up the hospital, and making it convenient for the purpose, amounted to about eleven thousand pounds. Out of that estate is to be paid yearly, ten pounds to a clergyman of the Church of England, for explaining and instructing the children in the Church-Catechism: and in case the estate given for this charity, be not sufficient to answer the charges upon it, the executors are empowered to supply any deficiencies which have been, and to prevent them for the future.

(2) From the account as above.

(1) From the same account as above.

mons in the time of Lent [G]; besides many occasional charities and benefactions to several Churches and Charity-schools in the same city of Bristol [H].—Moreover, he built an Alms-house for six poor people at Shene, in Surrey. He gave six thousand pounds for the augmentation of sixty small livings [I]. To St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, he gave two thousand pounds, wherewith was purchased an estate of one hundred pounds a year, which is settled on that Hospital; and he left to the same, by will, five hundred pounds more. To Christ's Hospital, at several times, he gave a thousand pounds; and bequeathed thereto the like sum afterwards. As also to St. Thomas's Hospital, and to Bethlehem, five hundred pounds a piece. To the Work-house without Bishopsgate, two hundred pounds. To the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, three hundred pounds. He left, moreover, very handsome legacies to Mortlake, in Surrey, where he died [K]. And gave the sum of one hundred pounds *per annum* to be continued for twelve years after his death, and to be distributed, by the direction of his executors, either to place out every year ten boys apprentices, or to be given towards the setting up ten young tradesmen, to each ten pounds: in the whole, twelve hundred pounds. He gave likewise to eighteen Charity-schools, in several parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his decease, to each school yearly five pounds; or in all, each year, ninety pounds [L]. Finally, he gave towards building a Church at Manchester, in Lancashire, twenty pounds; and towards the building of a Church at Tiverton, in Devonshire, fifty pounds. Besides these known and public benefactions, he gave away every year large sums in private charities, which was his practice for the course of many years; and there is reason to believe, that these were not much short of his public charities (b). His usual method was, never to give any thing to common beggars; but he always ordered, that poor housekeepers, sick, and decayed persons, should be sought out as the fittest objects for his charity. In building his Hospitals and Alms-houses, he showed that his judgment could not be imposed upon by the workmen, as to the goodness of the materials, or the value of their work: for, as he understood those things very well, he drove what they would call a hard bargain; and paid all the workmen himself, if present, or else ordered them to be paid, every Saturday night. If they worked longer than their customary hours, he paid them proportionably; if otherwise, he deducted; but never allowed any thing for drink. It is observable, that all the Colston family were animated with a spirit of charity and piety. Several of Mr. Edward Colston's public benefactions were designed, and some actually begun, by his brothers; which he afterwards

(b) From Mr. Colston's Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Harcourt, preached in the church of All-Saints in Bristol, Oct. 29, 1721, and printed at London the same year.

[G] *And twenty pounds to be paid yearly for ever to the Clergy beneficed in that city, for preaching fourteen sermons in the time of Lent.* The subjects on which he himself appointed they should be preached, are these: The Lent-Fast; against Atheism and Infidelity; the Catholic Church; the Excellence of the Church of England; the Powers of the Church; Baptism; Confirmation; Confession and Absolution; the Errors of the Church of Rome; Enthusiasm or Superstition; Restitution; Frequenting the Divine Service; Frequent Communion; the Passion of our Blessed Saviour.

[H] *Besides many occasional charities and benefactions to several churches and charity-schools in Bristol.* Particularly—to the cathedral, towards beautifying the choir, the marble about the communion-table, and organ, &c. at several times, two hundred and sixty pounds.—Towards rebuilding the Tower, and the repair and beautifying the chancel of All-Saints church, at three several times, two hundred and fifty pounds.—Towards the building a new isle in Clifton-church near Bristol, fifty pounds.—Towards the building of a gallery, and erecting an organ in St. James's church, fifty pounds.—Towards an organ to be erected in St. Mary Redcliff, a hundred pounds.—Towards the repair of St. Michael's church, fifty pounds.—Towards the repair of St. Stephen's church, fifty pounds.—Towards the altar-piece, ceiling, and portal, in the Temple-church, one hundred and sixty pounds.—Towards the repair of St. Thomas's church, fifty pounds.—For an altar-piece in the church of St. Werburgh, one hundred and sixty pounds. In 1702, he gave to the Mint work-house, for employing the poor, two hundred pounds. And for placing out poor boys and girls apprentices, two hundred pounds more. He gave yearly sixty pounds, to the charity-schools in the parishes of St. Philip and St. Jacob, St. Thomas and Redcliff, St. James's, and to several erected in other places. And left by will, to the charity-schools erected in the parishes of St. Philip and Jacob, ten pounds; of St. Thomas and Redcliffe, ten pounds; of St. Augustine and St. Michael, ten pounds; of St.

James, ten pounds. And to each of these ten pounds yearly, to be continued for twelve years after his death. All this in Bristol.

[I] *He gave six thousand pounds, for the augmentation of sixty small livings.* This gift at first was four thousand pounds, to which he afterwards added the other two thousand pounds. No more than a hundred pounds was to be given to one living. The distribution was to be after this manner: any living that was entitled to Queen Anne's bounty might have this too, on condition, that every parish, which did receive this, should be obliged to raise one hundred pounds, to be added to the hundred pounds allowed by Mr. Colston. Many livings have had the grant of this bounty from Mr. Colston (3).

[K] *He left moreover very handsome legacies to Mortlake in Surrey, where he died.* He bequeathed for the education and cloathing of twelve boys and twelve girls, in that place; to be continued for twelve years after his death, yearly forty-five pounds; amounting in the whole to five hundred and forty pounds. Moreover, he gave eighty-five pounds (as many as he was years old) to be distributed to eighty-five poor men and women there, to each twenty shillings, at the time of his decease.

[L] *He gave likewise to eighteen charity-schools in several parts of England, and to be continued to them for twelve years after his decease, to each school yearly, five pounds, &c.* Those eighteen charity-schools were:—In Berkshire; at Longcotton, in the parish of Shrevenham: at Shrevenham: at Farrington: and at Stanford.—In Devonshire; at Plymouth: and at Barnstable.—In Dorsetshire; to one at Dorchester set up by Madam Strangeways.—In Hampshire; to one at Alton.—In Kent, at Stroud near Rochester: and at Chislehurst near Bromley.—In Middlesex; at Highgate: and at Brentford.—In Northamptonshire; to one at Kettering.—In Oxfordshire; to one at Bradwell, if the inhabitants thereof can maintain twenty-five boys.—In Somersetshire; at Chewstoke: at From: at Farmborough.—In Wiltshire; to one at Box near Bath (4).

(3) See Ecton's *Liber Valerum*, &c. edit. 1728, in the beginning.

(4) See Dr. Harcourt's Sermon, as above.

confirmed

(c) From the information as above.

confirmed and enlarged (c). Some years before his decease he retired from business, and came and lived at London, and at Mortlake, where he had a country-seat. At this last place he died, October 11, 1721, aged eighty-four years, eleven months, and nine days; and was buried the 29th of the same month, in the church of All-Saints, in Bristol, where there is a monument erected to his memory [M]. His charity was his most shining virtue [N], as is abundantly manifest from those many instances of it mentioned above. As for the rest of his character, he was a constant communicant with the Church of England, a most zealous advocate for her doctrines, worship, and discipline, in opposition to Popery as well as Fanaticism, and a most lively and exemplary son of it (d). He was, likewise, a person of great temperance, meekness, evenness of temper, patience, and mortification. He always looked cheerful and pleasant, scarcely ever in the least discomposed; and was naturally of a very peaceable and quiet disposition. He was remarkably circumspect in all his actions; always observed the same regularity in keeping his accounts, as when he began the world, and was a very good master of book-keeping (e). His strength continued vigorous, his understanding clear, his apprehension quick, and his judgment sound, long beyond the age of man, even to reach almost to the end of his eighty-fifth year, without decay in his understanding, without labour or sorrow (f).

(d) Dr. Harcourt, *ubi supra*.

(e) From the information as above.

(f) Dr. Harcourt, *ubi supra*.

[M] Where there is a monument erected to his memory. The inscription thereon, contains an enumeration of his public charities, already mentioned in this article. Then on the pedestal, or base, is added as follows:

'Edward, the son of William Colston, Esq; and Sarah his wife, was born in this city, Nov. 2, 1636, died at Mortlake in Surrey, October 11, 1721, and lies buried near this monument.'

(5) Sermon, as above.

[N] His charity was his most shining virtue. And so extensive was it, that, as Dr. Harcourt observes (5), 'To do justice to his character, would oblige one to enumerate almost every kind of charity, whereby we can promote the glory of God, or relieve the necessities of our fellow-creatures. Scarcely any sort of temporal calamity escaped his charitable assistance; nor is there scarcely one spiritual want, towards the removing of which he did not piously and freely afford his contribution. In short, the charities which have taken either their foundation or improvement from his open hand, are so numerous, that the variety will appear so great as to surprize; and the immensity of the sums expended in them will be judged extremely large, when it shall be considered, that they are the charity of one private person. From his bountiful benefactions, the ignorance of the young, the miseries of the infirm, and the helpless necessities of the old, are removed, eased, and relieved.' M.

* [The two beautiful quotations, which are under the picture of this most excellent and charitable gentleman, deserve to be inserted. They are as follows:

Hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris,
Nec tenebris damnavit opes: sed largior imbre
Sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas.
Quippe velut densos currentia mœnura nimbos
Cernere semper erat; populis undare Penates,
Assiduos intrare inopes, remeare beatos.

CLAUDIAN.

Ἐθέλειτο τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα μᾶλλον, ἢ τὴν σὺν ματος, καταλιπεῖν.

ISOCRATES (6).

It is a great pleasure to find that beneficent institutions maintain their original purity and spirit, and continue to answer the valuable purposes they were intended to promote. This pleasure the editor of the present work lately experienced, with regard to Mr. Colston's grand benefaction at Bristol, the hospital in St. Augustine's Back, for the maintenance, cloathing, education, and apprenticing of a hundred boys. In going to see the hospital, in company with some friends, on account of Chatterton's having been brought up there, I was much struck with the neatness, cleanliness, and good order which were apparent in every part of the building. It is to be observed, that the visit, being entirely accidental, could not possibly be known by any of the people concerned in the care of the House. I believe that the trustees of the school, who are some of the first citizens of Bristol, are very exact in enforcing the regulations, and promoting the intentions of the worthy founder; and I was informed, that many persons have been educated in the hospital, who have become very respectable and useful members of society.] K.

(6) Communicated by the Rev. Paul Wright, D. D.

COMBER, or CUMBER (THOMAS), a considerable Divine in the XVIIth century [A], was born in Westram in Kent, in the year 1645 (a), being the son of James Cumber, of that parish, [by Mary his wife, daughter of Bryan Burton, of Westerham; which James was fourth son of John Comber, of Allington, in Suffex, Esq; descended from an ancient family long resident in that county.] He was educated in grammar-learning in his native place, by Thomas Walter, and William Holland, Vicars of Westram. At fourteen years of age, on the 18th of April, 1659, he was admitted into Sidney-Suffex-College, in Cambridge, under the tuition of Edmund Matthews, B. D. The 16th of

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death. See his epitaph below.

[A] A considerable Divine in the XVIIth century. His surname, as printed in his works, is *Comber*; but it is written *Cumber*, in the admission-book of Sidney-college. He must not be confounded with another Dr. Thomas Comber, who lived in the same century, and was of Trinity-college in Cambridge. This last was born in Suffex, Jan. 1, 1575; admitted Scholar of Trinity-college, May 11, 1593; Fellow of the same, October 2, 1597; Junior Dean, October 2, 1608; Preacher, October 16, 1609; Greek Examiner, October 2, 1611; Chief Reader, October 2, 1612; Senior Dean, October 2, 1618, 1619, and 1625; Senior Treasurer, Dec. 13, 1620, and Dec. 20, 1621; appointed Dean of Carlisle, Aug. 28, 1630; and sworn in Master of Trinity-college, Oct. 12, 1631 (1). He wrote 'An Historical Vindication of the Divine Right of Tithes, &c.' against Mr. Selden's History

of Tithes, &c. In 1642, he was imprisoned, plundered, and deprived of all his preferments. He died Feb. 28, 1653, at Cambridge, and was buried March 3, in St. Botolph's church in that town (2).

[This Thomas Comber, Dean of Carlisle, was of the same family as the foregoing. He married Susan, daughter of — Freston of Norwich, relict of — Cotton of London, Esq; who, after his death, married, thirdly Sir Thomas Sclater of Cambridge, Bart. and M. D. He had an only daughter, Mary Comber, who married William Johnson of Rushton-Grange, Com. Ebor. Esq; by whom she was great-grandmother of J. Allen of Rushton-Grange, and of Temple-Belwood Com. Linc. Esq; who has an original half-length picture of this Dean Comber, and other memorials concerning him.] *

(2) Br. Willis, as above, amongst the Deans of Carlisle. For a fuller account of him, see D. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 447. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 9.

(1) From the College Registry.

VOL. IV.

N

January,

* The two additions, included in brackets, are by John Charles Brooke, Esq.

(c) From the University Register, communicated by Dr. W. Richardson.

(d) Dr. W. Richardson could not find that he subscribed; and therefore questions whether he completed this degree in the University.

January, 1662-3, he was elected Scholar of that house; and the next day had his grace in college for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b): which he accordingly took, and completed in the University (c). On the 26th of May, 1666, he had likewise his grace for the degree of Master of Arts (d). It moreover appears, that he was created Doctor in Divinity between the years 1676 and 1679; but as his name doth not occur in any of our university registers, it is therefore probable, that he had that degree conferred upon him at Lambeth. On the 5th of July, 1677, he was collated by Archbishop Sterne to the Prebend of Holme, in the cathedral church of York (e); which he quitted the 19th of July, 1681, for the Prebend of Fenton, in the same church (f). The 19th of January, 1683-4, he was also collated to the Præcentorship (g). Upon the deprivation of Dr. Dennis Granville, he was nominated, April 23, 1691, to succeed him in the Deanery of Durham; whereupon he resigned his Præcentorship of York (h). He was Chaplain to Anne, Princess of Denmark, and to King William and Queen Mary. He died November 25, 1699, in the fifty-fifth year of his age (i); and was buried at Stonegrave, in Yorkshire, of which it seems he was Rector. There is a tomb-stone on his grave, with an inscription [B]. He was author of several works, chiefly on the Common Prayer; in which he shows great piety, and very extensive learning, having been well read in sacred and profane authors, both ancient and modern. Those works of his, are, I. A Scholastical History of the Primitive and general Use of Liturgies in the Christian Church: Together with an Answer to Mr. David Clarkson's late Discourse concerning Liturgies. Lond. 1690. Dedicated to King William and Queen Mary. II. 'A Companion to the Temple; or, A Help to Devotion in the Use of the Common Prayer.' Part I. On Morning and Evening Prayer. Part II. On the Litany, with the occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings [C]. III. 'A Companion to the Altar; or, An Help to the worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper, by Discourses and Meditations upon the whole Communion-Office [D]. IV. 'A brief Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation [E]. Printed at the end of the Companion to the Altar. V. 'A Discourse on the occasional Offices in the Common Prayer, viz. Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Churching of Women, and the Communion [F]. VI. 'A Discourse upon the Manner and Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' Lond. 1699, 8vo. Dedicated to Archbishop Tenison. VII. 'Short Discourses upon the whole Common Prayer, designed to inform the Judgment, and excite the Devotion of such as daily use the same.' Chiefly by way of paraphrase [G]. Lond. 1684, 8vo. Dedicated to Anne, Princess of Denmark, to whom the author was Chaplain. VIII. 'Roman Forgeries in the Councils during the first four Centuries: Together with an Appendix, concerning

(b) All this is taken from a Memorandum entered into Sydney-College books.

(c) Survey of the Cathedral of York, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq; Lond. 1727, 4to. p. 143.

(f) Ibid. p. 134.

(g) Ibid. p. 77.

(h) Ibid. p. 256. 77; and J. Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 352.

(i) From his epitaph.

[B] There is a tomb-stone on his grave, with an inscription: Which is as follows: *M. S. Siste, viator, gradum, mora non erit dispendium scire, quanti Viri venerandos premis Cineres, Exuvias mortales (perenni Felicitati maturas) heic de poni voluit Thomas Comber, S. T. P. grande Nomen, pluribus haud opus. Vir Pietate, Eruditione, Ingenio, Judicio, ceterisque; Animi dotibus clarus; majore vero (singentem non audis panegyrim ob Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ causam) quoad Doctrinam, Cultum, Disciplinam, contra Novatores omnes Scriptis feliciter defensor, dignus haud Simplicis Marmore. Gulielmo & Mariæ Principibus illustrissimis à Sacris, Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis per decennium, brevis nimis, Decanus; ad maxima quæque capeffenda idoneus, adque altiora munera promovendus, nisi publicis votis obstisset Mors invida. — Plura, licet meritis debita, non capiet Marmor: probis omnibus Lucrum & sui desiderium relinquens, decessit 25 die Novembris, 1699 Ann. Salutis, Ætatis 55. Proveciore Senio, modo visum Deo, dignus (3).*

(3) Br. Willis, among the Deans of Durham, p. 256, 257.

[C] With the occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings. Printed in two volumes 8vo, 1679. His general method in this work, is to give, first, an analysis of each part: secondly, an explanation of it: thirdly, a paraphrase; and, lastly, a meditation upon it.

[D] A Companion to the Altar, &c.] It is dedicated by the author to his patron Richard Archbishop of York. — To whom, as he observes, he was obliged to make this tender by his condition and his duty, by gratitude and affection; — having first received the Holy Order of Priesthood, and the power of dispensing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from his Grace's hands. — He observes, in the same place, that 'There is nothing more useful to the friends of this Church, nor more convincing to the dissenters from it, than to present her pure and primitive order of worship in its natural and lovely splendor.' — The Imprimatur bears dates January 21, 1673-4. It was so well received, that a fourth edition came out in

1685, within the space of eleven years. The whole is divided into four parts, containing learned observations, and then paraphrases, and meditations upon each branch of the Communion-Office.

[E] A Discourse upon the Offices of Baptism, Catechism, and Confirmation.] The author dedicates it to Dr. Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury: and says, 'it will contribute to the reputation of these tracts, to be ushered in with so worthy a name, and add to their author's character, to be reckoned among the number of your friends.'

[F] A Discourse on the occasional Offices, &c.] First printed in 1676, 8vo. These four last pieces, were re-printed together in one volume, fol. 1701, divided into four parts. They are dedicated to King William.

[G] Short Discourses upon the whole Common-Prayer, &c.] He tells us in his Dedication, that the importunity of his friends had engaged him to write these shorter Discourses, for the use of those who wanted time to consider the larger work, i. e. his Companion to the Temple and Altar. As for the method and design of it, First, the Original and Antiquity of every part of Common-Prayer is therein declared. Secondly, the method of each several piece is cleared. Thirdly, the sense of all is opened by divers plain and natural observations on the matter of these offices, to help all to perform them with a devotion suitable to their great worth. And it is designed, 1. To instruct those who did not understand, or rather not observe, these excellencies to be in the Common Prayer. 2. To furnish the devout sons of the Church with profitable meditations, to enlarge upon in their minds in the use of these prayers, and to put them into a right frame for saying them affectionately, and with a holy importunity. 3. It is designed to convince the mistaken Dissenters if they will hear reason; if not, to discover to others the injustice and malice of their clamours against it (4).

(4) This is the account given of it by the author, in the Preface.

the

'the Forgeries and Errors in the Annals of Baronius [H].' Lond. 1689, 4to. He is said, in his epitaph, to have been a person eminent for piety, learning, ingenuity, judgment,

[H] *Roman forgeries in the Councils, &c.*] In the introduction he observes, that in the allowed Romish editions of the Councils (those of Binius, *Colon.* 1618, and of Labbé and Cossart, *Paris*, 1671) 'there is such adding and expunging, such altering and disguising things in the body of the Councils, and such excusing, falsifying, and shuffling in the notes, that a judicious reader will soon perceive, those venerable records truly set down and explained, do not favour them. But these corruptions are carried on with such confidence and cunning, that an *unexperienced and unwary student*, may be imposed on by this specious shew of venerable antiquity: for their sakes therefore he thought it necessary to take a short view of that fraud and policy which is so commonly made use of in those editions of the Councils which pass through the Roman mint.' — Then he says he hopes 'this undertaking will be many ways useful: First, It will tend to the ease of those who intend to read over the tomes of the *Councils*, or the *Annals* of Baronius, and save them much time and pains by presenting the principal errors of those great volumes at one view, which they would spend a long time in searching after, if they were to gather them up as they lie dispersed. Secondly, It may be very useful to those who desire to be rightly informed in the controversies between us and the Roman Church, because it will give them a clear prospect of what Councils and other antiquities are authentic, and may be allowed for evidence in this dispute; wherein our adversaries have so little regard to their own honour, that generally one half of their evidence is such as they have either forged or corrupted. Thirdly, It will be necessary (by way of antidote) to prepare those, who by reading books so full of infection, may by these plausible falsifications be in danger to be seduced into a great esteem of the opinions and practices of the Roman Church; when they find so many seemingly ancient tracts and Councils brought in to justify her in all things, and see (by this false light) all Ecclesiastical History and Records so modelled, as to persuade their readers, that in the purest Christian times, all things were believed and done in the Catholic Church just as they are now at Rome. But when it shall appear, that all this is a continued series and train of impostures, it will render their notions and practices, not only suspected, but odious, as needing such vile and base artifices, to make them seem agreeable to true Antiquity.'

* [Besides the works of Dr. Comber, mentioned above, he published "Christus Triumphans, Co-mœdia Apocalyptica, Autore Johanne Foxo, Anglo. Edita est olim Basileæ, anno 1556, nunc denuo edita, & Scholarchis Ludique literarii Moderato-ribus dedicata, ob insignem Styli Elegantiam in Scholas utilissime admittenda. Editore. T. C. Sidn. Collegii, A. M. Apocal. xxii. 17. Spiritus & Sponsa dicunt, Veni Domine." Londini. Impensis Rob. Clavel, apud quem prostant in vic. vulg. voc. Little Britain, 1672. He published likewise in 12mo. "Friendly and seasonable Advice to the Roman Catholics of England." By a charitable Hand. Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne's Copy is, "The fourth Edition enlarged, with an Addition of the most convincing Instances and Authorities, and the Testimony of their own Writers for the same." London: printed for Charles Brome, 1686.

Dr. Comber corresponded with Tillotson, Sharp, Burnet, Hicks, Cave, Lake, and other eminent Divines of the last century. In consequence of this correspondence, a noble collection of letters came into the possession of the family, and belonged to the late Dr. Thomas Comber, of Buckworth, in the county of Huntingdon. Mr. Blackburne has formerly seen and perused most of these letters, and hath often regretted that so many curious particulars, relative to the times in which they were written, should be lost to the public. They are yet preserved, but perhaps greatly injured by damp and other accidents, in the uninhabited and ruinous Mansion-House, appertaining to the family, at East-Newton in Yorkshire.

Dean Comber wrote, also, his life, with his own hand; which, likewise, is locked up in the library of the same mansion. It unfortunately happens, on account of the heir of the Combers being a minor, that no access can be had at present to these valuable materials; the trustees of the young gentleman not thinking themselves sufficiently authorized to communicate them during his minority (5). We must wait, therefore, for a future opportunity of making more important additions to the present article.

We shall here subjoin an account of the Comber family, with which we have been favoured by John-Charles Brooke, Esq; Somerset Herald, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London.

Dr. Thomas Comber, Dean of Durham, married Alice, eldest daughter and coheir of William Thornton of East-Newton, in the parish of Stonegrave, in the North-Riding of the county of York, Esq; by Alice his wife, daughter of Sir Christopher Wandesford of Kirklington, in the said county, Knight, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland; by which Lady, he ultimately came in for the manor of East-Newton, and a considerable estate in Yorkshire; and by her had issue, besides three sons who died young, Thomas his heir, and two daughters, Alice and Mary.

Thomas Comber of East-Newton, Esq; his son, was a Justice of Peace and of the Quorum for Yorkshire. He married Anne, daughter of Andrew Wilson of Easingwold, relict of the Rev. Elias Micklethwaite, Vicar of Gilling; and died 12th May, 1765, and was buried at Stonegrave, having had issue Thomas his heir; William, Vicar of Kirkby-Moor-side, and Rector of Kirkby-Overcarr in Yorkshire, and Justice of Peace, who married Dorothy, daughter and heir of James Arbuthnot, of Ampleford in the said county, Esq; by whom he has no issue (1783); and Andrew, who died a minor.

Thomas Comber, of East-Newton, his eldest son, was of Jesus-college, Cambridge, L.L.D. and Rector of Morborne and Buckworth, in the county of Huntingdon. He was a man of considerable parts and learning, and author of some works. He married his cousin Mary, eldest daughter of William Brooke, of Dodworth, Esq; hereafter mentioned; by whom he had five children, Anne, Thomas, Duncombe, William-Turner, and Andrew, all (1783) under age. He died at Buckworth, on the 9th of April, 1778, and was buried at Stonegrave.

Alice, Dean Comber's eldest daughter, married, first Francis Blackburne, of St. Nicholas, near Richmond, in the county of York, by whom she had issue Francis Blackburne, Thomas, who died young at Cambridge; and Jane, who was the first wife of Sir Onesiphorus Paul, of Woodchester, in the county of Gloucester, Bart. The said Alice married, secondly William Kirkby, of Kirkby and Ashlack, in Lancashire, Esq; by whom she had issue William-Comber Kirkby, of Ashlack, Esq; James and Sarah, all living in 1783. She died in Nov. 1740, and is buried at Kirkby.

Francis Blackburne, M. A. [Archdeacon of Cleveland, Yorkshire, Vicar of Richmond in the same county, well known in the republic of letters, by his able and learned publications, married Mrs. Elsworth, a widow lady, by whom he had five children, who arrived to years of maturity, three sons and two daughters. Francis, the eldest son, is Vicar of Brignall, Yorkshire. Thomas, the second son, was bred at Peterhouse-College, Cambridge, and was likewise intended for the Church; but declining to make the usual subscriptions, he relinquished his prospects, which were very considerable, and retired to Edinburgh, where he applied himself to the study of Physic, and became M. D. He settled as a Physician at Durham, in which city he died young, having obtained a great reputation. Some time before his decease he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society. William, the youngest son, M. D. has succeeded his brother at Durham. Jane, Archdeacon Blackburne's eldest daughter, is married to the Rev. Dr. Disney; and Sarah, the youngest, to the Rev. Mr. Hall.*]

Mary, Dean Comber's younger daughter, married Thomas Brooke, of Dodworth, in the West-Riding of

(5) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne, of Richmond, Yorkshire.

* Addition, by the Editor.

ment, and other excellent qualities, and a strenuous defender of the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Church of England.

of Yorkshire, A. M. Rector of Richmond, who was eldest son and heir of William Brooke, of the same place, Esq; by whom she had issue William, and Anne, married to Richard Fenton, of Banktop, Esq; Clerk of the Peace for the West-Riding of Yorkshire (by whom an only daughter, Mary, now the wife of Sir William Wake, of Courtenhall, in Northamptonshire, Bart.) She died July 20, 1768, and was buried at Silkeston.

William Brooke, of Dodworth, Esq; A. M. of St. John's-college, Cambridge; married Alice, eldest

daughter and coheir of William Mawhood, of Doncaster, and died August 24, 1755, and was buried at Silkeston, leaving issue William; John-Charles Brooke, of Pond, in Yorkshire, Somerset-Herald, and F.S.A. Mary, married to her cousin Dr. Thomas Comber before-mentioned; Margaret, and Jane married to Richard-Horton Brisco, of Brisco, in Cumberland, Esq;

William Brooke, of Dodworth, Esq; married Elizabeth Morris, by whom he hath Thomas, William, Jane, and Margaret, all infants (1783.)] K.

COMPTON (WILLIAM), ancestor of the present noble Earls of Northampton and Wilmington, was the son of Edmund de Compton [A], and born in the year 1481 (a). The first foundation of his succeeding honours and riches, was, his being made, in the eleventh year of his age (b), one of the Pages to Henry Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Henry VIII. who, as soon as he came to the crown, made him Groom of his Bedchamber (c); and, before the expiration of that year, chief Gentleman of his Bedchamber (d). He grew so much in favour with that King, that he was appointed by him, in the second year of his reign, 1510, Groom of the Stole (e); and, soon after, Constable of Sudley-Castle, in Gloucestershire (f); as he was also of Gloucester-Castle, in 1511 (g). In consideration of his good and faithful services, he obtained, in 1512, November the 7th, a special grant, to himself and his heirs, of an honourable augmentation to his arms (h), out of the King's own royal ensigns and devices [B]; and, on the 4th of February next ensuing, the King conferred on him the office of Usher of the Black Rod, with an allowance of twelve-pence a day for that service (i). He had likewise, the same year, by his Majesty's favour, a large grant, to himself, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten (k), of several lands and manors [C]. In 1513, being a Knight, he had a commission to retain men in any of those lordships belonging to the monasteries whereof he was then steward, for the service of the King in his wars (l); and, in the expedition to Terouenne and Tournay, the same year, led the rere guard of the King's army (m). Shortly after, he was made one of the Knights for the King's body (n); as also Chancellor of Ireland, with liberty to execute that office by a sufficient deputy (o). But he did not hold it long; for, two years after, namely, in 1515, it was given to the Archbishop of Dublin (p). In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant to himself and his wife, and to the heirs of their two bodies lawfully begotten (q), of several manors and estates [D]. The same year, namely, 1517, he was appointed Constable of Hanley-Castle, in Worcestershire (r); and in 1518, was ordered to provide fifty archers for the King's service in his wars (s). In 1519, he obtained licence to make a park at his manor of Compton Vineyats, or Vineyard, in Warwickshire; and, for an addition to the same, to inclose two thousand acres more thereto adjoining (t). Upon the attainder of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, he obtained a grant of the manor, castle, and park of Max-

[A] Was the son of Edmund de Compton.] This noble family derive their descent from *Turchill* the son of Alwin; who, in the time of Edward the Confessor, resided at Warwick, of which county he was Earl. At the time of the Norman conquest, not joining with Harold, he continued in the possession of his own lands, among which was the Lordship of Compton, and forty-seven manors in divers counties. By Leverunia his second wife he had Osbert, who wrote himself of *Compton*, and was ancestor of the present noble family. His second son was *Philip*; to whom succeeded his son and heir *Thomas*, that lived in the reign of Henry the third; and whose eldest son was *Philip*, father of *Robert de Compton*, who was knighted before the 13th of Edward the second; and was succeeded by *Robert*, father of *Thomas de Compton*. He was one of the Coroners for Warwickshire, in the 23d of Edward the third, an office of great account in those days. It was enjoyed after him by his son and heir *Edmund*, who died in the reign of Henry IV. He had issue six sons, whereof *William* the eldest, dying about the year 1431, left issue *Robert* his son and heir, who died in 1480. His son, and successor was *Edmund*, who dying in 1492, left issue by Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Walter Aylworth, Esq; *William*, who is the subject of this article (1).

[B] Out of the King's own royal ensigns and devices.] Namely, 'a Lion passant gardant, or.' And for the crest, 'a demi-dragon erased, gules, within a coronet of gold, upon a torse argent and vert:' as by a special instrument under the King's own sign manual, bearing date November 7, 1512, appeareth (2).

[C] Of several lands and manors.] Of which these

are the names. The manor of Wyke in Middlesex, formerly belonging to George Duke of Clarence: Lovel's-Inn in Pater-Noster-Row, London; with divers tenements pertaining thereto: The manor of Aldwike, or Holand's with Baro-Shanke wood, in Northamptonshire; twenty-four acres of meadow in Brantfy; twenty-four in Swillingholm; all in Aldwicle, (or Aldwike) in the same county: also the manor of Deyncourt in Buckinghamshire, part of the possessions of Francis Lord Lovel; with the manors of Rocholds, Cobham, and Rishams, part of the lands of Sir Richard Charlton, Knt (3).

[D] In 1514, and 1517, he had a grant—of several manors and estates.] Namely, in 1514, the manors of Elcombe, and Ufcote, in Wiltshire; and the manor of Pole-place in Berkshire, part of the possessions of Francis Viscount Lovel. In 1517, the manors of Salthrope, Chilton, and Blagrove, in Wiltshire; two hundred acres of pasture, called Blagrove, with their appurtenances in Blagrove and Wroughton, in the same county. Likewise the manor of Wythynden, or Myhunden in the parishes of Wroughton, and Lidiard-Tregoze, in the same county; the manor of Elcomb, with the park: the manors of Watlescote, and Westcote; one hundred acres of land, and sixty acres of pasture, in Wigleste, and Wroughton: the manor of Uffecote, two messuages, a thousand acres of land, a thousand acres of pasture, three hundred acres of meadow, and three hundred acres of wood in Broad-Hinton, all in the same county. And eight pounds yearly rent, issuing out of the manor of Denford, in Berkshire, late Francis Viscount Lovel's attainted (4).

stoke,

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 401. That he was born in 1481, is evident from hence, because he was eleven years old in 1492, *ibid.*

(b) Esch. 9 Hen. VII. in Warr.

(c) Pat. 1 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 13.

(d) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, in Complete Hist. of Engl. edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 4.

(e) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(f) Dugdale, *ubi supra.*

(g) *Ibid.*

(h) Life of King Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert, as above, p. 16.

(i) Pat. 7 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(j) Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(k) Cotton. Libr. Otho E. 11.

(l) Pat. 11 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(e) Pat. 2 Hen. VIII. p. 3.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 2. m. 10.

(i) Pat. 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(j) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 1. in dorso.

(n) Pat. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(o) *Ibid.* m. 29. Ar. Collins says, that office was given him for life. Peerage of Engl. edit. 1735, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 1. p. 109.—But what follows shews the contrary.

(q) Pat. 6 Hen. VIII. p. 2; and 9 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Dugdale, *ubi supra*, p. 402.

(1) See the Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated by Sir Will. Dugdale, second edit. 1730, vol. i. p. 547, &c. and Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, vol. ii. p. i. edit. 1735, p. 107, &c.

(2) Dugdale, *ubi supra.*

stoke, in Warwickshire; as also of the manors of Scotton and Brereton, in Yorkshire, in reversion, after the death or surrender of Simon Coniers (u). In 1523, he was employed, with the Earl of Surrey, and the Marquis of Dorset, &c. to make incursions into Scotland. This ungrateful office was put upon him by the contrivance of Cardinal Wolsey; who, observing how much Sir William was in the King's favour, and fearing he should diminish his authority, procured him to be thus sent into the wars against the Scots. For Sir William could not bear the Cardinal's presumption, in taking so much upon him to the derogation of the King's prerogative; therefore the Cardinal thought, in his absence, to have worked him out of favour. But he could not; for the King recalled him soon after to court (w); and, in 1525, constituted him Keeper of his money and jewels (x), which is the same we now call the Privy Purse (y). Sir William built a very noble house at his manor of Compton [E]; and, in the chapel, erected a beautiful window towards the east, in the painted glass of which, most curiously done, was represented the Passion of Jesus Christ; and in the lower part, Sir William himself and his Lady, kneeling, in their furcoats of arms (z). He died of the sweating sickness, in the year 1528, May 31, aged forty-seven (a), being at that time of the Privy Chamber to the King, who was then also in great danger (b). His body was buried at Compton, as he had desired in his will, bearing date March 8, 1522; in which he also desired, that his Lady should be interred in the same place; and, that a tomb of alabaster should be made, by the direction of his executors, for his father, and set over his grave, with his arms cut thereon. Likewise, that his mother's body should be taken up from the place where she lay buried, and deposited by his father. Moreover, he appointed that his executors should found in his name two chantries at Compton, and that every Priest therein should have a yearly salary of ten marks (c) [F]. He married Werburge, daughter and heir of Sir John Brereton, Knt. and widow of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. by whom he had issue,

PETER, who being under age at the time of his father's decease, was put under the wardship of Cardinal Wolsey (d). He married Anne, daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury; but dying before he came of age, on the 30th of January, 1543, he left only one son, forty-nine weeks and five days old (e), named

HENRY, who was knighted February 10, 1566, by the Earl of Leicester; and, on the 8th of May, 1572, summoned by writ to the House of Lords, by the title of Baron Compton, of Compton. In 1586, he was one of the Peers for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (f). He is supposed to have died in the year 1589 (g). By his first Lady, Frances, daughter to Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, he had, among other children [G],

WILLIAM, his eldest son and heir, who was summoned to Parliament in the thirty-fifth of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the Privy-Council to that Queen. On the 5th of January, 1604, he was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles, Duke of York, afterwards King by the title of Charles I. (h); and was constituted, some years after, President of the Council for the Marches of Wales (i), and Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and Warwick (k). On the 2d of August, 1618, he was advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton (l); and on the 21st of April, 1629, installed a Knight of the Garter. He died June 24, 1630, leaving issue, by Elizabeth his Lady, sole daughter and heir of Sir John Spencer, Alderman of London; Spencer, of whom we shall speak in the next article.

[E] Sir William built a very noble house at his manor of Compton. The greatest part of the brick used in the building of it, was brought from Fulbrook, in the same county (of Warwick), where there stood a ruinous castle, of which the King had granted him the custody. This castle he pulled down, making use of the materials for that building (5).

[F] And that every priest therein should have a yearly salary of ten marks. For the proving of this Will, Cardinal Wolsey (who, under colour of his Legantine authority, had wrested the probate of wills from the Prerogative court of Canterbury,) exacted no less than a thousand marks; as was publicly declared by Sir Henry Guilford, one of the executors. And this extortion was the cause of making the statute 21 Henry VIII. ch. v. wherein the fees to be taken for the Probate of testaments, were settled and limited (6).

[G] Among other children. His children by the Lady Frances Hastings, besides William here mentioned, were, Margaret, married to Henry Lord Mordaunt; and Thomas, who, on the 4th of March, 1606-7, was knighted; he married Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, second son of William Beaumont of Cole-Overton in Leicestershire; which Mary was by King James I. created Countess of Buckingham, July 1, 1618, being the mother of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James, and King Charles I. — The second wife of Henry Lord Compton, was Anne daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, Knt. by whom he had, Sir Henry Compton of Bramble-Tegh, in Sussex, Knight of the Bath; Cecily; Mary; and Margaret (7).

COMPTON (SPENCER), only son of the former [A], and second Earl of Northampton, deserves to be particularly remembered. He was made Knight of the Bath, on the 3d of November, 1616, at the time when Charles, Duke of York, (afterwards King Charles I.) was created Prince of Wales, with whom he became a great favourite. In 1622, he accompanied him into Spain, waiting on him in quality of Master of his Robes and Wardrobe, and had the honour to deliver all his presents, amounting, as was com-

[A] SPENCER only son of the former. Besides him, William Lord Compton had two daughters: Elizabeth, married to Robert Maxwell Earl of Nithif-

dale in Scotland; and Anne to Ulick Bourk, Lord Dunkellin, son and heir to Richard Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and Earl of St. Albans in England (1).

(u) Polydore Vergil. in Hen. VIII. Hollinshed's Chr. edit. 1587, vol. iii. p. 878.

(z) Leland. Itin. vol. iv. fol. 166, MS. Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 402.

(a) Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, ubi supra, p. 109. Hollinshed, as above, p. 906.

(b) Hollinshed, ibid. and Lord Herbert, p. 99.

(c) Dugdale, ubi supra.

(d) Pat. 20 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(f) See Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1586; and the Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 1725, 2vo. p. 295.

(5) Leland and Dugdale, ubi supra.

(6) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 138.

(u) Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. p. 3. b.

(x) Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 2.

(y) In Latin Burcifer Regis.

(e) Esch. 37 Hen. VIII.

(g) See Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 403.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Pat. 15 Jac. p. 3.

(k) Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 110.

(l) Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11.

(7) The British Compendium, edit. 1731, vol. i. p. i. p. 312.

(1) Ibid. p. 313.

puted, to sixty-four thousand pounds. At the Coronation of that Prince, he attended as Master of the Robes; and, in 1639, waited on his Majesty in his expedition against the Scots. He was likewise among those Noblemen, who, on the 4th of May 1641, took the Protestation to defend the true Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and his Majesty's Royal person, honour, and estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliaments, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject^(a). In 1642, he waited upon his Majesty at York; and was one of the Lords who subscribed, the 15th of June the same year, a Declaration at that place, wherein they professed before God, and testified to all the world, that they were fully persuaded, that his Majesty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament: but that all his endeavours tended to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion; the just privileges of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, and the law, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom^(b). Having, after that, often endeavoured to compose the unhappy jealousies in the nation; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, and that the Parliament were raising forces to distress such as came not into its measures, he thought it more for his Majesty's service to retire to his native country: where he soon got together such a number of Gentlemen and Soldiers, as awed the country into the King's allegiance, drove the Lord Brook out of Warwickshire, who endeavoured to secure that county for the Parliament; and in twelve skirmishes put a stop to the Earl of Essex's rendezvous at Northampton^(c). After King Charles I. had set up his standard at Nottingham, he raised, one of the first, at his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot^(d): and, at the battle between Keinton and Edge-hill, brought two thousand of the best disciplined men in the whole army. When that battle (which happened on the 23d of October 1642) was over, the King's army having taken Banbury, a garrison was placed therein under the command of the Earl of Northampton^(e): who, by his vigilance and conduct, performed many successful services, and was the life of his Majesty's cause in those parts. He secured most of the arms, ammunition, and garrisons in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Northamptonshire, and settling an association, made the country, from garrison to garrison, one line of communication^(f). Afterwards, with a strong party of horse and dragoons, from his garrison at Banbury, he relieved the town of Stafford, that was besieged by Sir John Gell; and putting himself into that town, beat up a quarter of the enemies, in which he took and killed above an hundred of their horse. But Sir John Gell having joined Sir William Brereton, and they being nearly three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery, moved back towards Stafford, imagining the Earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls. And it happened according to their expectation: for, on Sunday the 19th of March, 1642-3, as soon as he heard they were advancing towards the town, he marched out with his party, consisting in all of nearly one thousand horse, dragoons, and foot, to encounter them. He found the enemy in very good order, expecting him on a plain called Cranock-green, Salt-heath, or Hopton-heath^(g), about two or three miles from Stafford. Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's [B], yet the heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musquet-shot from the enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse at least equal to theirs, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed one part of their horse. Rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot, and so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarcely a horse left upon the field. He took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon [C]. In this second charge, his Lordship being engaged in the execution, very near, or among, their foot, had his horse killed under him [D]: so that his own body of horse, pursuing the

(a) British Compendium, by Fra. Nicholls, *ubi supra*.

(b) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1731, 2^{vo}. vol. i. Part ii. p. 656.

(c) British Compendium, as above.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 58.

(f) British Compendium, as above, p. 314.

(d) Lord Clarendon, as above, vol. ii. Part i. p. 152.

(g) It is called by all those names in our Historians. See Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. v. p. 152. Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150; and J. Vicars's Parliamentary Chron. edit. 1644, 4^{to}. p. 287.

(2) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150. The Hist. of the Commons War of England. Lond. 1662, 8^{vo}. p. 29.

(3) Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, as above, p. 287; and The History of the Parliament of England, by Tho. May. Lond. 1647, fol. B. iii. p. 36. He copies Vicars in this and many other facts.

(4) Memorials of the English Affairs, &c. edit. 1732, p. 69.

(*) Memorable Occurrences in 1642, at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*. edit. 1646, 8^{vo}.

[B] *Though their number was more than double that of his Lordship's.* We are assured, that the number of their men, was 'near three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery (2).' Some of the Parliament-Historians (3) affirm indeed, that Sir John Gell's army consisted but of about fifteen hundred, horse and foot: and the Earl's of about twelve hundred: though they mention afterwards the coming of Sir William Brereton to Gell's assistance, before the fight was ended. But they do not express the number of the forces he brought; in which point, their silence seems to be culpable, as being designed to mislead the reader. Such instances are very frequent in Vicars's Chronicle; which indeed is only a heap of falsehood and misrepresentations, as well as of most shocking hypocrisy, and canting nonsense. Honest Mr. Whitelock tells us plainly, and without disguise (4), that Sir John Gell and Sir William Brereton came with three thousand horse and foot.

[C] *And so totally dispersed them, that the enemy had scarcely a horse left upon the field, &c.* This is the Lord Clarendon's account. And Dr. Ryves more particularly informs us (*) that in this fight above three hundred of the rebels were taken and killed; at

the least, two hundred more wounded; above three hundred of their horse taken, with four pieces of cannon, and a case of Drakes. And on the King's side, some few slain. On the other hand Vicars affirms (5), that the Parliament-forces repulsed the Earl's horse,—and at least an hundred and forty Cavaliers were slain with him; with the loss of eight or ten only of the Parliamentarians. And 'by the timely coming in of Sir William Brereton, before the fight was ended, Sir John Gell obtained a glorious victory, and drove his enemies quite out of the field.' Such are the frequent contradictions between Historians of different parties. But, on which side the victory inclined, we may judge by the consequence. And that it was in the King, is evident by the Earl of Northampton's forces recovering Litchfield soon after; which the others would never have permitted them to do, had they been victorious.

[D] *Had his horse killed under him.* One Historian tells us that, 'being unhappily fallen from his horse among coney-burrows, he was barbarously murdered (6).'

(5) *Ubi supra*, p. 287, 288.

(6) A short View of the Troubles in England, &c. by Sir Will. Dugdale. Oxf. 1681, fol. p. 118.

chafe

chase with too much fury, he was left encompassed by the enemy. After he was on his feet, he killed, with his own hand, the Colonel of foot, who first came near him; and, after his head-piece was struck off with the but-end of a musquet, they offered him quarter; which he refused, answering, 'That he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels, as they were.' Upon this, he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face (b). He was then in the forty-second year of his age (i). The enemy refused to deliver the body to the young Earl of Northampton, and would not even permit his Chirurgeons to come and embalm it, unless he would deliver, in exchange for it, all the ammunition, prisoners, and cannon he had taken in the late battle (k). However, it was delivered up at last, and buried in Allhallows Church in Derby, in the same vault with his relation the old Countess of Shrewsbury (l). As to this noble Lord's character, we are informed, that he was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the ease, plenty, and luxury, antecedent to our unhappy dissensions, indulged himself in that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes. But, from the beginning of the civil wars, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. From the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man was more punctual upon command, no man more active and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardships, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, That if he outlived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death (m). His Lordship married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, Knt. by whom he had two daughters, and six sons. The daughters were, *Anne*, married to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Whitby, in Yorkshire, Bart. and *Penelope*, to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, eldest son of Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State to King Charles I. and King Charles II. (n). Of the sons, who were all highly esteemed for their eminent abilities, and all inherited their father's courage, loyalty, and virtue, five of them received the honour of Knighthood; namely, *James*, the eldest son, and heir; *Sir Charles*; *Sir William* [E]; *Sir Spencer*; and *Sir Francis*; and *Henry*, the sixth, and youngest, Bishop of London, was no less conspicuous. At the battle of Hopton-heath, the three eldest, who were officers under their father, charged that day in the field, when Sir James, the eldest, received a shot in one of his legs (o). At the battle of Edge-hill he was absent; but Sir Charles and Sir William, though neither of them were twenty, charged in the troop with their father; and Sir Spencer, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation wept, That he was not exposed to the same hazard as his brothers (p).

[E] *Sir William*.] This brave gentleman had the command of a regiment, wherewith he performed considerable service at the taking of Banbury, leading his men on to three attacks, and had two horses shot under him. Upon the surrender of the town and castle, he was made Lieutenant-Governor under his father; and on the 19th of July, 1644, when the Parliament's forces came before the town he returned answer to their summons; 'That he kept the castle for his Majesty, and as long as one man was left alive in it, willed them not to expect to have it delivered;' also on the 16th of September, they sending him another summons, he made answer, 'That he had formerly answered them, and wondered they should send again.' He was so vigilant in his station, that he countermined the enemy eleven times, and during the siege, which held thirteen weeks, never went into bed, but by his example so animated the garrison, that though they had but two horses left uneaten, they would never suffer a summons to be sent to them, after the answer before-mentioned was de-

livered. At length, his brother the Earl of Northampton raised the siege on the 26th of October, the very day of the month, on which both town and castle had been surrendered to the King two years before. Sir William continued Governor of Banbury, and performed many signal services for the King, till his Majesty left Oxford, and the whole kingdom was submitting to the Parliament; and then on the 8th of May, 1646, surrendered upon honourable terms. In 1648, he was Major-General of the King's forces at Colchester, where he was so much taken notice of for his admirable behaviour, that Oliver Cromwell called him the sober young man, and the godly Cavalier. At the restoration of King Charles II. he was made one of the Privy-Council, and Master-General of the Ordnance; and died October 19, 1663, in the 39th year of his age, having married Elizabeth, widow of Lord Allington of Hortheath in Cambridgeshire, with whom he lived twelve years, but left no issue (7). There is an epitaph erected to his memory in the church of Compton-Winyate (8).

COMPTON (JAMES), the eldest of the six sons last mentioned, and third Earl of Northampton, taking arms with his father for King Charles I. was distinguished for his bravery and conduct, and performed many gallant acts in those times of confusion. He was at the battle of Edge-hill, the taking of Banbury, &c. (a); and waiting upon the King at Oxford, had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on him by that University, November 1, 1642 (b). The 19th of March following, he was in the engagement at Hopton-heath, where receiving a shot in one of his legs, he was obliged to quit the field (c). However, he was in a short time so well recovered of that wound, that on the 8th of April, 1643, he was with Prince Rupert at the taking of Litchfield, and the surrender of the Close there, the 21st of the same month. Also May 6, the same year, he routed a party of the enemies of horse and foot (d), at Middleton-chenev, in Northamptonshire, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt the taking of Banbury; and he defeated their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners.

(l) Dugdale, *ubi supra*, p. 403.

(m) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151, 152.

(p) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(b) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150, 151.

(i) British Compendium, as above, p. 315.

(k) Lord Clarendon, *ibid.* Viceroy's Chron. as above.

(n) Dugdale; and British Compendium, as above.

(o) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(7) British Compendium, as above, p. 316; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 113; and Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 542, 545.

(8) Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwicksh. as above, p. 551.

(b) Wood, Fast. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 22.

(c) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 151.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 319.

(d) Consisting of about 7000 foot, and five troops of horse. Memorable Occurrences, at the end of *Mercurius Rusticus*.

(c) *Ibid.* Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. p. i. p. 245.

(i) Memorable Occurrences at the end of *Mecurius Rusticus*.

(1) Dugdale, as above, p. 403; and British Compend. p. 319, 320.

(2) Wood, Fasti, vol. ii. col. 218.

(3) She died July 20, 1721.

(4) Dugdale, as above. British Compend. p. 320, 321; and Collins's Peerage, as above, p. 116, 117.

ers (c). He afterwards commanded the horse at the first battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, and charged and put to flight the enemy's horse under Sir William Waller. On the 29th of June, 1644, he was one of the commanders at Cropredy-bridge fight, wherein Sir William Waller was routed again (f). Soon after he marched with the King into Cornwall; and at his return raised the siege of Banbury, October 26, 1644, routing the Parliament forces, though their horse were much superior in number (g). Then joining the King, he relieved Donnington-Castle; whereupon battle was offered to the enemy, who declined it, though they had just before obtained advantages in the second fight at Newbury, the Earl being absent in raising the siege of Banbury (h). On the 18th of March, 1644-5, he and his three brothers routed a great body of the Parliamentarians horse, of Northampton, near Althorp, killed about thirty, and hurt many more, taking twenty-six prisoners (i). But in April, 1645, he was defeated by Lieutenant-General Cromwell, near Oxford, and several of his men were taken prisoners (k). After this, finding that his Majesty was overpowered by the Parliament, he resolved to go beyond sea, and obtained a pass from the House of Commons for that purpose (l). But, however, he seems to have compounded for his estates, and to have staid in the kingdom (m). Afterwards, the powers in being growing jealous of him, he was imprisoned; but discharged again, the 2d of November 1659, upon security given to live peaceably (n). On the 29th of May 1660, at the Restoration of King Charles II. he led a troop of two hundred Gentlemen, clothed in grey and blue: and, in the reign of that King, was of the Privy-Council, Constable of the Tower of London, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Warwick, and city of Coventry, Recorder of the same, and also of the towns of Northampton and Tamworth. He died at his seat of Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, December 15, 1681, and was interred among his ancestors at Compton in the county of Warwick; which church being demolished in the civil wars, was rebuilt at his Lordship's sole expence, in 1665. He was married twice [A]. By his second Lady he had three sons, GEORGE, who succeeded him in his honours [B]; James, that died young; and Spencer,

[A] *He was married twice.* His first Lady was, *Isabella*, one of the two daughters and coheirs to Richard Earl of Dorset; by whom he had issue two sons, William, and James, who both died in their childhood; and three daughters, Anne, and Isabella, which also died young, and Alatheia married to Edward Hungerford, Esq; This first Lady died October 14, 1661. His second Lady, was, *Mary*, eldest daughter of Baptist Noel Viscount Campden, by whom he had three sons as mentioned above; and two daughters, Juliana who died young; and Mary married to Charles Sackville Earl of Dorset, mother of Lionel Duke of Dorset (1).

[B] *GEORGE, who succeeded him in his honours.* His Lordship was of Christ-Church in Oxford, where he was created Master of Arts, February 18, 1681-2 (2). Though he was under age at the time of his father's death, he was notwithstanding, made Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Warwickshire. On Queen Anne's accession, he was sworn of her Privy-Council; and in 1712, appointed Constable of the Tower of London. His Lordship died April 15, 1727, and was buried at Compton with his ancestors. By his first Lady, *Jane*, youngest daughter of Sir Stephen Fox, Knt. whom he married in 1686 (3), he had issue four sons; JAMES, Earl of Northampton; George, Member in Parliament for Northampton, and one of the Lords of the Treasury: Stephen, who died young; and Charles, who on the 10th of May, 1727, was appointed Consul at Lisbon, and Consul-General in the dominions of Portugal. He had also by her six daughters; Elizabeth, Mary, Jane, Anne, Penelope, and Margaret; of whom the second was married in April, 1709, to William Gore of Tring in Hertfordshire, Esq; and the fourth, on the 16th of October, 1729, to Sir John Rushout of Northwick, in Worcestershire, Bart. His second Lady, was, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Rushout of Northwick, Bart. relict of Sir George Thorold, Bart. who in 1719, was Lord Mayor of London; but by her he had no issue (4).

* * [For a farther account of this noble family in general, we refer to the peerages; but as Spencer Compton, the youngest son of James the third Earl of Northampton, raised himself, by his abilities, to eminent stations, and to high rank, we shall add a few particulars concerning him. This gentleman was introduced into Parliament in 1689, and continued in the House of Commons, without interruption, till the year 1727. In 1714, he was chosen Speaker of that House, and sustained this important and honourable situation during three successive Parliaments. King

George the first, towards the latter end of his reign, conferred upon him the dignity of Knight of the Bath. Besides being created Baron, and afterwards Earl of Wilmington, he was a Privy-Counsellor, Knight of the Garter, and some time president of the council. When Sir Robert Walpole was displaced in 1742, the Earl of Wilmington succeeded him as First Commissioner of the Treasury. This office he held till his death, which happened on the second of July, in 1743 (5). Dying unmarried, he bequeathed his estate to the Earl of Northampton (6). The Earl of Wilmington appears to have been a friend to the Church, and an encourager of genius and learning. For a proof of the former, we may mention, that he gave, in 1716, two hundred pounds, for the augmentation of the Vicarage of Wilmington, in Sussex (7). It is no small testimony of the latter, that he was one of the earliest patrons of Thomson the Poet, who inscribed to him his "Winter," which was the first of his publications. From this circumstance his Lordship has obtained an eulogium that reflects a greater lustre upon him than all his titles, and which will transmit his name with honour to posterity, when his external distinctions are no longer regarded. The following lines, from the beginning of the later editions of the "Winter," will be an ample demonstration of the truth of our assertion.

"To thee, the patron of *her* first essay,
The muse, O WILMINGTON! renews her song.
Since has she rounded the revolving year:
Skim'd the gay spring; on eagle-pinions borne,
Attempted thro' the summer-blaze to rise;
Then swept o'er autumn with the shadowy gale;
And now among the wintry clouds again,
Roll'd in the doubling storm she tries to soar;
To swell her note with all the rushing winds;
To suit her sounding cadence to the floods;
As is her theme, her numbers wildly great:
Thrice happy! could she fill thy judging ear
With bold description, and with manly thought,
Nor art thou skilled in awful schemes alone,
And how to make a mighty people thrive:
But equal goodness, sound integrity,
A firm unshaken uncorrupted soul
Amid a sliding age, and burning strong,
Not vainly blazing for the country's weal,
A steady spirit regularly free;
These, each exalting each, the Statesman light
Into the Patriot; these, the public hope
And eye to thee converting, bid the muse
Record what envy dares not flattery call (8)."

created

(f) Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 467, &c. The Commons War of England, &c. as above, p. 47.

(g) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 544. Whitlock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 108.

(h) Lord Clarendon, *ibid.* p. 551. See also British Compendium, as above, p. 319.

(i) Whitlock, as above, p. 144.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 197. 200, 201, 202.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 202. 246.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 686.

(5) Gent. Mag. vol. xiii. p. 389.

(6) Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 199. Fifth edition.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) Thomson's Seasons, p. 204. Murray's edition of 1778.

created January 11, 1727-8, Baron of Wilmington in Sussex, and May 12, 1730, Viscount Pevensey, in the same county, and Earl of Wilmington (o).

(o) British Compendium, as above, p. 319, 320. 356.

COMPTON (HENRY), Bishop of London in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, and one of the most eminent Prelates that ever sat in that See, was the sixth [A] and youngest son of Spencer, the second Earl of Northampton, mentioned in the foregoing article. He was born at Compton (a) in the year 1632 (b). His father being unhappily slain in 1642-3, when this his youngest son was but ten years old, he was thereby deprived of that paternal care which is so necessary in that tender age. However, (notwithstanding that misfortune) he received an education suitable to his quality. When he had gone through the Grammar-schools, he was entered a Nobleman of Queen's-College, in Oxford, in the year 1649; and having continued there till about 1652, went and lived with his mother at Gryndon, in Northamptonshire. Afterwards he travelled beyond sea (c), where he remained a considerable time, and examined the civil and ecclesiastical polities abroad; but the more he observed them, the more he liked the English constitution. He saw their manners, and was too wise to imitate them. However, what he thought valuable amongst them he brought home, and in particular retained their languages perfectly (d) [B]. After the Restoration of King Charles II. he returned to England; and a regiment of horse being raised about that time for the King's guard, of which the command was given to Aubrey Earl of Oxford, Mr. Compton accepted of a Cornet's commission therein, either by his own choice, or the persuasion of friends. But, soon after, discovering a greater inclination to his studies than to a military life, he quitted that post, and dedicated himself to the service of the Church (e). Accordingly he went to Cambridge, where he was created Master of Arts (f). Afterwards entering into Orders [C], and obtaining a grant of the next vacant Canonry of Christ-Church in Oxford, he was admitted Canon-Commoner of that college, in the beginning of the year 1666, by the advice of Dr. John Fell, then Dean of the same (g). The 7th of April next ensuing, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge (h): about which time, he was possessed of the Rectory of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, worth above five hundred pounds a year. Before that, he had a smaller benefice. In both he showed his great concern for the souls of men. He was constituted in 1667, Master of St. Croffe's Hospital near Winchester, upon the death of Dr. William Lewis [D]. On the 24th of May 1669, he was installed Canon of Christ-Church [E], in the room of Dr. Richard Heylin deceased (i). Two days after (k), he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (l); and that of Doctor, the 28th of June following (m). Advancing daily in the King's favour and esteem, and in the opinion of all good men, he was, upon the translation of Dr. Nathaniel Crew from the Bishopric of Oxford to that of Durham, nominated to succeed him in the See of Oxford; to which he was elected November 10, confirmed December 2, and consecrated at Lambeth December 6, 1674 (n). About July, 1675, he was made Dean of the Royal Chapel, on the death of Dr. Blandford, Bishop of Worcester; and being the same year translated to the See of London [F], in the

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 968.

(b) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(c) Wood, *ibid.* and Sermon preached at the cathedral of St. Paul's, July 26, 1713, by Tho. Gooch, D.D. late Bishop of Ely.

(d) Dr. Gooch, *ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.* and Wood, *ubi supra*.

(f) Wood, *ibid.*

(g) *Ibid.*

(h) *Idem*, Fasti, vol. ii. col. 166.

(k) Or the next day. For in the Catalogue of Graduates it is placed on May 25.

(l) Wood, Fasti, vol. ii. col. 175.

(m) *Ibid.* col. 176

(n) Survey of the Cathedral of Oxford, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; edit. 1730, p. 434.

[A] *Was the sixth.* See above, in the article SPENCER COMPTON. Mr. Boyer says by mistake, that he was the fourth son (1). We are told that he was 'in the field at Edgehill in his cradle; by which 'is understood, that he was carried to the camp for 'security when very young (2). But certainly he could not be there in his cradle: for he was then ten years old.

[B] *And in particular retained their languages perfectly.* Dr. Gooch informs us (3), that, 'The better 'to prepare him for that figure he was afterwards to 'make, he spent some years in travelling; not to 'suck in the maxims of foreign states, or to try the 'rices of foreign Courts; not before he knew our 'constitution in Church and State, and was able to 'defend it, and sure to stick to it. He observed and 'examined the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polities abroad; 'he made them his study, but not his rule. The 'more he staid in France and Italy, &c. the more 'Englishman he was; he came home the better 'Statesman and the better Churchman; he was proof 'against all their arts, to debauch either his principles or his practices.' Whilst he was abroad, he is said to have trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York (4).

[C] *Afterwards entering into Orders.* When he did so, he was not a novice in age, or knowledge; being above a Bishop's necessary years (i. e. thirty years of age), when he was ordained a Deacon: but he did not aspire to, or desire the Episcopal Office, before he was qualified for the good work.—And though he might have made high demands upon the

Court, and raised himself at once to the greatest dignities, yet he chose to make gradual and regular advances (5).

[D] *He was constituted in 1667, Master of St. Croffe's Hospital, &c.* A fit preferment, as Dr. Gooch rightly observes (6), for him, whose house was always a constant hospital! By this his income was considerably increased, (it being above 500 a year) and he had greater opportunities of doing good; the only motive to him to wish for its increase; this was his greatest pleasure; and here he lived, and enjoyed it: here he would gladly have rested; but Providence had designed him for greater things.

[E] *On the 24th of May 1669, he was installed Canon of Christ-Church.* And when he was Sub-Dean in that church, he moderated in the Divinity-Disputations, with such gravity and wisdom, as made those exercises both reputable and instructive (7).

[F] *Being the same year, translated to the See of London.* Anth. Woods tells us (8), that, 'This 'translation was much promoted by some of the political Clergy, because they knew him to be a bold 'man, an enemy to the Papists, and one that would 'act, and speak what they would put him upon, 'which they themselves would not be seen in, as many 'prime Papists used to say.' We are also informed (9), that this translation was effected through the Earl of Danby's interest; to whom the Bishop was a property, and was turned by him as he pleased. The Duke of York hated him; but Lord Danby persuaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any person, so the giving way to it helped

(5) Gooch, *ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Dr. Gooch, *ib.*

(8) Athen. *ubi supra*.

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. vol. i. p. 392.

(1) Annual List of the Death of Eminent Persons, p. 61, at the end of the Hist. of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, fol.

(2) Life of Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, in the Lives of the English Bishops, from the Restoration to the Revolution, by N. Salmon, LL.B. edit. 1731, 2vo. p. 300.

(3) Sermon, as above.

(4) Salmon, *ib.*

the room of Dr. Henehman, deceased, was confirmed therein the 18th of December (o). On the 22d of January, 1675-6, King Charles, who entertained a just opinion of his capacity and fidelity, caused him to be sworn one of his Privy-Council; which station his Majesty thought fit to continue him in, upon his constituting a new Privy-Council in April 1679 (p). The educating and well-grounding of the King's two nieces, the Princesses Mary and Anne (q), in the doctrine and communion of the Church of England, were committed to his care; and that important trust he discharged, to the nation's universal satisfaction [G]. On the 4th of November, 1677, he had the honour of performing the ceremony of the marriage of the eldest, Mary, with William Prince of Orange; and on the 28th of July, 1683, that of Anne, the youngest, with George Prince of Denmark (r). The firmness of these two Princesses in the Protestant religion, was owing, in a great measure, to their learned tutor Bishop Compton; which afterwards, when Popery came to prevail at the Court of England, was imputed to him as an unpardonable crime. During the mutual heats and animosities in the latter part of King Charles the Second's reign, some of the most learned and exemplary Clergy endeavoured, both in private and public, to bring the Dissenters to a sense of the necessity of union among Protestants. To promote that good design, our worthy Bishop held, in 1679, three conferences with his Clergy upon the two Sacraments, and upon catechising youth in the true principles of religion. In 1680, he pursued the same design in three other conferences; namely, on the half communion; prayers in an unknown tongue; and prayers to Saints: the substance of which he published in a letter to the Clergy of his diocese, dated July 6, 1680. He farther hoped, that it might tend to pacify and reconcile the Dissenters, by bringing in the judgment of foreign Divines against their needless separation. For that purpose, he wrote to Monsieur Le Moyne, Professor in Divinity at Leyden, to Mr. de l'Angle, one of the Preachers at the Protestant Church at Charenton, near Paris; and to Mr. Claude, another eminent French Divine; who, in their several answers [H], agreed in vindicating the Church of England from any errors in its doctrine, or any unlawful impositions in its service and discipline; and, therefore, did condemn a separation from it, as needless and uncharitable (s). But Popery was what the Bishop most strenuously opposed: for, when it was gaining ground in these kingdoms, under the favour and influence of the heir-apparent to the Crown, James Duke of York, our worthy Prelate, at the head of his Clergy, made a noble stand; and, by his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more strenuously defended the reformed religion, than it had ever been, to the shame and silence of their Romish adversaries [I]. The great disservice thereby done to these, and their cause, was remembered, and repented, when King James II. ascended the throne.

(o) Willis, *ibid.*
and Wood, *Ath.*
ubi supra.

(p) Boyer, as
above.

(q) The late glorious
Queens,
Mary and Anne.

(r) The Genea-
logical History of
the Kings and
Queens of Eng-
land, &c. by Fr.
Sandford and Fr.
Stebbing, fol.
edit. 1707, p.
679. 758.

(s) Compl. Hist.
of England, &c.
by Bishop Ken-
net, edit. 1719,
vol. iii. p. 382.

helped to lay the jealousies of the Church-Party. About a year after that, Sheldon dying, Bishop Compton was persuaded that Lord Danby had tried with all his strength to promote him to Canterbury; though that was never once intended. He was a great patron of the converts from Popery, and of those Protestants whom the bad usage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us: And by these means he came to have a great reputation. He used to make many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the insolence of the Papists, and of Coleman's in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to dismiss Coleman out of his service: yet he continued still in his confidence.

[G] *And that important trust he discharged to the nation's universal satisfaction.* How well he executed it, as Dr. Gooch observes (10), let those confess, who value the memory of the late most renowned Queen (Mary), or have not laid aside all duty to our present most gracious Sovereign (11). They never forgot their obligations to him; but he was always in the esteem of the former, and received marks of favour from the latter. He had the particular honour which no one Bishop ever had, of marrying two Regent Queens to Protestant Princes. They were both confirmed by him January 23, 1675-6 (12).

[H] *Who in their several Answers.* Their Answers are published at the end of Bishop Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation*, 1681, 4to. That of Mr. Le Moyne, bears date, September 3, 1680. That of Mr. De L'Angle is dated from Paris, October 31; and that of Mr. Claude from the same place, Nov. 29, 1680.

[I] *By his encouragement, their pulpits and their pens more strenuously defended the Reformed Religion, than it had ever been.* This we learn from a Gentleman, who had been his Lordship's Chaplain (13). 'From whatever quarter, says he, or at what time soever any assault was made upon our Doctrine or Discipline, his vigilance and Christian courage were

upon the guard to defend them; of which I shall give only some few instances within the narrow compass of my own knowledge. 1. From hence proceeded that volume of useful *Treats against the Dissenters*, to convince them by Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity, of the unreasonableness of their separation, and ill-grounded scruples: never yet replied to, or to be answered. 2. From hence likewise (before, and even under his suspension) came forth the distinct *Reply to all the pretences of the Church of Rome*, in their day of exaltation and trial; most of them written by the best-learned Divines of this City. Join both these together, and you will find enough said to confirm you in the faith and worship of this Church, against the adversaries on either hand; not to separate from our holy Apostolical Communion, out of needless scruple, and the so often-baffled pretences of seeking after greater purity, and better edification; nor yet to be perverted to Idolatry, in order to find out the true Church. 3. The danger of *Socinianism*, and other Heresies, did not escape his care or remedy, as far as his power and persuasion could reach: to this end, many learned and rational treatises have been published by his Clergy on this subject. And when the dispute about the holy undivided Trinity was managed by some, in new and unusual terms, a Royal Letter was procured to forbid the bringing in such terms into that controversy, as were unknown to Antiquity or to Scripture.—By these-like means, our pious Bishop, as the good shepherd of souls, used his strenuous endeavour to hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, seek the lost, and bring back the out-casts, not by severity even against the irreclaimable, or prosecutions against the deceived, but first and chiefly by argument and conviction: yet not so merciful, as to be remiss against impious Heretics, and notorious immorality.'

To

(10) Sermon, as
above.

(11) i. e. Queen
Anne, in whose
reign this was
published.

(12) See Conti-
nuation of Rog.
Coke's Detection,
vol. iii. 1718, p.
117.

(13) See a Ser-
mon on the
Death of the late
Lord Bishop of
London, preach-
ed August 11,
1713, at St. Mar-
tin's, Ludgate, by
Will. Whitfield,
Lond. 1713, 8vo.
p. 14, &c.

To our Bishop's immortal honour, this was his unpardonable crime; and, accordingly, he was marked out, as the first sacrifice to Popish fury (t). The first instance of it was, his being dismissed from the Council-table soon after King James's accession; and, on the 16th of December, 1685, he was put out from being Dean of the Royal Chapel (u). Farther occasions were sought, and soon found, of molesting, or entirely ruining him, if possible: for Dr. John Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, London, having, in some of his sermons, vindicated the doctrine of the Church of England in opposition to Popery [K], the King sent a letter, dated June 14, 1686, to Bishop Compton, wherein his Majesty 'required and commanded him, immediately upon receipt thereof, forthwith 'to suspend Dr. Sharp from farther preaching in any parish church or chapel in his diocese, until he had given the King satisfaction.' Upon the receipt of it, the Bishop sent an answer, June the 18th, to the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State, wherein he said, That 'he should always count it his duty to obey the King in whatever commands 'he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe conscience; but in this, he conceived, he was obliged to proceed according to law; and therefore it was impossible for 'him to comply, because, though his Majesty commanded him only to execute his pleasure, yet in the capacity he was to do it, he must act as a Judge, and no Judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cause, and has cited the party.' But the Court being resolved to be revenged on the Bishop, for his exemplary zeal for the Protestant interest; and intending thereby to terrify all persons (the Clergy in particular) from opposing their arbitrary designs, they caused his Lordship to be cited, on the 3d of August, to appear the 9th of the same month before the new Ecclesiastical Commission. At his appearance, he was charged with 'not having observed his Majesty's commands 'in the case of Dr. Sharp, whom he was ordered to suspend.' The Bishop seemed to be surprized at this; and humbly begged a copy of the commission, and a copy of his charge: but was answered by Chancellor Jefferys, 'That he should neither have a copy of, nor see, the commission; neither would they give him a copy of the charge.' Thereupon his Lordship desired time to advise with counsel; and there was given him till the 16th, and afterwards till the 31st of August above-mentioned. In the mean time, he sent his Proctor for a copy of what orders and minutes they had set down concerning his business; but it was refused, though never denied in any Court. On the 31st of August, when his Lordship appeared for the second time, he declared, That the whole world could bear him witness, he had been that whole summer endeavouring with all the power and skill he had, to enforce the King's letter to the strict observation of his Clergy. Then he offered his plea to their jurisdiction [L]: which being over-ruled, he protested to his right, in that or any other plea, that might be for his advantage. And observed, that, as a Bishop, he had a right by the most authentic and universal Ecclesiastical Laws, to be tried first before his Metropolitan, precedent to any other Court whatsoever. But the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would not, upon any account, suffer their jurisdiction to be called in question; and therefore did not pay the least regard to whatever his Lordship could alledge, even though he farther insisted, that in the capacity he was, they were warranted by their commission to try him only for offences *after the date* of the commission. But this plea likewise was over-ruled by the Chancellor, who affirmed, 'There were general words which 'gave authority sufficient to look back.' Whereupon the Bishop gave in his answer in writing [M]; and, after it was read, he observed, that the word *suspend* was liable to two constructions.

(t) Dr. Gooch, as above. He also argued against giving up the Test, which incensed the Court against him. Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, p. 665.

(u) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

[K] Dr. John Sharp—*having, in some of his sermons vindicated the Doctrine of the Church of England in opposition to Popery.*] He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper sent him, as he believed, by a Priest, containing a sort of challenge upon some points of controversy, touched by him in some of his Sermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he should send an answer, preached a Sermon in answer to it: and, after he had confuted it, he concluded, shewing how unreasonable it was for Protestants to change their religion on such grounds. This was carried to Court, and represented there, as a reflection on the King for changing on those grounds (14). But in order to understand how this could be imputed as a crime to Dr. Sharp, it is to be observed, that King James had caused the *Directions concerning Preachers*, published in 1662, to be now reprinted, and reinforced them by a letter directed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, given at Whitehall, 5 March, 1685-6, *to prohibit the preaching upon controversial points* (15); which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their religion in the pulpit; when it was at the same time attacked by the Popish Priests with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and books. This order was taken from a precedent in Queen Mary the 1st's time; who soon after her accession to the throne,

issued out a proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted points of religion; for fear, it was said, of raising animosities among the people (16).

[L] *Then he offered his plea to their jurisdiction.*] This plea was chiefly a recital of the statute made in the 16th of King Charles I. entitled. 'A Repeal of 'the branch of a statute *primo Elizabethæ*, concerning 'Commissioners for causes Ecclesiastical: in which statute of Charles I. it was, among other things, enacted,—'That no new Court should be erected, 'ordained, or appointed, within this realm of England, or dominion of Wales, which should, or might 'have the like power, jurisdiction, or authority as 'the said High-Commission Court then had, or pretended to have; but that all and every such Letters- 'Patents, Commissions and Grants, made or to be 'made by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, and all 'powers and authorities granted thereby; and all 'Acts, Sentences, and Decrees, to be made by virtue 'or colour thereof, should be utterly void and of 'none effect (17).'

[M] *Whereupon the Bishop gave in his answer in writing.*] The Commissioners question to him was, Why 'did you not obey the King's command, in his 'letter concerning the suspending Doctor Sharp?' In answer to which, his Lordship, after reciting the King's letter of June 14, above-mentioned, says, 'I 'took

(16) Memoirs, &c. by J. Wood, M.D. edit. 1718, p. 173, 174.

(17) See Proceedings against Henry Lord Bishop of London, as above, p. 16, &c. and Compl. Hist. p. 481.

(14) Burnet, as above, p. 674.

(15) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 452; and Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. fol. Lond. 1728, p. 794, 795.

constructions. In the first, which is the legal and strict sense of the word, he understood the King's letter; and was advised by his counsel, that it was a judicial act, and by consequence could not be complied with, unless he had first cited the party, and heard the cause. In the other sense of the word *suspend*, that is, at large for *silencing*, he apprehended, he had in effect obeyed the King's letter. For he sent for Dr. Sharp, shewed him that letter, advised him not to preach till he had endeavoured to know his Majesty's farther pleasure; and he had not preached to that day, so that his Majesty's command was fulfilled. But, notwithstanding all that his Lordship or his counsel could alledge, he was suspended, on the 6th of September following [N], for his disobedience, from the function and execution of his episcopal office, and from all episcopal and other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, during his Majesty's pleasure (w). Immediately after, the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were appointed commissioners to exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the diocese of London, during the suspension of the Bishop (x). He acquiesced in this hard sentence [O]; but being suspended only as a Bishop, and remaining still whole in his other capacities, he made a noble stand as one of the Governors of the Charter-House [P]. However, as according to the form of the Ecclesiastical Courts, a person under suspension must make a submission within six months, otherwise he may be proceeded against as obstinate: so, six months after sentence, the Bishop sent a petition to the King, desiring to be restored to the exercise of his episcopal function; but he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it stopt all farther proceedings; only the suspension lay still on him (y). Whilst he was thus sequestered from his episcopal function, he applied himself to the improvement of his garden at Fulham; and, having a great genius for Botany, enriched it with a new variety of domestic and exotic plants (z). His suspension was so flagrant a piece of injustice, that the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it [Q]; and, upon the dread of his Highness's coming over, the Court was willing to make the Bishop reparation, by restoring him, on the 23d of September, 1688 (a), to his episcopal function. But he made no haste to resume his charge, and to thank the King for his restoration; which made some people believe, he had no mind to be restored after such a manner, or that he knew well enough what passed in Holland (b). And, indeed, he was one of the noble persons who often met at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, and concerted measures for the Prince of Orange's coming over, whose interest he heartily endeavoured to promote (c). On the 3d of October, 1688, he waited upon King James, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven other Bishops, when they suggested to his Majesty such advices as they thought proper at that season, and conducing to his service (d). Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, the first share our Bishop had in the ensuing Revolution, was, together with the Earl of Dorset, the conveying safe from London to Nottingham the Princess Anne of Denmark [R], lest she, in the present confusion of affairs,

(w) Account of the Proceedings against Henry, Lord Bishop of London, 4^{to}. Lond. 1688; and Complete Hist. as above, p. 480, &c.

(x) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 483.

(z) Boyer, as above.

(c) Burnet, as above, p. 712-764.

(y) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, fol. edit. 1724, p. 677, 678. Bishop Sprat informs us, that he had once obtained to have his suspension taken off, if he would but have made an ordinary submission. First Letter to the Earl of Dorset, edit. 1711, p. 6.

(a) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(b) Boyer, ubi supra.

(d) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 520, &c.

‘took the best advice I could get, concerning Doctor Sharp, and was informed, that the letter being directed to me, as Bishop of London, to suspend a person under my jurisdiction, I was therein to act as a Judge, it being a judicial act; and that no person could by Law be punished by suspension, before he was called, or without being admitted to make his defence.’ And then goes on to say, That he represented so much to the Earl of Sunderland, in the letter mentioned above. Nevertheless, that he might obey his Majesty's commands as far as by Law he could, he had shewed the King's letter to Doctor Sharp, who had not preached since that time within the Diocese of London (18).

(18) Ibid. p. 21; and 482.

[N] He was suspended, on the 6th of September following.] The Court did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the Lawyers had settled that point, that Benefices were of the nature of Freeholds. So, if the sentence had gone to the Temporalities, the Bishop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was likely to find good justice, Herbert not being satisfied with the legality and justice of the sentence. While this matter was in dependance, the Princess of Orange thought it became her to interpose a little in the Bishop's favour. So she wrote to the King, earnestly begging him to be gentle to the Bishop, who she could not think would offend willingly. She also wrote to the Bishop, expressing the great share she took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the same purpose. The King wrote an answer to the Princess, reflecting severely on the Bishop, not without some sharpness on her for meddling in such matters (19).

(19) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 677.

[O] He acquiesced in this hard sentence.] The Court seemed uneasy, when they saw they had gained so

poor a victory: for now the Bishop was more considered than ever. His Clergy, for all the suspension, were really more governed by the secret intimations of his pleasure, than they had been by his authority before. So they resolved to come off as well as they could (20).

(20) Burnet, as above, p. 677.

[P] He made a noble stand as one of the Governors of the Charter-House.] For, King James having, on the 17th of December 1686, sent a letter to the Governors of the Charter-House, requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham into the first Pensioner's place in that Hospital, which should become void, and be in his Majesty's disposal; without tendering any oaths to him, or requiring of him any subscriptions, or other acts in conformity to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England: the Bishop of London, jointly with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, all Governors of that Hospital, and Dr. Thomas Burnet, Master of the same, agreed, not to comply with the King's illegal and unreasonable command (21).

[Q] That the Prince of Orange, in his Declaration, could not omit taking notice of it.] In the following words: ‘The said Commissioners have suspended the Bishop of London, only because he refused to obey an order that was sent him to suspend a worthy Divine, without so much as citing him before him to make his own defence, or observing the common forms of process.’

(21) See Hist. of the Ecclesiastical Commission, edit. 1711, 8^{vo}, p. 22, &c.

[R] The conveying safe from London to Nottingham, the Princess Anne of Denmark.] We have a particular account of this transaction in the following words. ‘When the news came to London, of Prince George of Denmark's having joined the Prince of Orange,

fairs, might have been sent away into France, or put under restraint, because the Prince, her consort, had left King James, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange. Bishop Compton, at his return to London, set his hand to the Association begun at Exeter (a). Nor was he only one of the most instrumental in the Revolution, but also the most zealous in promoting the settlement of it: for, upon the 21st of December, he waited on the Prince of Orange, at the head of his Clergy, and even attended with some of the Dissenting Ministers; and in his own and their name, thanked his Highness 'for his very great and most hazardous undertaking for their deliverance, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion, with the ancient laws and liberties of this nation (f).' On the 30th of December, he administered the holy Communion to his Highness, in the Royal Chapel at St. James's, according to the rites of the Church of England (g). The 29th of January, 1688-9, when the House of Lords, in a grand Committee, debated the important question, Whether, the throne being vacant, ought to be filled up by a Regent, or a King? Dr. Compton was one of the two Bishops (Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol, being the other) who made the majority for filling up the throne by a King: for there were, upon that occasion, only fifty-one votes to forty-nine (b). On the 14th of February he was appointed one of the Privy-Council (i), and made Dean of the Royal Chapel (k); and afterwards pitched upon by King William to perform the ceremony of his and Queen Mary's coronation, April 11, 1689 (l). The same year, he was constituted one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy, in the execution of which commission he laboured with great zeal and earnestness to reconcile the Dissenters to the Church; and also in the Convocation that met November 21, 1689, of which he was President. But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties [S], the majority of the Lower House being resolved not to enter into any terms of accommodation with the Dissenters (m). King William having, soon after, named Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, his Lordship was made one of them; and the Bishop of London, for the time being, is always to be one, by reason of his superintendency of all the Churches in the Plantations [T]. In the beginning of the year 1690-1, at his own charge, he attended King

(e) Boyer, as above.

(f) Compl. Hist. &c. p. 557.

(g) Ibid. p. 540.

(b) Boyer, as above.

(i) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(l) Compl. Hist. &c. as above, p. 560. He baptized William Duke of Gloucester, July 24, 1689. Collins, ubi supra, p. 115.

(k) The Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, edit. 1735, vol. ii. p. i. p. 114.

(m) Ibid. and Boyer, ubi supra.

'Orange, the Princess Anne was so struck with the apprehensions of the King's displeasure, and of the ill effects it might have, that she said to the Lady Churchill, that she could not bear the thoughts of it; and would leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Bishop of London was then lodged very secretly in Suffolk-street. So the Lady Churchill, who knew where he was, went to him, and concerted with him the method of the Princess's withdrawing from the Court. The Princess went sooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight, she went down a back stairs from her closet, attended only by the Lady Churchill, in such haste, that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Bishop of London, who carried them to the Earl of Dorset's, whose Lady furnished them with every thing. And so they went northward, as far as Northampton; where that Earl attended on them with all respect, and quickly brought a body of Horse to serve for a guard to the Princess. And in a little while a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London; of which he too easily accepted (22). So that, as Dr. Gooch observes (23), the Bishop thought it then a proper time to resume his care and charge, and to guard the Princess against any attempts on her Religion or her Liberty. This is that so much talked of part he acted at the Revolution. He rescued the Princess Anne; he hid her (as it were) till Popish Tyranny was overpast. During that nice and difficult juncture, he was called peculiarly the Protestant Bishop; and, indeed, he was the ornament and security of the Protestant cause.

[S] But the intended Comprehension met with insuperable difficulties.] For, though many arguments were used to bring the more stiff of the inferior Clergy to a charitable condescension, and the much desired union; yet there prevailed amongst them a jealousy and a distrust not to be conquered. This appeared in the choice of a Prolocutor for the Lower-House. Dr. Tillotson was the person proposed, and desired by our Bishop, and most of his Brethren; and yet Dr. Jane had the majority of votes. And when he was presented to the Bishop of London, as President, for his approbation, he made a customary speech in Latin, wherein he extolled the excellency of the Church of England as established by Law, above all communities; implied that it wanted no amendments; and

then ended with the application of this sentence, by way of triumph, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. But the Bishop of London, to whom Dr. Jane had been chaplain, made a speech in the same language, wherein he told the Clergy; 'That they ought to endeavour a temper in those things, that are not essential in religion, thereby to open the door of Salvation to a multitude of straying Christians: that it must needs be their duty, to shew the same indulgence and charity to the Dissenters under King William, which some of the Bishops and Clergy had promised to them in their addresses to King James;' and concluded with a pathetical exhortation to unanimity and concord (24). But though he made such great advances towards a Comprehension, yet when he observed the perverse and obstinate disposition of the Dissenters; when he found, that not a sense of true and undissembled religion, but interest and humour were at the bottom; and that there was no Comprehension to be proposed, or satisfaction given, but by the expensive sacrifice of truth and order, then he thought it necessary to stop. He wished as well as any body to the Protestant interest, and would gladly have seen it more united: but he was not well-bred enough to betray the rights of the Church in favour of a schism. He had seen so much the effects of popular forwardness and contention, men's awkward dislike to what is settled, and desire to change, that he dreaded the thoughts of innovations (25). His not complying so far as the Dissenters liked, is undoubtedly what made an author who is very favourable to them (26) say, 'that Bishop Compton was a weak man, wilful, and strangely wedded to a party:' that is, he was not of the same party in that respect as Bishop Burnet.

[T] By reason of his superintendency of all the churches in the Plantations.] Bishop Compton often declared his resolution of going over himself, to settle the Christian Church in those American Plantations; but by his persecution in King James's reign, and the mischiefs of a long war ever since, he could never bring it to effect. Greater then was his care in sending over good pastors; more constant his attention to their lives, manners, and doctrine; by every conveyance, letters sent of instruction, commendation, or reproof; a perpetual correspondence, in answer to volumes of complaints, wants, and requests. And all this carried on by himself, against the perverseness of the inhabitants, the wiles of the Church of Rome, and

(24) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 591.

(25) Dr. Gooch, ubi supra.

(26) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 392.

(22) Burnet, as above, p. 792.

(23) Ubi supra.

King William to the famous Congress at the Hague, where the grand alliance against France was concluded. But, notwithstanding the great part he acted in the Revolution, and his subsequent services, no sooner was the storm over, but jealousies were infused, and calumnies dispersed, to supplant and undermine him; insomuch, that though the Metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he still continued Bishop of London [U]. However, he went on consistently, and like himself, despising all other rewards but the quiet and the applause of his own conscience, and the high esteem and intimacy of Queen Mary, which he preserved to her dying day (n). At the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, he seemed to stand fairest for the royal favour; and though many things were said to disparage him at Court [W], yet nothing could discourage him from paying his duty and attendance there. About the beginning of May, 1702, he was sworn of her Majesty's Privy-Council. The same year, he was put in the commission for the Union of England and Scotland, but was left out in the new commission issued out in April 1706. Two years before, he very much promoted the 'Act for making effectual her Majesty's intention for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor Clergy, by enabling her Majesty to grant the revenues of the First-Fruits and Tithes.' He maintained all along a brotherly correspondence with the foreign Protestant Churches, and endeavoured to promote in them a good opinion concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and her moderate sentiments of them, as appears both by his application to Messieurs Le Moyne, Claude, and de l'Angle before-mentioned (o), and the letters that passed between his Lordship and the University of Geneva in 1706 [X]. Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, his access became easier at Court, and he had greater power and interest there. But, whether the times were good or bad, he looked upon all that power and interest only as accidental circumstances that attended the office of a Bishop, and not as an essential part of it (p). In 1709-10, he was one of the Lords who opposed the prosecution then carried on against Dr. Sacheverel, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewise protested against several steps taken in that affair (q). His Lordship having, for some time, been afflicted with the Gout and Stone [Y], it turned at last to a complication of distempers, which put an end to his most valuable life, at Ful-

(n) Gooch, and Boyer, as above.

(o) Boyer, as above.

(p) Dr. Gooch, ubi supra.

(q) History of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. 1735, p. 428, 429-444, 445.

the subtleties of their societies *de Propaganda Fide*, till the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge was erected. It was no small trouble or expence, to find out fit Pastors for that refractory and unbelieving part of mankind: men of integrity; for they could not be under his inspection as to their manners and doctrine, in those remote territories; and men of prudence and constancy, to reclaim the inhabitants from their old imbibed leaven of Independency, Antinomianism, and Quakerism; and to reduce the natives from being worshippers of evil dæmons (25).

(25) Whitfeld, as above, p. 17. See also Dr. Gooch, ubi supra.

[U] Though the metropolitan See of Canterbury was twice vacant in that reign, yet he still continued Bishop of London.] The first time indeed, it is no great wonder he should miss of it, since he had for competitor Dr. Tillotson, the glory of the English nation. But why he should not be promoted to it at the second vacancy is entirely unaccountable, all circumstances considered. And no truer reason of it can be assigned than this, that it was thought, Dr. Tenison would be more subservient to all the Court Designs, than Bishop Compton could be expected to be.

(26) Ubi supra.

[W] And though many things were said to disparage him at Court.] For then, as Dr. Gooch observes (26), was the time for the most artful management. Honesty and integrity will always stand in some men's way. The Bishop of London could neither be corrupted nor removed. But whatever attempts were made against him, they moved him not; neither counted he his life dear, while he was doing God and his Church good service.

[X] The letters that passed between his Lordship, and the university of Geneva in 1706.] What the substance of them was, we learn from the following passage in a letter from that University, to the University of Oxford, dated Feb. 5, 1706-7. *Summo gaudio nos perfudit quod de vestra in nos charitate scribere dignatus est illustrissimus Præsul Henricus Londinensis Episcopus. Cum enim accepissemus, nos male audire, & Genævæ famam apud vos deteri; nomine vestro nos docuit, præjudicatas esse & veteres opiniones nondum penitus depositas; & quæ in medium à quibusdam allata erant nos non spectare, verum nonnullos qui ecclesiæ Anglicanæ disciplinam & liturgiam detrectantes, nomen nostrum præ se ferebant: illud vero à sententia nostra omnino diffitum esse noverat vir illustrissimus, &c. i. e. 'The assurances we have received from the most illustrious*

Bishop of London of your affection towards us, hath filled us with the utmost joy. For hearing that we were ill spoken of, and that Geneva was odious amongst you, he hath assured us in your name, that those were old prejudices, and wrong notions not yet laid aside; and that what had been said by some, did not concern us, but certain persons, who dissenting from, and railing at, the discipline and liturgy of the Church of England, made use of our name: but he knew us to be quite of another mind.'—The compliment paid to his Lordship by the University of Oxford, in their answer to this letter, is both very just and handsome. — *Quo nemo aut Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ paterno magis affectu fovet ac tuetur, aut exterius omnes, utcumque locorum intervallis diffitas, arctissimo tamen purioris Fidei vinculo conjunctas charitate magis fraterna prosequitur. i. e. 'Than whom, none hath a more paternal affection for the Church of England, nor a greater brotherly love for the foreign Churches, united by one close bond of the true Faith, though never so far distant from each other (27).'*

(27) These Letters were printed at Oxford, 1707, fol.

[Y] His Lordship having for some time, been afflicted with the Gout and Stone.] 'The Gout and Stone will make the stoutest heart to shrink; yet (says Dr. Gooch) in the midst of these tormenting pains, we never heard the voice of murmur; those shocks that would make a beholder tremble, did not make him repine. He never complained against God, nor grew touchy and peevish to his domestics; (almost every body's case in pain and sickness.) He was firm and constant, quiet and good-natured to the end. When his last illness came upon him, he foresaw and foretold what would be the event on it, with the same composedness as if he had been sure of his recovery. He knew his summons could never be sudden, because he was never unprepared to receive it. He had long ago settled his worldly affairs: indeed he had little worldly affairs to settle; for he had remitted his treasure to the other world, and secured an eternal reversion there. He talked of dying with the same unconcernedness, (or with the same pleasure) as if he was only taking a journey; and wished for nothing but an easy passage:—which he obtained; being taken out of this world in the same easy and quiet manner as he had endeavoured to live, and wished to die (28).'

(28) Gooch, ubi supra.

(r) Boyer's Annual List, as above.

ham, on the 7th of July, 1713, in the eighty-first year of his age. His body was interred the 15th of the same month, in the church-yard of Fulham [Z], according to his particular direction (r). What few things he published, are mentioned in the note [AA]. As to his *personal* qualifications, he was, in all respects, one of the best-bred men in his time; courteous and affable; not full of words, but very conversable; and, as in his ministerial offices, so in conversation too, willing and apt to teach. He was always easy of access, and ready to do good offices. In his friendships he was constant, or rather inflexible. He was a man of the largest and most public spirit, and liked nothing that looked narrow or stingy. He had no little, artful, selfish designs. He was never seen to be afraid or concerned at danger. In the midst of storms he himself was calm. With regard to his *moral* character, he was a person of singular modesty and humility; of great temperance and abstinence; of exemplary piety [BB], and every virtue. Never did such tender and such manly passions meet before in the same breast! Never such firmness and fortitude, mixed with so much meekness and condescension! But he was most particularly eminent for his unbounded charity and beneficence, being generous and charitable beyond example. He disposed of money to every one who could make out (and it was very easy to make that out to him) that he was a proper object of charity. He answered literally the Apostle's character, poor enough himself, yet making many rich (s). He had divers ancient people, men and women, whom he supported by constant annual pensions; and several children at school, at his own cost and charge, besides those educated from children, and brought up to the Universities, to the sea, or to trades, &c. (t). The poor of his parish were always attending his gate for their dole, and for the remains of his constant hospitable table, which was always furnished, and free to those whom respect or business drew to him. His hall was frequented in the morning with petitioners of all sorts (u). More particularly, he spared no cost nor pains to serve the Church and Clergy. He bought many Advowsons out of Lay-hands [CC]. He gave great sums for the rebuilding of Churches (w), and greater still for the buying in Improvements, and settling them on the poor Vicars [DD]. There was no poor honest Clergyman, or his widow, in want, but had his benevolence when applied for. Not any in the Reformed Churches abroad, to whom he was not a liberal patron, steward, and perpetual solicitor for. The French Refugees drank deep of his bounty for many years; so did the Irish in their day of affliction; and likewise the Scotch Episcopal party [EE] in their grievous persecution (x). He was indeed upon some occasions imposed upon, and bestowed his charity sometimes upon forward and impudent persons, who did not want or deserve it; but that is frequently the case of generous well-meaning persons, and must be owned to be a weakness

(s) 2 Cor. vi. 10.

(t) Dr. Gooch, *ubi supra*.

(u) Whitfield, *ubi supra*, p. 19.

(w) As, St. Mary's, Colchester, Pleshey, and others in his diocese.

(x) Whitfield, *ubi supra*.

[Z] *His body was interred—in the church-yard of Fulham.* According to his particular direction: for he used to say, 'that the church is for the living, and the church-yard for the dead.' So that his humility of life, and greatness of mind, above worldly pomp, followed him to his grave (29). Over it there is erected a handsome tomb, (surrounded with iron rails,) having only this short inscription. H. LONDON. EI MH EN TΩ ΣΤΑΥΡΩ. M.DCC.XIII. The Greek words (Engl. *Save in the cross*) are part of Galatians vi. 14. God forbid that I should glory, *save in the cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

[AA] *What few things he published, are mentioned in the note.* They are as follows. I. A Translation from Italian, of 'The Life of Donna Olympia Malda-chini, who governed the Church during the time of Innocent X. which was from the year 1644 to 1655.' Lond. 1667, written originally by Abbot Gualdi, and printed privately at Paris. II. A Translation from French into English, of, 'The Jesuits intrigues; with the private instructions of that Society to their Emissaries.' Lond. 1669. Nine sheets in 4to. This was found in manuscript in a Jesuit's closet after his death: and both were sent in a letter from a gentleman at Paris, to his friend in London. III. 'A Treatise of the Holy Communion.' Lond. 1677, 8vo. His name is not set to it. IV. 'A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, concerning Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Catechising. Dated April 25, 1679,' and printed on one side of a sheet. V. Second Letter, concerning 1. The half Communion. 2. Prayers in an unknown tongue. 3. Prayers to Saints. Dated from Fulham, July 6, 1680, and printed also on one side of a sheet of paper. VI. A third Letter, on Confirmation, and Visitation of the Sick. From Fulham 1682. VII. A fourth Letter; upon Canon 54. Dated from Fulham, April 6, 1683. VIII. A fifth Letter, upon Canon 118. From Fulham, March 19, 1684. IX. A sixth Letter, upon

Canon 13. Fulham, April 18, 1685. They were all reprinted together in 1686, 12mo. under this title, *Episcopalia*: or, Letters of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, to the Clergy of his Diocese (30). We are informed, that they were part of them printed without his knowledge; but not without a design of bringing more trouble upon his head from King James II. for his opposing Popery, as he doth in some of them (31). X. There is also, 'A Letter of his to a Clergyman in his Diocese, concerning Non-Resistance:' written soon after the Revolution, and inserted in the Memoirs of the Life of Mr. John Kettlewell (32).

[BB] *Of exemplary piety.* No one was so strict and regular in his private devotions; no one so constant and frequent in the service of the Church. For, beside the public offices morning and evening, his whole family began the day with the Litany, and ended it with select prayers from the Liturgy: and at all these times he himself, when he was able, was a constant attendant (33).

[CC] *He bought many Advowsons out of Lay-hands.* As the Rectories of St. James, and All-Saints; and the Vicarage of St. Peter's, all in Colchester: the Rectories of Abberton Tendring in Essex, &c.

[DD] *For the buying in Improvements, and settling them upon the poor Vicars.* Particularly the Impropration of Marks-Tay in Essex, for which he is said to have given no less than seven hundred pounds; whereby he raised a very mean Curacy to a competent subsistence.

[EE] *And likewise the Scotch Episcopal party.* He provided in particular, for numbers of the Scotch Episcopal Clergy, who fled into England at the Revolution. To Mr. Robert Falconer, for instance, he gave the Living of Dunmow; to Mr. Thomas Dunbar, that of Keldon, both in Essex; and the like in many other instances.

(30) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*, col. 969.

(31) Whitfield, *ubi supra*, p. 11.

(32) Edit. Lond. 1718, 8vo. p. 208, &c.

(33) Dr. Gooch, *ubi supra*.

rather.

(y) Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 392.

rather than a fault [FF]. If we consider him *as a Bishop*, he was not only blameless, but a pattern of good behaviour in every respect. He applied himself more to his function than Bishops had commonly done. He went much about his diocese, and preached [GG] and confirmed in many places (y). In order not to burden his Clergy with frequent visitations, he was wont to hire houses, and spend every summer in some new part of his diocese, where he rode out, and visited in person the several churches, and parsonage, and vicarage-houses. His method also was, in stated meetings with his Clergy, to propose some topic in divinity, on which they discoursed together in a serious, familiar, and judicious manner; which afterwards was summed up, and formed into a regular treatise. Many of these discourses are published, under the title of *The Bishop of London's Conferences*. At those times, and indeed upon all other occasions, he was extremely civil, affable, and courteous, full of candour and patience [HH]. In a word, by his death the Church

(34) Sermon, as above, p. 23.

[FF] *And must be owned to be a weakness rather than a fault.* We shall conclude this article of his charities, with these words of Dr. Whitfeld (34): 'To his Honour be it spoken! he died poor; having made the needy and miserable his heirs all his life long. His contempt of gathering or leaving riches out of the patrimony of the Church, was worthy of his great mind and station. And he died with that honour, with which he had always lived.'—We must not forget to observe, that he left the third part of his large and well-chosen library to the Corporation of Colchester. But, that noble gift was slighted, so that his Lordship's heir was forced to dispose of it otherwise. The two other parts of his library he left to St. Paul's Cathedral, and to Sion-college.

(35) Burnet, as above, p. 392.

[GG] *And preached.* One author tells us (35), that 'his preaching was without much life or learning: for he had not gone through his studies with the exactness that was fitting.' But another who knew him better, gives the following account. 'He spake with the affection and authority of a spiritual father; always above the affectation of popular eloquence, but in the power of the Spirit, and primitive simplicity, with the majesty of plainness, in the utmost sedateness and good judgment. His weighty reason needed not to be set off with trappings. The love with which his people met his doctrine, made it superfluous to speak to their passions so easily raised and so soon sinking: he spake to convince their understanding. His deliberate way of utterance, gave them leisure to receive and fix his notions, and brought forth nothing but with maturity of thought, and exactness of judgment.—His knowledge and learning had been well cultivated in his private stations in the Church, and particularly assisted by his friendship with Dr. Rich. Allestry, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. His books had always attended him in his most youthful years; nor were they neglected to the last in his fulness of business. His library was an evidence of his knowledge in divine things especially, and also in human learning, and in the modern languages (36).'

(36) Whitfeld, as above, p. 11, 12.

[HH] *Full of candour and patience.* 'None of his Clergy ever felt his displeasure, but for faults which carried their own mark and evidence. Not any difference of opinion in State-matters, did ever estrange him from a deserving man: that which was good and virtuous in the son, he laid hold on, and cherished with a fatherly tenderness, and passed by his mistaken judgment in that which was amiss. But in those that were bad, no interest, no being attached to the same cause with himself, could ever make him overlook their faults. This was true moderation! candour and charity to good men of all opinions, and firmness to his own just principles (37).'

(37) *Ibid.* p. 20.

M. [Though Dr. Henry Compton was undoubtedly a most excellent prelate, who deserved to be spoken of in great terms of applause, it may, nevertheless, be questioned, whether his praises are always delivered in terms sufficiently restricted and qualified. With the best intentions, the mind of the Bishop does not appear to have been in all respects duly enlarged. As a testimony of this, we may mention his procuring a Royal Letter, to forbid the introduction of new and unusual terms into the controversy concerning the Trinity (38). When the good prelate was obliged so conscientiously and nobly to oppose James the second, he then found, by experience, how dangerously

(38) See note [I].

the King's authority might be exerted, when applied to matters of religion.

In Mr. Macpherson's collection of original papers, are two letters of Dr. Compton's, written in 1688. The first was to the Archbishop of Canterbury, desiring to know why the Bishops were summoned to attend his Majesty. It doth not appear to whom the second letter was addressed; but it deserves to be inserted, as it contains a disavowal, on the part of our prelate and his brethren, of their having invited over the Prince of Orange.

"My Lord, November, 1688.

"Having some necessary business in Essex which calls me away to-morrow for two or three days, I thought it my duty to give you this account.

"When I waited upon the King, by his command, on Wednesday morning, the first of November, he told me that he had sent for me, when he had nothing but the declaration of the States of Holland. But that the declaration of the Prince of Orange was now come to his hands, out of which he read to me that short paragraph, of the Lords Temporal and Spiritual, inviting his Highness over; upon which I told him, I was confident the rest of the Bishops would as readily answer in the negative as myself; and his Majesty was pleased then to say, he did believe us all innocent. Next he told me, he thought it requisite we should make some public declaration of our innocence in this matter, and likewise an abhorrence. I then desired to see the declaration. But he refused. I told him this matter ought to be considered. "Every one," says he, "is to answer for himself. But I will send for my Lord of Canterbury, who shall call you together."

"On Friday, the second of November, I waited upon the King with my Lord of Canterbury and others; when his Majesty told him of the Prince's declaration, and made the Lord Preston read it. Then he put the question round, which was answered in the negative. The King desired some such denial should be published, saying it would be for his service. But he would not allow time to send for the Bishops at a distance. So his Grace told him, he would send for those in and about town to consult about it. Upon which, the King repeated twice, that we should add our dislike; which would be very much for his service (39)."

(39) Macpherson's original Papers, vol. i. p. 277.

Notwithstanding James the Second's importunity, the Bishops could not be prevailed upon to vindicate themselves in a public manner; and the following reasons, which they alledged for their refusal, reflect great credit on their wisdom and discretion:

"First, We humbly beseech your Majesty to receive what we offer in a favourable sense, since we have done nothing that can justly deserve misconstruction.

"Secondly, We humbly conceive, that a general clause in a declaration not avowed nor published, is not a sufficient ground for a man or number of men to vindicate themselves, as if they were concerned in it. And further, if this declaration should be owned and published by the Prince of Orange, we beg leave to offer it, as our opinion to your Majesty, that it would be a new thing and no good precedent, to put it in the power of a foreign and general accusation to bring your Majesty's subjects in particular, to a vindication of themselves, as if they were regularly accused and legally tried, for a criminal correspondence.

"Thirdly,

Church lost a most excellent Bishop; the kingdom a brave and able Statesman; the Protestant religion, at home and abroad, its ornament and refuge; and the whole Christian world, an eminent example of virtue and piety (z). His Lordship was never married.

(z) Dr. Gooch.

"Thirdly, if your Majesty should think fit to make it punishable to read or communicate the declaration; then, by making such an address as is required, we should do an act grounded upon a thing which must not be produced; and consequently we shall not be at liberty to alledge the reason of our doing it, which must unavoidably expose us, not only to censure, but suspicion.

"Fourthly, As we have in all times adhered to our duty and allegiance, we are the less willing to do any thing now, which may distinguish us as men marked with a particular character of suspicion, since we think our loyalty less blemished by not being called in question, than it would be by the clearest vindication that can be made of it upon this occasion.

"Fifthly, We beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that by an address from a few of us, who are now in town, without the concurrence of the greater number who are absent, it would look to the world, as if the Bishops (who we hope are very well united) were of different opinions; or that we, who are now here, had more particular reasons of a vindication than the rest; which makes it reasonable for us to be unwilling to come within the danger of such an interpretation.

"Sixthly, We consider that the clause in the declaration joineth the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, so that, if it has any meaning, it must intend, that there is a concurrence of many of both orders to invite them to this attempt, which would make it more imperfect for us, even though all the Bishops were here to make a separate vindication, where the accusation is joined and comprehends the Temporal Lords in it. So that, if any notice is to be taken of it, it can be done no where so naturally or with so great effect as in Parliament; which, whenever your Majesty shall think fit to call, we resolve to do our duty, and to employ our utmost endeavours for the good of the Church and State, and for preventing the miseries which now seem to threaten these distracted kingdoms, and to acquit ourselves in all things which shall be there transacted, as becomes, &c (40)."

(40) *Ibid.*

The preceding Letter, so far as it relates to the Bishop of London, doth not at all coincide with the accounts which are usually given of his conduct, previously to the Revolution. He is generally represented by our historians as one of those noble persons who concerted measures for the Prince of Orange's coming over to England. Burnet, who was likely to be well acquainted with the matter, positively asserts the fact, and farther informs us, that it was the Earl of Danby who prevailed upon the Bishop to engage in the scheme (41). Sir John Dalrymple's papers confirm the same account. We there find a copy of the association, by which the Prince of Orange was invited to undertake an expedition into this kingdom, for the purpose of delivering it from the evils with which it was threatened. The association was signed by seven persons, one of whom is expressly said to have been the Bishop of London. Indeed, the cyphers only of the associators are annexed to the paper; but Mr. Sidney, who was one of them, and who wrote the original with his own hand, could not possibly be mistaken in his explanation of the names to whom the signatures belonged (42). There is a letter of our Prelate's, written to the Prince of Orange about a month after the date of the association (43), in which there is a passage that may be construed as referring to that transaction. The letter is as follows:

(41) History of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 495. Third edition.

(42) Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, vol. ii. Appendix. Part 1st, p. 228—231.

(43) It is dated June 30, 1688.

"SIR, July 28, 1688. The honour your Highness did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Bishops how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its just effect upon them: for they are highly sensible of the great advantage both they and the Church have, by the firmness of so powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake they shall never make an ill use of it, so as I am very sure they will entirely rely upon it on all just occasions. I dare likewise take upon me to assure you, that both they that suffered, and the rest who concurred with them, are so

VOL. IV.

well satisfied of the justness of their cause, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the least depart from it.

I should say something of myself, but I had so lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you, that it can be to no purpose to say more now to you, than that I am under all the obligations in the world of approving myself, Sir,

Your Highness's most devoted and faithful,

H. LONDON (44)."

(44) Dalrymple's Memoirs, *ubi supra*, p. 238.

What can we say to evidence so apparently contradictory? Shall we call in question the authenticity of any of the papers from which it is derived; or shall we suppose that Bishop Compton, being in the presence of the King, and surrounded by his brethren, was oppressed by his timidity? If the latter supposition should be made, every wise and good man will allow for the peculiarity and difficulty of his situation. The letter we have given from Mr. Macpherson's publication, is taken from Tanner's collection, preserved at Oxford. In Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, there are four letters from our Prelate to the Prince of Orange (45), besides that which we have inserted; but as they contain only general testimonies of his attachment to the Prince, they do not require to be particularly noticed. The Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct, has related the circumstances of the Princess Anne of Denmark's quitting the Court, under the guidance of Bishop Compton, in a manner which entirely corresponds with Burnet's narration of the same event, in note [R] (46).

(45) Dalrymple, *ubi supra*, p. 199. 209, 210, 211. 334.

(46) Duchess of Marlborough's Account of her Conduct, p. 16—18.

Our predecessor, Mr. Morant, seems angry that, after the death of Tillotson, Dr. Tenison was raised to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury, in preference to Compton. But it should be considered that Tenison, who was a very learned man, and of a most respectable character, was in himself highly worthy of the promotion; besides which, his being a more determined whig rendered him at that period fitter for the station. It is certain that the Bishop of London, notwithstanding the zeal he had shewn for the Prince of Orange, was greatly attached to Tory and High-Church principles. "His opposition to the Court," says Dr. Birch, after the Revolution, in concurrence with the Tory party, began after he had been set aside in the disposal of the Archbishopric to Dr. Tillotson, and it was still heightened upon the promotion of Dr. Tenison to that See; and in the reign of Queen Anne, he always supported those measures which were most agreeable to her Majesty's own inclination and principles (47)."

(47) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 186.

Though Bishop Compton was not destitute of learning, his literature was not of the first rate; and the few works he published cannot rank him, in this respect, with the great Divines of the age in which he lived. The argument alledged, at the end of note [GG], in support of the extent of his knowledge, from the books contained in his library, is but of little force. A man's erudition is not always proportioned to the excellence of his library. We do not mean, however, by this remark, to controvert the Bishop's having had a considerable acquaintance both with divine and human learning; and we sincerely join, at the same time, with our Biographical Predecessor, in giving our suffrage to his eminent worth. Mr. Granger concludes his account of our Prelate with observing, that he was a true son and brave champion of the Church, and a most munificent benefactor to it; and that whatever imperfections there might be in his character, he was allowed to be much a Gentleman, and no less a Christian. The same agreeable Biographer has related an anecdote concerning him, which we have not met with in any other author. King James, discoursing with Dr. Compton on some tender point, was so little pleased with his answers, that he told him, "he talked more like a Colonel than a Bishop." To this he replied, "that his Majesty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the Constitution; and that he should do the same again, if he lived to see it necessary (48).]" K.

(48) Granger's Biographical Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 284. Second edition.

R

CONANT

- CONANT (JOHN), a very learned, pious, and eminent English Divine, in the XVIIth century. He was descended from a very good family, that had flourished for many years in the county of Devon, but which was originally French (a). His father was Robert Conant, and his mother's name was Elizabeth, persons of great integrity, having a competent, though not a large fortune, so that he had no reason to be ashamed of his family, nor had a certain writer any need to have troubled himself with an apology about it (b); and one, who was much better informed, and more nearly concerned, hath, with great modesty, set this point in the true light in which it ought to be known to posterity (c) [A]. He was born October 18, 1608, at Yeatenton, a small village in Bickton parish, in the south-east part of the county before-mentioned (d); and giving very early and lively tokens of his inclination to learning, his uncle, the Rev. Mr. John Conant, Rector of Lymington, near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, charged himself in a particular manner with the care of his education; and having kept him for some time at the free-school at Ilchester, put him afterwards under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Branker, a very laborious and learned school-master in the neighbourhood; and, while he was at both places, gave him occasionally whatever helps he wanted in his studies, with great readiness and pleasure (e). His youth promised all that his riper years produced: his disposition was always mild, moderate, and modest, so that he contented himself rather with the satisfaction arising from the possession of knowledge, than affected to display it. In Lent Term, 1626, his uncle carried him to Oxford, and entered him of Exeter-College, of which he had been himself nine years a Fellow, placing him under a very strict, pious, and learned tutor, Mr. Lawrence Bodley, B. D. (f). He studied there with great vigour and application, and, in a short time, distinguished himself as one of the shrewdest disputants in this College, then one of the most flourishing in that University. He was also very remarkable for the purity and perspicuity of his Latin style; and of the Greek he was so perfect a master, as often to dispute publicly in that language in the schools; which extraordinary accomplishments recommended him highly to Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-College, and the King's Professor of Divinity (g) [B]. It is very certain, that he took his degrees regularly, though the times, for what reason it is not easy to say, are omitted by the Oxford Historian (h); and so pious and prudent was the whole course of his life, that, without any other interest than his merit, he was chosen Probationer June 30, 1632, and became actual Fellow of Exeter-College, July 3, 1633 (i). He was also a very eminent tutor, and, in that capacity, had for his pupils several young gentlemen of the best families in his county, whom he educated with equal care, in sound learning, and true piety (k). Upon the breaking out of the civil war, most of the students under his care leaving the University, he judged it most convenient for him to retire also; which he accordingly did in 1642, but certainly without any design of forsaking his College, as appeared by his leaving in his chamber a large and well-chosen collection of books, of which, in his absence, he was plundered (l). Some short time before he quitted the University, he had taken Deacon's orders, and had applied himself with very great diligence to the study of the Oriental languages, and whatever else might properly qualify him for the discharge of the ministerial function, for which he had always a high reverence, and which he afterwards discharged, for many years, with great piety and zeal, and no less wisdom and learning (m) [C]. He retired first to Lymington, his uncle's living
- (a) Life of John Conant, D. D. by his son John Conant, LL. D. MSS. p. 5.
- (b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.
- (c) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 5.
- (d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 912.
- (e) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 6.
- (f) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 7.
- (g) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (h) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 8.
- (i) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 9.
- (j) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 9.
- (k) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (l) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (m) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (n) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (o) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (p) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (q) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (r) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (s) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (t) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (u) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (v) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (w) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (y) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- (z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.
- [A] In which it ought to be known to posterity. We are told by the Reverend Mr. Prince what follows, with respect to the descent of this worthy Person (1). 'He was not, says he, descended indeed from great, but from good parentage, more eminent for their piety than gentility, which in the estimation of God and good men, is the truest nobility. However, we are not to esteem him as sprung *ex facie virum*, from the dregs of the Plebeians: no; his name hath long flourished, and his relations lived in good estate and reputation in those parts.' Dr. John Conant, the son of our Divine, gives us the plain English of all this in the following words (2): 'He was the eldest son of Robert Conant, and Elizabeth his wife, who were persons of great integrity. Robert was one of the sons of Richard Conant, and Agnes his wife, who lived at Budley, near Yeatenton, and were much esteemed for their exemplary piety. Richard was the son of John Conant, descended from ingenious parents of Gittisham, near Honiton, in this county; whose ancestors, for many generations, had been fixed there, but were originally of French extraction.'
- [B] Recommended him highly to Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college, and the King's Professor of Divinity. We have an account of this fact from both the writers before-mentioned; but the latter gives it in the clearest and most intelligent manner (3). 'These his excellent endowments, says he, set off by a life every way regular and unblameable, could not escape so vigilant a governor, and so known an encourager of learning and virtue, as the reverend and learned Dr. John Prideaux, then Rector of Exeter-college; who, by an allusion to his name *Conanti, nihil est difficile*; (this, according to the humour of those times, is a playing upon words; for, in one sense, it implies, to him who endeavours, every thing is easy; and in another, there is nothing difficult to Conant;) signified his opinion of him: and he once said of him, Jack Conant *will have my place*. Dr. Prideaux was then Regius Professor of Divinity in the University, as well as Rector of the College; both which eminent places were, in process of time, conferred on Dr. Conant.'
- [C] And no less wisdom and learning. We have mentioned in the text the excellence he acquired in the Latin and Greek languages, to which he soon after added as perfect an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Syriac Tongues; and he was also a good proficient in Chaldee and Arabic (4); all which he thought necessary to the thorough understanding of the holy scriptures; in reading which in their originals, and in comparing them with each other, and with the best commentators, he spent several years, by which
- (1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 223, 224.
- (2) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 5.
- (3) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 7.
- (4) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

ing in Somersetshire, not in Hampshire, as Mr. Prince would have it; but finding his worthy relation forced from thence, he officiated for him as long as he could continue there with safety; but, after being rifled of all he had, and kept for some time a prisoner, he found it high time for him also to repair to London, where, having found his uncle settled in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, he for some time assisted him in his pastoral duties (*n*). While he was at Lymington, he was constituted by the Parliament one of the Assembly of Divines (*o*); but I believe he sat amongst them, if ever, very seldom, since it is certain that he never took the Covenant. In order to avoid this, and other things not agreeable to his conscience, he willingly accepted the offer made to him, of being domestic Chaplain to the Lord Chandos; in whose family he lived at Harefield, or, as it is commonly called, Harvill, near Uxbridge, in Middlesex, where his piety, learning, and exemplary life, gained him many friends, who would have procured him a much better settlement, his income there being but fourscore pounds a year, the best part of which he bestowed in charitable uses (*p*); but the privacy in which he passed his days, and his great apprehension of charging his conscience with the transactions of those times, induced him to refuse the favours offered him, and in particular a good living in his own country, from Mr. Duke, of Otterton (*q*). He carried this just and religious principle still farther; for perceiving the effects of the Parliament visitation of the University of Oxford, where the Solemn League and Covenant was pressed upon all the members of the University, rather than break in upon his own innocence, by submitting to a power, and taking an oath, both which wanted a legal authority, and rather than abjure the good order that was established in this Church since the perfecting of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, or combine to promote a civil war, all which were thought to be virtually contained in that oath, he determined to quit his relation to Exeter-College (*r*), which he did, by resigning his fellowship, September 27, 1647 (*s*). This proceeding of his, as it was equally candid and conscientious, so the bare relation of it must sufficiently refute a very groundless calumny inserted in the work (*t*) of the Oxford Historian, concerning which the reader will be better informed in the notes [*D*]. While he lived as Chaplain to Lord Chandos, he preached a voluntary lecture, upon a week-day, at Uxbridge, where he had always a very numerous audience; and though this was purely from a principle of doing good, and not with any view of being talked of and known in the world, which no man of his abilities ever sought less, yet it served to keep alive that great reputation which he had acquired at the University; and of which the members of Exeter-College were so mindful, that upon the death of the learned Dr. George Hakewill, their Rector, in the month of April, 1649, there was a remarkable contest about choosing either his uncle or him for his successor (*u*): but Mr. John Conant, senior, who was then settled in the parish of St. Thomas, in Colchester, absolutely declining that preferment, the Fellows thereupon unanimously chose Mr. John Conant, on the 7th of June following; and on the 29th of the same month, he was admitted to that honourable office (*w*), which he executed with great prudence and fidelity, and with equal reputation to himself, and advantage to that

(*n*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 10.

(*o*) Fuller's Ch. History, b. xi. p. 198.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(*q*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 11.

(*r*) As appears from that date in the College Register.

(*t*) Hist. & Antiquat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 397.

(*u*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 14.

(*r*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912.

(*u*) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912.

which he became so thoroughly master of that sort of learning, as to appear with equal lustre in the pulpit and in the chair (*5*): nor was there any man of his time who was then deemed to be more remarkable for being a solid and sound expositor, or for clearing the true sense of such texts as were misinterpreted by the Socinians and other reputed heretics (*6*).

[*D*] Will be better informed in the notes.] The famous Mr. Anthony Wood informs us (*7*), that the Rev. Mr. Henry Tozer, Fellow and Sub-rector of Exeter-college, was summoned before the Parliament visitors on the 21st of March, 1647, and by them questioned on eleven heads of offences by him committed in the management of the College; for which he was by these visitors afterwards expelled, and flying into Holland, was there taken into the service of the English merchants as their Chaplain, and in that post died at Rotterdam, Sept. 11, 1650. He farther adds, that these heads of accusation were transmitted to the visitors by Mr. John Conant, Mr. Anthony Clifford, Mr. John Martin, and Mr. Robert Hancock. This is a very heavy and a very extraordinary charge, which, at first sight, seems to agree but very indifferently with Mr. Conant's known character, who, of all things, hated to concern himself in quarrels or disputes. But the following refutation of this charge is so clear, so full, and so unanswerable, that it must certainly satisfy every man that reads it (*8*). 'His resignation in the College register bears date the 27th of Sept. 1647. That he had never seen Oxford from the end of the year 1642, till June, 1649, I find expressly under his own hand-writing,

' in a book of accounts relating to his pupils and to his Oxford affairs, which I here particularly mention, in order to rectify a mistake in a late author, who, in his book, intitled Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, reckons Mr. Conant among the Fellows of Exeter-college who accused Mr. H. Tozer, their Sub-rector, to the parliamentary visitors; whereas Mr. Tozer was not called before the visitors till the 21st of March, 1647, as may be seen in the register of the proceedings at that visitation, now in the public library at Oxford, which was near half a year after Mr. Conant had sent his resignation to the College. Besides the matters laid to Mr. Tozer's charge, as this very author has represented them, were such as could not possibly fall under the notice of any one who had not lived in the College very lately, which Mr. Conant had not done for more than five years past. But, had he been still Fellow there, and resident, yet it is very unlikely that he should join in an accusation against Mr. Tozer, whose name he would never mention without respect: neither can it be thought, that he would accuse any one, though never so faulty and unstatutable to those visitors, whose power he would not acknowledge, and to whom he himself was obnoxious, for not having taken the Covenant.' It hence appears, with how great caution the facts advanced in that book of Mr. Wood's particularly, ought to be received, and in how great need they stand of some authority to support them before they meet with allowance and credit.

society

(*5*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(*6*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 27.

(*7*) Hist. & Antiquat. Oxon. lib. i. p. 397.

(*8*) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 12, 13.

(9) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 16, 17.

society which had given him so signal a proof of their affection and esteem (x) [E]. In a very short time, however, after his being thus settled, he was in danger of being driven out of all public employment again, and this by the Parliament's enjoining what was called the *Engagement*, which he did not take within the time prescribed, but had a fortnight given him to consider farther of it. After having maturely deliberated upon the subject a month longer (y), he submitted, but under a declaration, subscribed at the same time with the *Engagement*, which, as it in fact enervated that instrument entirely (z), is at once a demonstrative proof of his great integrity, and of the general reputation he must have had to procure his subscription to be received upon those terms [F]. This difficulty being got over, he continued to discharge his office of Rector of Exeter-college with universal approbation; and though his labours therein were both constant and great, yet, being in virtue of that office Vicar of Kidlington, a large parish four miles from Oxford, he, for some time, officiated there in person, going thither on a Saturday, and preaching twice on Sunday, and catechizing the youth, leaving the care of the parish, during the week, to Mr. Rumbald, a very worthy and learned man (a), who kept a school there. But finding his absence from College detrimental to its discipline, he afterwards took care to have a sufficient Curate at his living, to whom he allowed three-fourths of its revenue (b). After he was thus fixed at Oxford, he preached a voluntary lecture at Allhallow's-church every Friday morning at seven o'clock; almost every Sunday he preached at St. Michael's, and every other Sunday, during the summer half-year, in the afternoon, at St. Mary Magdalen's, in the suburbs; and this not only without desiring, but even without accepting

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

(a) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 16.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 24, 25.

(9) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 15.

[E] *So signal a proof of their affection and esteem.* At the time Mr. Conant was admitted to the Rectory of Exeter-college, the state of its revenue was very indifferent. The Collegians had contracted considerable debts by assisting the King, while he remained at Oxford; and other misfortunes had contributed to heighten both the confusion and distress of their affairs (9). Mr. Conant set about the removing of these inconveniencies with equal sagacity and diligence: he put the method of receiving the College revenues upon the best footing possible, and, having adjusted, in an equitable manner, the order in which their incumbrances were to be paid off, the very first notice of his scheme revived the credit of the College. In point of discipline, during the administration of Dr. Holland and Dr. Prideaux, it fell short of none in the University; but that being afterwards broken in upon, the society gradually declined, and was in a very low state when he became Rector. He set about the correction of those disorders with the greatest vigour and vigilance; and he persisted in that course with the utmost steadiness and courage; did much by exhortation and encouragement; more by reproof and an unrelaxed strictness in punishments; most of all by the brightness of his own example. He was constant in his attendance at public prayers; he expounded the holy scriptures learnedly, critically, and practically; he took care that the meanest servants in the College should be instructed, and, for that purpose, catechized them often in his own apartment. He had a watchful eye over the scholars, more especially such as were intended for the Ministry; he enquired carefully into the progress of their studies, and was still stricter with regard to their morals; his way of punishing was by exercises, and not pecuniary mulcts; for he understood not making parent's pockets pay for their children's offences (10). He took no less pains with the tutors, to whom he frequently remonstrated the great trust that was reposed in them, the obligations they were under to discharge it, and the folly of expecting any proficiency in their pupils, if they were at all wanting in their duty. But above all, he was remarkably just and candid in the affair of elections, where his interest, as Rector, could be procured no otherwise than by merit; and, where that appeared, his influence was sure to be exerted as far as legally it might. What the effects were of this so painful and diligent discharge of his duty, may be learned from the following paragraph in his son's memoirs, out of which the foregoing particulars were extracted (11).

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 224.

(11) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 23.

Exeter-college flourished so much under the government of Mr. Conant, that the students were many more than could be lodged within the walls. They crowded in here from all parts of the nation, and some from beyond sea, where the fame of its discipline had reached. It would be tedious to

enumerate those eminent persons, both in Church and State, those learned and good men who were bred up under his care. In his time it afforded a Vice-chancellor, a Proctor, a Doctor of the chair in Divinity, a Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric Reader to the University, a President to St. John's, a Principal to Jesus, and a Divinity Professor to Magdalen-college; not to mention such as were transplanted thence to scholarships and fellowships in other Colleges, many of whom were men of eminency afterwards.

[F] *To procure his subscription to be received upon those terms.* If, as the most judicious critics agree, the capital use of Biography, not composed by barely tacking together the circumstances of a life, so as to render it a mere skeleton of facts and dates, is to inform and instruct by example; then, without doubt, there is nothing so much worthy of observation, in what is preserved to us, of the conduct of this worthy person, as the steadiness and integrity he shewed in those times of confusion, when, notwithstanding the hypocritical shew of religion, there was as great a defection from virtue as in any of which we have authentic records (12). His son gives us those particulars relative to this matter, which we have inserted in the text; but, as to the restrictions, with which, after delaying so long, he at last signed the Engagement, we owe it entirely to Mr. Prince, that they have not been buried in oblivion. The terms of the Engagement were (13).

(12) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 17.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 225.

'You shall promise to be true and faithful to the Common-Wealth of England, as it is now established, without King or House or Lords.'

Dr. Conant's declaration before the Commissioners when he took the Engagement (14).

(14) Taken from an attested copy of the original, by Mr. D. G.

Being required to subscribe, I humbly premise,

I. 'That I be not hereby understood to approve of what hath been done in order unto, or under this present government, or the government itself; nor will I be thought to condemn it: they being things above my reach, and I not knowing the grounds of the proceedings.'

II. 'That I do not bind myself to do any thing contrary to the word of God.'

III. 'That I do not so hereby bind myself; but, that if God shall remarkably call me to submit to any other power, I may be at liberty to obey that call, notwithstanding the present engagement.'

IV. 'In this sense, and in this sense only, I do promise to be true and faithful to the present government, as it is now established, without King or House of Lords (15).'

JOHN CONANT.

(15) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 35, 36, 37.

any

(c) Wood's A-then. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 24, 25.

(d) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 25, 26.

(e) Prince's Wor-thies of Devon, p. 226. Wood's Fasti Oxon, vol. ii. col. 106.

(f) Wood's A-then. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Wor-thies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 27. Ayloffe's Ancient and Present State of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 308.

(h) Prince's Wor-thies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 33, 34, 35.

(i) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 180.

(n) The title of this book ran thus: *Britannia Rediviva, seu Oxoniensium carmina in reditum Caroli II. in Angliam. Oxonii, 1660, 4to.*

any recompence when offered (c). October 28, 1652, he received Priest's orders, at Salisbury; and (d) May the 29th, 1654, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity (e). In the month of December, the same year, upon the decease of Dr. Joshua Hoyle, he became Divinity Professor in the University of Oxford, where his lectures were received with universal applause, by a very numerous and learned audience, by whom, though often and warmly importuned, his modesty was so great, that he could never be prevailed with to publish them (f). In 1657 he accepted the impropriate Rectory of Abergely, near St. Asaph, in Denbighshire, as some satisfaction for the benefices formerly annexed to the Divinity Chair, which he never enjoyed. This acceptance of his was very beneficial to the Curate, whose salary he augmented twenty pounds a year, gave him other encouragements besides, and contributed largely to the relief of the poor, though the whole income of the living was but one hundred and twenty pounds a year (g). Upon the restoration of Episcopacy, knowing that this rectory had been anciently annexed to the Bishopric of St. Asaph, he not only immediately quitted it to Dr. Griffith, upon his coming to that See, but allowed him also to receive the last year's profits (h). On the 9th of October, 1657, he was admitted Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to the great joy, and no less benefit, of that learned body (i). This high dignity he kept till the 1st of August, 1660, during which space he corrected many abuses, regulated the public exercises in a manner highly serviceable to the promoting solid learning, was very instrumental in procuring Mr. Selden's large and valuable collection of books for the public library, and had a great hand in defeating a design, to which the Protector, Oliver, gave his consent, for erecting a kind of University at Durham (k). The most extraordinary thing of all that occurred during his administration, was preventing some eager persons in the University from sacrificing their own rights and privileges, by a petition to the Protector Richard's Parliament; which was the more honourable to Dr. Conant, as it was his own act entirely; and as his firmness in the opposition procured its success, so far as to defeat this pernicious project, which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities (l) [G]. Upon the restoration of King Charles II. Dr. Conant, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, came up to London, attended by the Proctors, and a great number of the principal members of that illustrious and learned body; and, June 15, 1660 (m), had the honour to be introduced to his Majesty, to whom he would have made his speech kneeling; but the King rose himself from his seat, and commanded him to rise; after which he made a succinct and elegant oration in Latin, which is unfortunately lost, and presented his Majesty with a book of verses, written by the members of the University, and amongst them some of his own, which have been deservedly commended, as having in them a true spirit of poetry, a just strain of panegyric, and a noble concern for religion (n) [H]. On the 25th of March, 1661, the King issued a commission for

(g) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 29.

(h) Ibid. p. 30.

(i) Wood's A-then. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Wor-thies of Devon, p. 226. Ayloffe's Ancient and Present State of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 287.

(k) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 32, 33.

[G] Which would have been highly prejudicial to their academical immunities.] The point aimed at was to obtain from the Parliament, local visitors of such Colleges, as, by their statutes, were to be visited by Archbishops and Bishops. But Dr. Conant had so true an idea of parliamentary visitations, that he had not the least desire of seeing any more of them in his time, and therefore would not, by any means, countenance a petition for that purpose. He was told, that a Convocation were the proper judges of the matter: but this he denied: he said that local visitors was not the affair of the University, but of particular Colleges, many of which consisted mostly of Scholars and Undergraduates, and consequently had no votes in Convocations; and it would be very hard to represent any thing as their sense of the matter, who had no opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon it. It was then suggested to him, that it was a thing to which the University in general inclined, and that he might make himself extremely popular by promoting it. His answer was, that he had found, by long experience, it was impossible to please the generality, without prostituting a man's conscience; that if he could stretch his to the measures of other men's judgments, he knew he should not fail of the loud acclamations of the University; but he hoped never to purchase their applause at so dear a rate. It was then insinuated, that by his stiffness he would raise himself many enemies, and that possibly he might bring the Parliament upon his head, who would take it amiss that he checked any thing that tended to put greater power into their hands. This induced him to speak his mind more plainly. I am sensible, said he, how ill a negative vote may be resented at this juncture, and how much it concerns every man that loves his own quiet and

security, to keep himself out of their hands, who can do what they please: but, since I have no honest way of preventing what is feared, I submit to God's providence. As to my being worsted in this business I value it not, for I aim not at victory, but to keep my conscience clear; and as to this, it is not in any man's power to deprive me of my end. At last, they proposed, as an accommodation, that he should go out of town, and substitute a Pro-Vice-chancellor, who might do what he could not prevail upon himself to do; but he would hear of no such expedient: he said, it would be a betraying of his trust, by a weak and mean compliance in a thing which, in his own judgment, he utterly disallowed. The issue of this was, that after all the stir made about them, these petitions were quashed, and came to nothing.

[H] And a noble concern for religion.] The reader will best judge of the truth of the commendations by his perusing of the verses, which were these (16).

(16) Britannia Rediviva, p. 54.

Ad serenissimum Regem.

Accipe pacato, princeps celsissime, vultu,
Quæ tibi dat tremulâ musa togata manu.
Prima offensantis capias tentamina linguæ,
Quæ non ausa diu, marti strepente, loqui.
Jam solitos rescisse modos patiæ camænas;
Agnoscent artes, te redeunte, suas.
Quæ tua sunt cælum tibi reddidit; ipse vicissim
Jam cælo reddas, Carole magne, sua:
Sceptra Deo tradas; illum regnare jubeto,
Inclyte Rex, quo, tu sceptrâ jubente, tenes.
O ter felices, te sic regnante Britannos!
Christus ut emineat, teque regente, regat.
Ipsa sibi tristes gratabitur Anglia clades,
Penfari tanto quæ potuere bono.

S

In

VOL. IV.

for the review of the Book of Common Prayer, in which Dr. Conant was one of the commissioners, and assisted at the Savoy conferences, which were the fruits of the commission, in which he behaved with his usual modesty and moderation, expressing a desire that some regard might be had to those who had been otherwise educated, and such condescension shewed, as might preserve the peace of the Church (o). After this, upon the passing of the Act of Uniformity, which gave but a short day for the consideration of matters of very great importance, in the sentiments of such as were of truly tender consciences, he did not see sufficient cause to conform; and, as he had already given up his living in Denbighshire to the Bishop of St. Asaph, lost his Professorship of Divinity by the return of Dr. Robert Saunderson, to whom, of right, it belonged; so, rather than offer any violence to his principles, he suffered himself to be deprived of the Rectory of Exeter-College, which was pronounced vacant September 1, 1662 (p), and in which he was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Maynard. And thus, as a judicious Prelate observes, Dr. Conant was disabled from the public exercise of his ministry, to the great loss of the Church of England in general, and more especially of the University of Oxford, and of Exeter-College in particular (q). In this situation, however, he shewed that he had as great tenderness for the public peace, as for the quiet of his own conscience; and, therefore, he was so far from setting himself at the head, as he might easily have done, of a separation, that, on the contrary, he refused to join with, or countenance it, but went publicly to Church, and behaved there with exemplary piety and devotion (r). An ecclesiastical dignity was offered him about that time, which he refused (s), because he was resolved to consider coolly and carefully the terms prescribed by authority; that, after weighing every thing seriously, he might, if he saw evidence, conform, or, if not, remain firm in his present conduct [I]. At length, after eight years serious deliberation, his mind was satisfied, and he resolved to comply in all points, and in particular with that which had probably stuck most with him, which was the being re-ordained, and accordingly was so, September 28, 1670 (t), by the Right Rev. Dr. Reynolds, Lord Bishop of Norwich, whose daughter he had married. This behaviour of his surprized those who best knew him least; and Dr. Owen, his contemporary at Oxford, could not help saying, when he heard it, that he did not in the least wonder at it, since he knew Dr. Conant's sentiments were for Episcopacy all along (u). He had no sooner qualified himself for the acceptance of ecclesiastical preferments, than many were offered him; and, on the 18th of December, the same year, he was actually elected Minister of the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in the city of London (w); but having spent some years in the town of Northampton, where he was much beloved, and highly esteemed, he chose rather to accept of the invitation of his neighbours to remain amongst them; and Dr. Simon Ford, who was then Minister of All-Saints, being elected in the room of Dr. Conant, by the vestry of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, December 29, 1670 (x), he was nominated by the corporation to the Vicarage of All-Saints, and had institution given him February 15, 1670; which, though of the value only of a single hundred pounds *per annum*, he would never part with, though very considerable offers were made him, and in particular one by his gracious master King Charles II. which was signified to him by a letter from the then Secretary of State (y).

(o) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 39.

(p) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76. Kennet's Historical Register, p. 844. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 40.

(r) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 42. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(s) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 41.

(y) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 47.

(q) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 748.

(t) Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 45.

(u) Kennet's Hist. Register, p. 748. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 44.

(w) Kennet's Hist. Register, p. 843.

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Kennet's Historical Register, p. 843.

In English thus.

To his SACRED MAJESTY.

*Kindly accept, that tribute, best of Kings,
The college muse, with trembling reverence brings,
The first essays of her unpractis'd song,
Whom war's harsh clamour doom'd to silence long.
But, now reviv'd, the lamps of learning burn,
And, arts returning, wait on thy return.
Heav'n has thy rights restor'd; do thou restore
The rights of heav'n! religion's sacred power!
Return the sceptre GOD bestows again,
And a CHARLES reigning, let his Maker reign.
Thrice happy BRITONS, whom you thus shall sway,
And only rule that they may CHRIST obey.
Our slaughter's past, no longer we deplore,
Nor ill regret that such a PRINCE restore.*

[I] Or, if not, remain firm in his present conduct.] We have a very curious, as well as circumstantial account of his behaviour upon this occasion, and of the methods he took to resolve his own case of conscience, whether he ought to conform or not, in his son's memoirs (17).

(17) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 44, 45.

‘He applied himself very closely, for some time, to the study of the controversies relating to Conformity. He had deliberately weighed and considered the whole compass of these disputes, and made himself master of every turn in them. He had not only examined what had been objected to the several offices of the liturgy, its doxologies and responses,

its rubrics and kalendar, and thoroughly considered all the phrases and modes of expression in each service, but likewise compared it with ancient liturgies, as well as with the holy scriptures, doctrines of the apostles, and later rituals and offices. This appears from his papers in my hands, running over many of the passages in the book of Common Prayer that have been objected to, and giving such orthodox senses of them, as he concludes were agreeable to the judgment of the first Right Reverend and pious compilers of them. And, I persuade myself, were they perfect, they might reconcile the most scrupulous to join in those excellent forms of prayer.’ He adds afterwards, ‘Dr. Conant's conformity could not be surprizing to any one who considers, that his prejudices were never many, and those not strong or violent, though his determinations were slow and advised. One would rather wonder, that he did not conform much sooner than he did, since it is certain, that his temper was never soured by the loss of his college; that he had an awful regard for the commands of authority in things indifferent; that he constantly blamed those who held their assemblies at hours that interfered with the public worship of God, in affront to the civil sanctions of the laws, to good order and parochial communion; that he was so far from being ambitious of a separate congregation, or covetous of their contributions, that he had industriously kept out of the way of both.’

On

On the 20th of September, 1675, he had the mortification to see the greatest part of his parish, together with his church, burnt to the ground, though providentially his own house escaped (z). His presence was of great use to the town in that critical juncture, when he employed both his person and his purse for the service of the distressed, and would not, though new and great offers were made him, consent to leave them under this calamity (a). So true a sense had the inhabitants of Northampton of his wise conduct upon this occasion, that they gave him the use of St. Peter's Church till his own could be repaired; and the gentlemen in the neighbourhood made up his year's salary, which, the next year, was paid him by his generous benefactor Mr. Montagu, of Horton, brother to his old patroness the Lady Chandos (b). He discharged his pastoral duty there with the same zeal and application which he had shewn in other places, and was particularly instrumental in bringing over Dissenters of all denominations to the Church [K]. In the beginning of the year 1676, the Archdeaconry of Norwich becoming vacant by the death of Mr. John Reynolds, his brother-in-law, the Bishop offered him that preferment, with this singular compliment (c): *I do not expect thanks from you, but I will be very thankful to you if you will accept of it*; of which he desired time to consider, and reflecting on the misconstructions that might be made of his declining it, he embraced the proposal, was instituted on the 7th, and installed on the 8th of June following, in that Archdeaconry (d); and, so long as his health would permit, constantly discharged his duty by personal visitations. Upon the death of Mr. Tomkins, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, Dr. Conant's old friend and contemporary at Exeter-College, the worthy Earl of Radnor (e), asked it for him from King Charles II. in these terms: *Sir, I come to beg a preferment of you for a very deserving person, who never sought any thing for himself*; and, upon naming him, the King very kindly consented; so that December 3, 1681, he was installed (f). He governed himself strictly, with respect to this preferment, by the local statutes, as to residence, preaching, and other circumstances, so long as he was able to travel; and when his age and infirmities intitled him, in the judgment of the chapter, to statuteable exemption, he directed a great part of the revenue of his prebend to be distributed among poor housekeepers (g), and others, at Worcester. In 1686, after his eyes had been for some time weak, he lost his sight entirely; which great misfortune, together with the common infirmities of old age, for sharp and painful diseases he had none, he bore not only with patience and resignation, but with cheerfulness and ease (h). As his public course of life was useful and honourable, so he was also very happy in his family. He married in August, 1651, Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards the right reverend and learned Bishop of Norwich, by whom he had six sons, and as many daughters (i). In his private life, there was a happy mixture of mildness of temper, with severity of morals. He had always as great a contempt of pomp and magnificence, as he had an unfeigned affection for a private and retired life (k). Temperate he was to a degree of abstemiousness, frugal in his expences, and more of his time, and yet no man freer of both where charity required. So little desirous of the wealth of this world, that, when he had nothing but his Fellowship to support him, he generously made over the estate that descended to him from his father, to his younger brother, Robert, who had married young, and had many children (l). He was not only a man of very solid, but of very extensive learning, and yet so very modest, that though he understood most of the

[K] *In bringing over Dissenters of all denominations to the Church.* He was not only constantly resident in his parish, excepting when his other offices absolutely required his attendance, but also constantly officiated in person, preaching twice every Sunday, and taking care to inculcate practical religion in the plainest and most pathetic language (18). In the evenings he catechized the children, and, amongst them, his own were always present. He seldom, if ever, visited his parishioners, more especially those of the better sort, in a ceremonious way; but his clerk had strict orders to inform him when any were sick, and then, without staying to be sent for, he readily waited upon the meanest of his flock. He was not afraid to speak freely where it was necessary, out of any respect to persons; and, where he saw the appearance of distress, he relieved with a bounty suitable rather to his inclinations than his circumstances. He was one of the most remarkable Casuists in his time, and was not only resorted to by some who lived at a great distance, but his advice was likewise asked, by letters, even from foreigners. As his duties took up a great part of his time, so the short spaces that he allowed to those relaxations which are absolutely necessary for the relief of human nature, were dedicated to things that would have hardly passed with many for recreation. Reading a few pages in the classics, hearing some remarkable piece of history, and discoursing

upon it to his children, or explaining to them some point in Natural Philosophy, that they might have just notions of the wisdom of Providence, and an early impression of the reverence due to its divine Author, were his only diversions. Yet, with all this strictness of manners, he had nothing either of moroseness or pride, great evenness of temper, which never rose higher than being cheerful; and, on the other hand, was never depressed by temporal losses, or corporal pain; his humility so true, that it discovered itself upon all occasions; he knew little of form and ceremonies, and, from the little he did know, despised them; yet, from natural sweetness of temper, he was obliging to all, and courteous even to the meanest in his parish. His charity, as has been before hinted, had less relation to his circumstances than any other point of his conduct. At Northampton, for twenty years together, he paid for the schooling of poor children, never fewer than twenty-four, and sometimes nearer forty; and these he placed out with several needy widows, that what he gave might contribute to their assistance. He was, upon all occasions, ready to promote the relief sought by strangers, of which various instances are given in his son's memoirs; but we have already exceeded the usual limits of such an article, for which, the worth of it must be our apology; for it would be hard, as well as unjust, to say but little of so great and good a man (19).

Oriental

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226.

(b) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 226. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 48, 49.

(c) Wood's Fasti Oxon, vol. ii. col. 106. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 53, 54.

(e) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 66.

(f) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 680.

(g) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 67.

(i) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 67.

(l) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 80.

(18) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(a) Life of Dr. Conant, p. 48, 49.

(d) Appendix to Sir T. Brown's Posthumous Works, p. 59.

(h) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227.

(k) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 227. Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 76.

(19) Dr. Conant's Life, through the last twenty pages.

(m) Wood's A-then. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Life of Dr. Conant, p. 82, 83.

(n) Prince's Wor-thies of Devon, p. 227.

(o) Wood's A-then. Oxon, vol. ii. col. 912. Prince's Wor-thies of Devon, p. 227. Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 680.

Oriental languages, and was particularly as well versed in Syriac as any man of his time, yet his proficiency in these studies was known to very few. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon (for that is really the fact, though directly contrary to what several authors have asserted) (m) to suffer a volume of his sermons to be published in his life-time; and as for the rest, which escaped that severe censure he passed upon what would have been thought of the highest value by the rest of the world, they were sent abroad, by the pious care of several wise and worthy persons, from a charitable desire, that the Church might not be deprived of the labours of so painful and so practical a Preacher; which writings of his have met with that respect and esteem they so highly deserved (n) [L]. This learned person, after an exemplary life, deceased, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, March 12, 1693, and was buried in his own parish church of All-Saints, in Northampton, with a suitable inscription to his memory, upon a plain and decent monument, erected by his widow (o). His son, John Conant, Doctor of Laws, a man very eminent in his profession, wrote his life with great care and judgment, from which many particulars have been taken, and the whole of which deserves well to be published.

[L] *With that respect and esteem which they so highly deserved.* In this note it is proposed to give an account of such of Dr. Conant's works as have been preserved and made public, in order to rectify the mistakes that have been made about them. There have been, in all, six volumes of his sermons sent abroad, at several times, by several hands.

Vol. I. Published in 1693, 8vo. by the care of Dr. John Williams, minister of St. Mildred's, in the Poultry, in the author's life-time, as appears by the preface, and Dr. Conant's dedication to the inhabitants of Northampton. There are in this volume eleven sermons.

II. Published in 1697, 8vo. by Dr. John Williams, then become Bishop of Chichester, with a preface before it, in which notice is taken of the former volume, published in the Doctor's life-time. This volume contains fifteen sermons.

III. Published in 1698, 8vo. by the same editor, who says in the preface, that Dr. Conant committed to the flames many learned discourses, and particularly those which he had preached in a Lecture in the University on nice and difficult subjects, preserving such only as related to practice. He likewise mentions a life of the author, which was expected, but not come to hand. This volume contains fourteen sermons.

IV. Published in 1703, 8vo. by the same editor. In the preface his Lordship takes notice, that there had been an intention of writing the author's life, as a thing that could not fail of being acceptable to those who knew him, and very useful to those who did not; but, for the present, this design being laid aside, it was hoped the loss of it would be compensated by the publication of this fourth volume of sermons from his own manuscripts. This volume contains thirteen sermons.

V. Published in 1708, 8vo. by the same editor, who, in his preface, says very confidently, that, with the next volume, an account of the author's life would appear, written by an able hand. This volume contains fourteen sermons.

VI. Published in 1722, 8vo. by Digby Coates, M. A. Principal of Magdalen-hall, in Oxford, at the request of the author's son, John Conant, LL.D. but without any life or preface before it. There are in

this volume thirteen sermons, making up the whole number fourscore. C.

[Dr. Conant had a near relation, whose name was Samuel Conant, M. A. who was instituted to the Rectory of Lytchet Matravers, in the county of Dorset, in the year 1662, and died in 1719, Rector of that parish. He was buried on the North-side of the parish-church; and this inscription, written by the grandfather of our ingenious friend, the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Child-Okeford, is upon his tomb.

H. S. E.

SAMUEL CONANT, A.M.
Collegii Exoniensis olim Socius,
Academiae Oxon. dignissimus Procurator:
Omnibus Disciplinae academicæ Inimicis,
Novarum Rerum vehementer studiosis,
se totum opposuit.
Reverendo admodum Doctori Reynolds
Episcopo Norwicensi,
Post Carolam restauratum à Sacris domesticis:
Hujus deinde Ecclesiæ,
Per Annos quinquaginta septem, Rector,
In Officio pastoralis obeundo,
per tam longam Annorum Seriem,
Indies alacris, indes suavis.
Ob Literaturam divinam, & humanam,
Ob Pietatem conspicuam,
Ob Modestiam singularem,
Ob Beneficentiam egregiam,
Vir semper memorabilis.
Ob Mores integerrimos,
Ob eximium Animi Candorem,
Ob Indolem suavissimam,
Vir omnibus merito percarus.
Animam Deo reddidit,
quinto Die Decembris
Anno Salutis Christianæ 1719, Ætatis 92.

The learned Dr. William Grigg, formerly Master of Clare-Hall, Cambridge, in a letter to Mr. Hall's grandfather, dated at Cambridge, July 4, 1719, says, "you have acted the part of a friend, and done justice to the character of Mr. Conant, in your Epitaph of him (20)."]

K. (20) Communicated by Mr. Hall.

(a) See the Arms of the ancient families in Staffordshire, in the margin of Dr. Plot's map, prefixed to his Natural History of that county.

CONGREVE (WILLIAM), a celebrated English Poet in the last and present century. There is no sort of question about the descent of this gentleman, which was from the antient house of Congreve, in Staffordshire, flourishing there with honour and reputation (a); neither is there any doubt as to his immediate family, for he was the only surviving son of William Congreve, Esq; who was the second son of Richard Congreve, Esq; of Congreve and Stratton, in the county of Stafford (b). As to the place, and indeed as to the kingdom, in which he was born, authors differ; and not only so, but are positive on both sides. Some are clear that he was a native of Ireland (c); but it seems more probable, or, to speak more plainly, it is morally certain, that he was a native of England, and drew his first breath at the village of Bardsa, near Leeds, in Yorkshire (d), which was the estate of a near relation of his by the mother's side. The reason of our giving the preference to this sentiment, rather than that which entitles another island to the honour

(b) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

(c) See the article of Congreve (W.) in the General Dictionary.

(d) See the funeral inscription on his monument, in note [P].

honour of his birth, will be found at the bottom of the page [A]. The time when it happened can only be collected by circumstances, which place it in 1671 or 1672 (e). His father carried him, when a very child, into Ireland, where, at that time, he had a command in the army, but afterwards was entrusted with the management of a considerable part of the large estate of the noble family of Burlington, which fixed the residence of himself and family in that kingdom (f). Our author received the first tincture of letters in the great school of Kilkenny, and gave very early proofs of his pregnant genius; and it is said, that one of the first essays of his poetical talent was a copy of verses upon the death of his master's magpye (g). He went from the school of Kilkenny to the University of Dublin, then flourishing under the direction of Dr. St. George Ash, where, in a very short time, Mr. Congreve became perfectly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and acquired not only a general acquaintance with, but a correct and critical taste in, the Classics (h). His father, however, was desirous that his parts should be applied to more profitable studies, and therefore sent him over to England a little after the Revolution, and placed him as a student in the Middle-Temple (i). But the severe study of the law had so little relation to the active disposition and sprightly humour of the young gentleman, that though he continued for three or four years to live in chambers, and pass for a Templar, yet it does not appear that he ever applied himself with diligence to conquer his dislike to a course of life which had been chosen for him, with so little respect either to the turn of his natural parts, or the preceding course of his education (k). But how little soever he answered the expectation of his friends in the prosecution of that profession to which they had destined him, certain it is, that he was not either indolent or inactive in the cultivation of those studies, that were both his early and his latest care. His first performance, when almost a boy, was extraordinary in its kind; and though no more than a novel, which, under the assumed name of *CLEOPHIL*, he dedicated to Mrs. Catherine Leveson, yet it was a proof, not only of the vivacity of his wit, and the fluency of his style, but also of the strength of his judgment [B]. As he did not then think proper to

(e) See the funeral inscription on his monument, in note [P].

(f) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; by Charles Wilson, p. 1. From the relation of Captain Southerne.

(g) Memoirs of Mr. Congreve, p. 1.

(h) From Captain Southerne's relation.

(i) Lives of the Poets, vol. i., p. 411.

(k) From the accounts given by several of his friends and acquaintance.

(j) See his Dedication of his *Incognita*: or, Love and Duty reconciled.

[A] Will be found at the bottom of the page.] In the new English translation, with great additions, of the learned Antiquary of Ireland's works, we find Mr. Congreve's life inserted, as a native of that country; but it is not said when or where he was born (1). In a very large collection of the same kind with this, we find the same fact asserted, from the information of the late ingenious Thomas Southerne, Esq; who was Mr. Congreve's intimate friend, and out-lived him many years (2). He was himself of that country, and might very probably be firmly persuaded, from his knowing him a youth there, that he was his countryman. The author, upon whose credit we rely, in giving a different account of this matter, is the late Mr. Giles Jacob; and (3) though at first sight it must appear very singular, to prefer the authority of Mr. Jacob to that of Mr. Southerne; yet there is a reason for it, so strong, that when it is once mentioned, it may perhaps clear this dispute, in the reader's opinion as well as mine. In the preface, Mr. Jacob, speaking of the communications which he had received from living authors, has this passage, 'I am in particular obliged to Mr. Congreve for his free and early communication of what relates to himself, as well as his kind directions for the composing of this work.' This correspondence was in the year 1719, though the book was not published till three years afterwards: but, however, as it was both written and published in Mr. Congreve's life-time, we must conclude from thence, that we have his own authority for the matter of fact, which is superior even to the recollection of his old friend and acquaintance Mr. Southerne, who, as a man might mistake, though he was certainly a man of too much honour, willingly, to misinform any body.

[B] But also of the strength of his judgment.] The title of this first work of our ingenious author's was, *INCOGNITA*: or, *Love and Duty Reconciled*. It has been always considered as a piece very well written, more especially as it was the first production of a youth of seventeen. It has also been asserted, that at the bottom it is a true history, and though the scene is by Mr. Congreve laid in Italy, yet the adventures happened here in England. It is not our business to enter into the secret history of this entertaining piece, or to attempt giving the reader a key to what the writer took so much pains to conceal; but what we intend in this note, is to justify the observation in the text, and to prove, that though this was the first essay,

VOL. IV.

and the first essay of a very young man, yet there is in it something very extraordinary; more especially when we add to what has been said before, that it was a very hasty essay likewise. There is nothing more common, and indeed there is nothing more natural, than for young men to pique themselves upon the brightness of their parts, the quickness of their wit, and, in pieces of this nature, on the elegance and floweriness of their language. But this was not Mr. Congreve's point: he aimed at perfection from the very beginning, and his design in writing this novel, was to shew how novels ought to be written. Let us hear what he says himself, and thence we shall entertain a higher opinion of his abilities, than could possibly be raised by the warmest commendations. After observing, very judiciously, that there is the same relation between Romances and Novels, as between Tragedy and Comedy, he proceeds thus: 'Since all traditions must indisputably give place to the Drama; and since there is no possibility of giving that life to the writing or repetition of a story, which it has in the action, I resolved in another beauty to imitate dramatic writing, namely, in the design, contexture, and result of the plot. I have not observed it before in a novel. Some I have seen begin with an unexpected accident, which has been the only surprising part of the story, cause enough to make the sequel look flat, tedious, and insipid; for it is but reasonable the reader should expect, if not to rise, at least to keep upon a level in the entertainment; for so he may be kept on in hopes, that, at some time or other, it may mend; but the other is such a balk to a man, it is carrying him up stairs to shew him the dining-room, and after forcing him to make a meal in the kitchen. This I have not only endeavoured to avoid, but also have used a method for the contrary purpose. The design of this novel is obvious, after the first meeting of Aurelian and Hippolito with Incognita and Leonora; the difficulty is in bringing it to pass, maugre all apparent obstacles, within the compass of two days. How many probable casualties intervene in opposition to the main design, viz. of marrying two couple so oddly engaged in an intricate amour, I leave the reader at his leisure to consider: as also, whether every obstacle does not, in the progress of the story, act as subservient to that purpose, which, at first, it seems to oppose. In a comedy this would be called the unity of action; here it may pretend to no more

T

than

(1) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 294.

(2) General Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 427.

(3) Lives of the English Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

own this piece to the world, so the reputation resulting from it was confined within the narrow compass of his acquaintance. But as true genius cannot remain long hid, and as untoward accidents rather provoke than tame high spirits; so, upon a fit of sickness (m), which seized him about three years after his return to England, he amused himself, during a slow recovery, in writing a Comedy, which he very soon finished; and though he was very modest and diffident of his own abilities, yet he suffered himself to be overcome by the persuasion of his relations and friends, and consented to bring it upon the stage. In order to this, he was recommended to Captain Southerne, who, in conjunction with the great Mr. Dryden, and that excellent Critic Arthur Manwaring, Esq; revised the *Old Batchelor*, of which Mr. Dryden said, he never saw such a first play in his life (n); and that the author not being acquainted with the stage or the town, it would be pity to have it miscarry for want of a little assistance. The stuff was rich indeed, only the fashionable cut was wanting, which was soon given it. Mr. Thomas Davenant, who had then the direction of the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane, was so much struck with the merit of the piece, and the author's conversation, that he granted him what is called the privilege of the house, half a year before his play came upon the stage; which, according to the maxims of theatrical government, was not barely an unusual, but an unprecedented favour (o). In 1693, the *Old Batchelor* was acted before a numerous and noble audience. The prologue, intended to be spoken, was written by Lord Falkland. The play was admirably performed, and received with such general applause, that Mr. Congreve was thenceforward considered as the prop of the declining stage, and as the rising genius in Dramatic Poesy (p) [C]. It was this play, and the very singular success that attended it upon the stage, and after it came from the press, that brought our author to the notice of that great patron of the English Muses, Charles Montague, Lord Halifax, who being desirous to place so eminent a wit in a state of ease and tranquillity, made him immediately one of the Commissioners for licensing Hackney-coaches; bestowed upon him, soon after, a place in the Pipe-office; and gave him, likewise, a post in the Custom-house, of the value of six hundred pounds a year (q). As these were favours of a very extraordinary nature, so they raised in the breast of Mr. Congreve a noble spirit of gratitude and affection, which shewed itself in an unalterable attachment to that nobleman during his life, and the most profound re-

(m) Amendments of Mr. Collier's Faults and imperfect Citations, p. 40.

(n) From the relation of Capt. Southerne.

(o) From the same authority.

(p) Memoirs of Mr. Congreve, p. 3.

(q) General Dict. vol. iv. p. 428.

‘than an unity of contrivance. The scene is continued in Florence from the commencement of the amour, and the time, from first to last, is but three days. If there be any thing more in particular resembling the copy, which I imitate, as the curious reader will soon perceive, I leave it to shew itself, being very well satisfied how much more proper it had been for him to have found out this himself, than for me to prepossess him with an opinion of something extraordinary in an essay, begun and finished in the idler hours of a fortnight's time; for I can only esteem that a laborious idleness, which is parent to so inconsiderable a birth.’

[C] And as the rising genius in Dramatic Poesy.] This play is dedicated to the Lord Clifford, of Laneshorough, the eldest son and heir apparent of the Earl of Burlington; but himself a Peer also, being, as we have told the reader elsewhere, called up to the House of Lords, in the life-time of his father, by writ. In the text we have joined the two accounts of Mr. Congreve's father going over to Ireland and remaining there, because, as it appears from what Mr. Congreve himself communicated to Mr. Jacob (4), that he went thither originally in a military capacity; so from this dedication we may be convinced of the truth of the other circumstances as to his being intrusted with the concerns of the Burlington family. Mr. Congreve begins his dedication thus (5). ‘My Lord, it is with a great deal of pleasure that I lay hold on this first occasion, which the accidents of my life have given me, of writing to your Lordship: for since, at the same time I write to all the world, it will be a means of publishing what I would have every body know, the respect and duty which I owe and pay to you. I have so much inclination to be your's, that I need no other engagement; but the particular ties by which I am bound to your Lordship and family, have put it out of my power to make you any compliment, since all offers of myself will amount to no more than an honest acknowledgment, and only shew a willingness in me to be grateful. I am very near wishing, that it were not so much my interest to be your Lordship's servant, that it might be more my merit: not that I would avoid being obliged to you, but I would have my own

choice to run me into the debt, that I might have it to boast, I had distinguished one to whom I would be glad to be obliged, even without the hopes of having it in my power ever to make him a return.’ There stand before this comedy three copies of verses, by Mr. Southerne, Mr. Marth, and Mr. Higgins, in which it is very highly commended. But that we may be convinced this did not at all proceed either from the excusable fondness of friendship, or that more excusable tenderness for a rising genius which glows in the bosom of every true judge of writing, let us look a little into the merits of the cause, as they are stated by an excellent and impartial judge. The author of the Tatler says (6), ‘In the character which gives name to the play, there is excellently represented the reluctance of a battered debauchee, to come into the trammels of order and decency: he neither languishes nor burns, but frets for love. The gentlemen of more regular behaviour are drawn with so much spirit and wit, and the drama introduced by the dialogue of the first scene, with uncommon, yet natural conversation. The part of Fondlewife is a lively image of the unseasonable fondness of age and impotence.’ We are told in another paper, by the same agreeable writer (7), ‘That in this comedy there is a necessary circumstance observed by the author, which most other poets either overlook, or do not understand; that is to say, the distinction of characters. It is very ordinary with writers to indulge a certain modesty of believing all men as witty as themselves, and making all the persons of the play speak the sentiments of the author, without any manner of respect to the age, fortune, or quality of him that is on the stage. Ladies talk like rakes, and footmen make families; but this writer knows men, which makes his plays reasonable entertainments, while the scenes of most others are like the tunes between the acts; they are perhaps agreeable sounds, but they have no ideas affixed to them.’ But, notwithstanding this, the remarks of Mr. Collier (8), upon some passages in this comedy, are not altogether wide of truth, or of sound criticism; but they regard not the structure of the play, and only censure a few libertinisms, into which the author had fallen a little unwarily.

(6) No. 9.

(7) No. 15.

(8) Short View of the Immorality and Prophaneness of the English Stage.

verence

4) General Dict. vol. iv. p. 427. Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 41.

(5) See his Dedication prefixed to the *Old Batchelor*, in the first vol. of Mr. Congreve's Works.

verence for his memory after his decease. We need not be surprized, that after such encouragement as the town, and even the Critics, had given him, our author quickly made his appearance again upon the stage, as he did the year following, when he brought on the *Double Dealer* (r). This play was honoured with the presence of Queen Mary; and though it was not so universally applauded as his former performance, yet it had the honour to be very highly commended, as well as generally approved, by the best judges (s). We need not at all wonder at the fate of this fine performance, for regular Comedy was at that time a new thing. Our author was the very first who attempted it; I will not say he was the last who succeeded in it; but I may safely assert, that he carried it to the highest degree of perfection; and that if we were to wish any of our Comedies translated into French, for the honour of our nation, it should be his; and amongst them there is none that does him greater credit than the *Double Dealer*, notwithstanding some objections that have been made to it (t) [D]. It was towards the close of that year that Queen Mary died, which melancholy accident, as it afforded a pregnant subject to Orators and Poets, so, amongst all that attempted it, none succeeded better than Mr. Congreve, in the Pastoral which he wrote upon that occasion; and which, in point of simplicity, elegance, and correctness, is at least equal to any thing of the kind that has appeared in our language (u). We have taken notice in another place, of the great revolution that happened in the theatrical world in the succeeding year, and of the justice and generosity with which Mr. Congreve espoused the cause of our English Roscius (w), when he opened his new Theatre in Portugal-Row, Lincoln's-inn-fields, by giving him his excellent Comedy of *Love for Love*, so judiciously contrived, and so happily executed, as to unite at once the approbation of the few, and the tumultuous applause of the many, in its

(r) Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 43.

(s) See this point fully cleared in note [D].

(u) The title of this piece is, *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*.

(t) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 4.

(w) See the article of BETTERTON (THOMAS).

(g) See the Dedication to this Play in the first volume of Mr. Congreve's Works.

[D] Notwithstanding some objections that have been made to it.] This play is dedicated to the Right Hon. Charles Montague, one of the Lords of the Treasury: and though we are apt to overlook dedications, as seldom containing any thing except acknowledgments and praises, yet there are in this some passages of such true and solid criticism, and which give so clear and so good an account of the play itself, that they very well deserve the reader's notice (g). I have, since the acting of this play, hearkened after the objections which have been made to it, for I was conscious where a true critic might have put me upon my defence. I was prepared for the attack, and am pretty confident, I could have vindicated some parts, and excused others; and, where there were many plain miscarriages, I would most ingenuously have confessed them. But I have not heard any thing said sufficient to provoke an answer. That which looks most like an objection, does not relate in particular to this play, but to all, or most, that ever have been written, and that is soliloquy: therefore I will answer it, not only for my own sake, but to save others the trouble to whom it may be hereafter objected. I grant, that for a man to talk to himself appears absurd and unnatural, and indeed it is so in most cases; but the circumstances which may attend the occasion, make great alteration. It oftentimes happens to a man to have designs, which confine him to himself, and, in their nature, cannot admit of a confidant. Such, for certain, is all villainy; and other less mischievous intentions, may be very improper to be communicated to a second person. In such a case therefore, the audience must observe, whether the person upon the stage takes any notice of them at all or no: for if he supposes any one to be by when he talks to himself, it is monstrous and ridiculous to the last degree: nay, not only in this case, but in any part of a play, if there is expressed any knowledge of an audience, it is insufferable. But otherwise, when a man in soliloquy reasons with himself, and *pro's* and *con's*, and weighs all his designs, we ought not to imagine that this man either talks to us, or to himself; he is only thinking, and thinking such matter as were inexcusable folly in him to speak. But, because we are concealed spectators of the plot in agitation, and the poet finds it necessary to let us know the whole mystery of his contrivance, he is willing to inform us of this person's thoughts, and to that end is forced to make use of the expedient of speech, no other or better way being yet invented for the communication of thought. Another very wrong objection has been made by some, who

have not taken leisure to distinguish the characters. The hero of the play, as they are pleased to call him, (meaning Mellefont) is a gull, and made a fool, and cheated. Is every man a gull and a fool that is deceived? At that rate I am afraid the two classes of men will be reduced to one, and the knaves themselves be at a loss to justify their title; but if an open-hearted, honest man, who has an entire confidence in one whom he takes to be his friend, and one whom he has obliged to be so, and who, to confirm him in his opinion in all appearance, and upon several trials has been so: if this man be deceived by the treachery of the other, must he of necessity commence fool immediately, only because the other has proved a villain? Ay, but there was caution given to Mellefont, in the first act, by his friend Careless. Of what nature was that caution? only to give the audience some light into the character of Maskwell, before his appearance, and not to convince Mellefont of his treachery, for that was more than Careless was then able to do: he never knew Maskwell guilty of any villainy; he was only a sort of man which he did not like. As for his suspecting his familiarity with my Lady Touchwood, let them examine the answer that Mellefont makes him, and compare it with the conduct of Maskwell's character through the play. I would beg them again to look into the character of Maskwell before they accuse Mellefont of weakness, for being deceived by him; for, upon summing up the inquiry into this objection, it may be found, they have mistaken cunning in one character, for folly in another. To this play there is now prefixed a copy of verses, by Mr. Dryden, that were addressed to the author upon its first appearing. They contain the highest compliments to him, and the strongest commendations of the play possible, but are too well known to the world, and too commonly met with, to be inserted here, and the force and meaning of them would be very much weakened and broken by citing parts of them. Mr. Charles Hopkins also wrote a copy of verses upon the same occasion; and the best judges in general have admitted, not only that the foregoing defence of Mr. Congreve was very well founded, but that he has fairly unravelled the true source of false criticism, and shewn himself thereby a deep enquirer, as well as an excellent judge of human nature; which, as we shall have frequent occasions to shew hereafter, appears to have been the constant study of his life, as well as the chief fund whence he drew the many fine and beautiful strokes that distinguish all, but more especially his comic writings.

favour.

(x) Lives of the English Poets, vol. i. p. 43.

(y) The title of this piece is, *To the King upon the taking of Namur*.

(z) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 9.

(a) View of the Immorality and Propriety of the English Stage.

(b) Amendments of Mr. Collier's false and imperfect Citations, &c. Lond. 1698, 8vo.

(10) See the Dedication prefixed to this Play, in the second vol. of Mr Congreve's Works.

favour (x) [E]. The same year he distinguished himself in a new kind of Poetry, by addressing to King William an irregular Ode on the taking of Namur, in which the sublimity of the sentiments, the harmony of the numbers, the happy imitation of the antients, the graceful turn of his panegyric, are truly admirable; but perhaps there is nothing in it that deserves higher commendation than the delicate compliment with which it ends, and where, in a single line, he says the finest things possible of his two great patrons Halifax and Dorset (y). As he had now attained the highest reputation as a Comic Poet, he was inclined to shew that a regular and finished Tragedy might succeed upon the English Theatre. It was an adventurous task that he set himself, and a very high stake he made, when he hazarded all the reputation he had already acquired upon this new performance, which, though written according to the rules, was altogether destitute of those artificial and irregular helps, frequently relied on by former writers. It seems to have cost him more pains than any of his former pieces; for it was not till 1697, that the *Mourning Bride* (z) was acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields. Very few plays ever excited so great expectations as this did, and fewer still have met, after such expectation raised, with so universal an approbation. In short, it was the best received of all his pieces; and, without doubt, whatever credit he drew from this exquisite Tragedy, was in some measure shared by the audience, who fairly entitled themselves to the character of equal and able judges, by the applause they bestowed upon that excellent performance [F]. He was called off from his attention to the Theatre to another kind of writing, that to him, of all men living, was the most tedious and tiresome, and that was controversy. His four plays were attacked with equal fury and celerity by the famous Mr. Jeremy Collier, who, without the least pity to his fine parts, or the slightest tenderness for a reputation raised with so much pains, fell upon him, not as a dull or tasteless, but as a dangerous and destructive writer (a). An answer was necessary, and therefore an answer was given, under a very plain title (b), and written with much modesty as well as wit. There are abundance of judicious things in this defence, which was drawn up in the form of letters to that candid Critic, and the author's constant friend, Walter Moyle, Esq; which, though the subject seems to render them now out of date, will make them always well worth a judicious reader's perusal [G]. In all probability, this quarrel created in our author

[E] *In its favour.*] There is prefixed to this play a short dedication to the then Lord Chamberlain, Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, written, as all his dedications are, with great decency and good sense, and without any of that fulsome flattery, which reflects at once on the patron and the writer, and is, at the same time, such a plague and punishment to a reader, as he has seldom the patience to go through. Some faults have been found with several characters in this play; but if the reflections, proceeding from the severe morals of Mr. Collier, can be averted by any tolerable excuses, drawn from the very nature of comedy, which requires the representing the manners of the age as they really are, nothing else can affect it. The sense of succeeding times has fully justified the judgment of those in which it was first acted, and *Love for Love* continues, and is likely to continue, an admired comedy, as long as true taste for theatrical entertainments shall prevail.

[F] *They bestowed upon that excellent performance.*] This play was dedicated to Queen Anne, then princess; and it is not easy to imagine any thing, either more great or graceful, than the manner in which the author shews the consistency of his address; and as there is something in this very peculiar, the following paragraphs will be perused with pleasure (10). 'It is from the example of Princes that virtue becomes a fashion in the people; for even they who are averse to instruction, will yet be fond of imitation. But there are multitudes who never can have means nor opportunities of so near an access, as to partake of the benefit of such examples: and to these Tragedy, which distinguishes itself from the vulgar poetry, by the dignity of its characters, may be of use and information; for they who are at that distance from original greatness, as to be deprived of the happiness of contemplating the perfections and real excellencies of your Royal Highness's person, in your Court, may yet behold some small sketches and images of the virtues of your mind, abstracted and represented on the theatre. Thus poets are instructed and instructed, not alone by precepts, which persuade, but also by examples, which illustrate. Thus is delight interwoven with instruction: when not only virtue is prescribed, but also represented. But, if

' we are delighted with the liveliness of a feigned representation of great and good persons, and their actions, how must we be charmed with beholding the persons themselves? If one or two excellencies, barely touched in the single action and small compass of a play, can warm an audience with a concern and regard, even for the seeming success and prosperity of the actor; with what zeal must the hearts of all be filled, for the continued and increasing happiness of those who are the true and living instances of elevated and persisting virtue? Even the vicious themselves, must have a sacred veneration for those peculiar graces and endowments which are daily so eminently conspicuous in your Royal Highness; and, though repining, feel a pleasure, which, in spite of envy, they perforce approve.' This Tragedy has been highly commended by Sir Richard Blackmore (11), and he has shewn himself a very judicious critic in all that he says about it; nor is there any reason to dispute the character which he has given it, of being the most perfect tragedy written in that age.

[G] *Will make them always well worth a judicious reader's perusal.*] The title which our author gave this work was, *Amendments of Mr. Collier's false and imperfect Citations, &c. from the Old Batchelor, Double Dealer, Love for Love, Mourning Bride. By the author of those plays* (12). In this apology for his own conduct, he lays down many things which are extremely well worth the knowing, and without knowing which, it is impossible to form a right notion of the innocence, excellency, or use of plays. He observes, that Aristotle defines comedy to be an imitation of the worse sort of people. He does not mean the worse sort of people in respect to their quality, but in respect to their manners. This is plain from his telling you immediately after, that he does not mean relating to all kinds of vice: there are crimes too daring and too horrid for comedy. But the vices most frequent, and which are the common practice of the looser sort of livers, are the subject matter of comedy. He tells us farther, that they must be exposed after a ridiculous manner: For men are to be laughed out of their vices in comedy; the business of comedy is to delight, as well as to instruct: And as vicious people

(11) See his Preface to Prince Arthur. Lond. 1697, fol.

(12) Lond. 1693, 8vo.

(c) Lives of the English Poets, vol. i. p. 45. Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 13.

author some distaste to the stage: however, he afterwards brought on another Comedy, the last, not the least valuable, of his performances. It was intituled *The Way of the World* (c), of which it was so just a picture, that the world could not bear it, which completed the disgust of our author to the Theatre: upon which Mr. Dennis (though not very famous for either) said a very fine, and a very kind thing, *That Mr. Congreve quitted the stage early, and that Comedy left it with him* (d). He seems to have foreseen the fate of his play, which is well revenged in his epilogue, as it is justly exposed in the dedication prefixed to it when it was published; wherein our author shewed, that he knew how to resent the injuries done him by little Critics: but it would have been better if he had stopped there, and not punished the rest of the world for their fakes, by dropping his pen in the prime of life, and when he was most capable of doing honour to himself, and to his country. This play has long ago triumphed over its feeble adversaries, and is now justly esteemed as much as it deserves [H]. He amused himself, however, after this, and

(d) Lives of the English Poets, vol. i. p. 46.

people are made ashamed of their follies or faults, by seeing them exposed in a ridiculous manner, so are good people at once both warned and diverted at their expence. Our author next observes, that since comic poets are obliged by the laws of comedy, and to the intent that it may answer the end and purpose above-mentioned, to represent vicious and foolish characters; it ought not therefore to be imputed to the persuasion or private sentiments of the author, if at any time one of these vicious characters shall behave himself foolishly or immorally, in word or deed. This, says he, would be as hard and as unreasonable, as to believe that a Painter should resemble all the ugly faces that he draws. He next remarks, that Mr. Collier's method of citing detached sentences is unfair, because when thus cited, they may, and indeed must, carry quite another sense, than they do in the author's own work, so that a man becomes criminal by representation only. 'I cannot think it reasonable, says he, because Mr. Collier is pleased to write one chapter of immodesty, and another of profaneness, that therefore every expression traduced by him under those heads, shall be condemned as obscene and profane immediately, and without any farther enquiry. Perhaps Mr. Collier is acquainted with the *deceptio visus*, and presents objects to the view through a stained glass: things may appear seemingly profane, when in reality they are only seen through a profane medium, and the true colour is dissembled by the help of a sophistical varnish: Therefore I demand the privilege of the Habeas Corpus Act, that the prisoners may have liberty to remove, and to appear before a just judge in an open and uncoun-terfeited light.' To these he adds another remark. 'Because, says he, Mr. Collier, in his chapter of the profaneness of the stage, has founded great part of his accusation upon the liberty which poets take of using some words in their plays, which have been sometimes employed by the translators of the holy scriptures: I desire that the following distinction may be admitted, viz. That when words are applied to sacred things, and with a purpose to treat of sacred things, they ought to be understood accordingly: But when they are otherwise applied, the diversity of the subject gives a diversity of signification. And in truth, he might as well except against the common use of the alphabet in poetry, because the same letters are necessary to the spelling of words which are mentioned in sacred Writ.' He adds farther, 'It may not be impertinent to take notice of a very common expedient, which is made use of to recommend the instruction of our plays, which is this: after the action of the play is over, and the delight of the representation at an end, there is generally care taken that the moral of the whole shall be summed up and delivered to the audience, in the very last and concluding lines of the poem. The intention of this is, that the delight of the representation may not so strongly possess the minds of the audience, as to make them forget, or over-see the instruction: it is the last thing said, that it may make the last impression; and it is always comprehended in a few lines, and put into rhyme, that it may be easy and engaging to the memory.' Upon these foundations, he builds the justification of the greatest part of the passages objected to: some others he excuses, and very frankly gives up some, with a promise of correction. As we have already treated of this matter elsewhere, we shall

not insist any longer on it here, but content ourselves with observing, that this dispute had a very good effect upon the stage; and that of all the authors criticized by Mr. Collier, Mr. Congreve was thought to escape the best, and to have defended himself with the greatest appearance of learning, justice, and candour.

[H] *And is now justly esteemed, as much as it deserves.* The reasons are mentioned in the text, why this comedy did not meet with so universal an approbation as his former pieces. It is very certain, the fault was not in the play but in the audience, who were not as yet arrived at that correct taste, which requires that all kind of follies, how general or fashionable soever, should be submitted to the chastisement of the stage. In his dedication to Ralph Earl of Montague, a nobleman justly celebrated both as a competent and candid judge, the author treats this matter with great penetration and perspicuity (13). 'But little of it, says he, was prepared for that general taste, which seems now to be predominant in the palates of our audience. Those characters which are meant to be ridiculed in most of our comedies, are of fools so gross, that, in my humble opinion, they should rather disturb than divert the well-natured and reflecting part of an audience: they are rather objects of charity than contempt; and instead of moving our mirth, they ought very often to excite our compassion. This reflection moved me to design some characters, which should appear ridiculous, not so much through a natural folly (which is incorrigible, and therefore not proper for the stage) as through an affected wit; a wit, which at the same time that it is affected, is also false. As there is some difficulty in the formation of a character of this nature, so there is some hazard which attends the progress of its success upon the stage: for many come to a play so over-charged with criticism, that they very often let fly their censure, when, through their rashness, they have mistaken their aim. This I had occasion lately to observe: for this play had been acted two or three days, before some of these hasty judges could find the leisure to distinguish betwixt the character of a witwound and a true wit.' In the following apology to his patron, for the liberty taken in the foregoing paragraphs, he sufficiently shews, that he felt the treatment that he had met with from the many, to whose decision he was resolved to trust no more. 'I must, says he, beg your Lordship's pardon for this digression, from the true course of this epistle; but that it may not seem altogether impertinent, I beg that I may plead the occasion of it, in part of that excuse, of which I stand in need, for recommending this comedy to your protection. It is only by the countenance of your lordship, and the few so qualified, that such who write with care and pains, can hope to be distinguished: for the prostituted name of poet, promiscuously levels all that bear it.' There stand prefixed to this comedy, a copy of verses by Sir Richard Steele, in which he touches on the same subject, and condemns that coarse taste which induces the multitude to slight true Comedy for Farce. He insinuates, that our author had conquered this folly, and that the crowd were disposed to admire implicitly whatever had the stamp of his name. Mr. Congreve, it seems, would not trust to these implicit admirers: he was resolved not to write down to their understandings, or to put it in their power any more to question his.

(13) See this Dedication, in the third volume of Mr. Congreve's Works.

obliged the world by a great variety of poems and translations (e). He had a fine taste for Music as well as Poetry, which sufficiently appears in his Hymn to Harmony, in honour of St. Cecilia's Day, 1701, set by Mr. John Eccles, his great friend, and one of the most elegant Composers our nation has produced. To him also our author was obliged for setting several of his songs, which are very beautiful in their kind, and have all that vivacity of wit which can give life and lustre to such performances. His early acquaintance with the great, had promised him not an easy only, but a happy station in life, to which it is very rare that either true genius, or any kind of literary merit, recommends any man. This freed him from all obligations of courting any longer public favour, though it still left him under the tie of gratitude to his illustrious friends (f). He acted in a manner suitable to his situation: he very seldom risked the character he had obtained for the sake of exalting it; but he never missed any opportunity of paying his compliments to his high patrons, in a manner worthy of himself and of them. The death of the Marquis of Blandford, only son to the Duke of Marlborough, which happened February 20, 1705, afforded him a melancholy occasion of endeavouring to soften, by celebrating the distress of that illustrious family; which he did in a most beautiful Pastoral (g), inscribed to the Lord Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer of England. The glorious successes of the British arms, under the invincible Duke before-mentioned, supplied a glorious theme for an Ode to the late Queen Anne, in which he celebrates victories most honourable to this nation, in numbers that justly entitle their author to unfading reputation, as they cannot fail of preserving the memory of those victories, as long as our language shall last, or a true taste in poetry remains (h). In another Pindaric Ode, he celebrated that great Statesman, and true Patriot, the Lord High-Treasurer Godolphin; taking occasion, from that nobleman's great delight in horse-racing, to imitate, or rather to emulate, the Greek Poet, in his favourite manner of writing, by a truly elegant and exquisite digression (i). We owe to him not only these two pieces in a kind of poetry almost before unknown to our language, but also a very learned and judicious dissertation upon this species of poetry, which contains a solid and just criticism on those sort of irregular pieces, that hitherto have passed, though very undeservedly, for Pindarics [I]. The clearness and candour of his criticism, ought to give him as high a character in the Republic of Letters, as even his fine performances in so many different kinds of poetry. His *Birth of the Muse*, and his *Dedication* in verse of his poems when collected, both addressed to his old patron Charles Lord Halifax, are equally grateful and pleasing, though as different in their composition as any two pieces can be: the former is solemn and sublime, the latter easy and familiar. We see, in one, how able the Poet was to rise to the greatest heights, without the least mixture of bombast or fustian; and, in the other, how finely he could unite the becoming liberty of a friend, with that respect which was nevertheless due to his patron's superior rank and dignity. But as, in the earlier part of his life, Mr. Congreve had received obligations from persons of less exalted station, so of these he was highly sensible, and never let slip any favourable opportunity of returning them. He wrote an Epilogue for his old friend Mr. Southerne's fine Tragedy of *Oroonoko* (k); and we learn from Mr. Dryden

(e) Collected in a volume, and published by himself in 1710.

(f) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; p. 17.

(g) *The Tears of Amaryllis for Amintas.*

(i) The Address of this Poem was, To the Right Honourable the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High-Treasurer of England. A Pindaric Ode.

(k) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 279.

(h) The title of this piece was, *A Pindaric Ode, humbly offered to the Queen, on the Victorious Progress of her Majesty's Arms under the Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough.*

[I] *That hitherto have passed, though very undeservedly, for Pindarics.* It has been hinted in the text, that whenever Mr. Congreve applied himself to any kind of writing in prose or verse, his constant aim was perfection; to which he had not the vanity of thinking he might arrive by the strength of his genius, but applied himself first as a critic, to acquire a thorough knowledge of the nature of his task, before he undertook to execute it as a poet. It was this led him to examine the works of Pindar, with the greatest care, before he attempted to imitate him; and at first sight he discovered how little resemblance the odes, pretending to the character of Pindaric, in our language, had to the odes of that author in respect to numbers, structure, or sentiment. He resolved therefore to restore this ancient and sublime manner of writing, by giving the world a true Pindaric in substance as well as show, that it might appear the force and spirit of this kind of poetry, consisted in the strength of the thought, and not in the looseness or irregularity of the numbers. He enquired also into the cause of so general a mistake, and has assigned it with an equal mixture of critical justice, and the candour of a gentleman. His words are these (14), 'Mr. Cowley, in his preface to his Pindaric odes, speaking of the music of numbers, says, that these sometimes, especially in songs and odes, almost without any thing else, make an excellent poet. Having mentioned Mr. Cowley, it may be very well expected, that something should be said of him, at a time when the imitation of Pindar is the theme of our discourse.'

(14) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 345.

'But there is that great deference due to the memory, great parts, and learning of that gentleman, that I think nothing should be objected to the latitude he has taken in his Pindaric odes. The beauty of his verses are an atonement for the irregularity of his stanzas; and though he did not imitate Pindar in the strictness of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and sublimity of his style and sentiments. Yet I must beg leave to add, that I believe those irregular odes of Mr. Cowley, may have been the principal, though innocent, occasion of so many deformed poems since; which instead of being true pictures of Pindar, have (to use the Italian Painters term) been only caricatures of him, resemblances that for the most part have been either horrid or ridiculous. For my own part I frankly own my error, in having heretofore mis-called a few irregular stanzas a Pindaric ode; and possibly if others, who have been under the same mistake, would ingenuously confess the truth, they might own, that never having consulted Pindar himself, they took all his irregularity upon trust; and finding their account in the great ease with which they could produce odes, without being obliged either to measure or design, remained satisfied, and it may be were not altogether unwilling to neglect being undeceived.' This shews not only how desirous Mr. Congreve was of writing correctly himself, but also how willing to establish so true a taste, as might render correctness necessary to applause.

himself,

(m) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(o) Congreve's Works, vol. iii. p. 228. 232. 366.

(r) Ibid. p. 225. 250.

(t) Ibid. p. 359. 365.

(u) See the Dedication of Sir Richard Steele's Miscellanies, to Mr. Congreve.

(15) See Dryden's Virgil, vol. ii. p. 435.

himself, how much he owed to his assistance in the translation of Virgil (1) [K]. He contributed, by translating the eleventh Satire, to the translation of Juvenal published by that great Poet, and wrote an admirable copy of verses on the version of Persius performed by Mr. Dryden alone (m). He wrote likewise a Prologue for a play of Mr. Charles Dryden's, full of kindness for that young gentleman, and of respect for his father (n). But the noblest testimony he gave of his filial reverence for that exalted genius, was in that inimitable panegyric upon his writings, contained in the dedication of his plays to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle; a monument that will ever express, in the most lively colours, the worth of him to whose honour it is consecrated, and the capacity, candour, and critical justice, of the hand that raised it. His translations have done him the greatest honour, in the sentiments of those who were the best judges, and who have taken pains to compare them with their originals. The *Hymn to Venus*, and some of the most moving passages in the *Iliad*, appear with all the spirit and dignity of Homer in the English version; and as it is impossible for a learned writer to peruse them without confessing his accuracy, so whoever has a true taste for poetry must feel the effects of that art and force, with which all the emotions naturally rising from the passions of the human mind, are expressed in these nervous pieces (o). His imitations of Horace have as much the air of that Poet, as our times or language will permit; that is, the same strength, vivacity, and delicacy, for which, through a long series of years, they have been admired in the original (p). The third book of *Ovid's Art of Love*, appears in our tongue with all the sweetness and softness peculiar to that author, who was perfectly acquainted with the passion, and knew how to describe it with all the masterly graces of a great Poet; and what was admired in the Augustan age, becomes excellent in ours, from the skill of Mr. Congreve, and the happy union of the most distant excellencies in a translator, ease and exactness (q). He was the better qualified for an undertaking of this kind, from the natural turn of his own temper; for his Poem to, and his excellent Epigram on, Mrs. Arabella Hunt, are entirely in the Ovidian strain, and are as pleasingly pathetic as any Poems in their kind, in our own, or perhaps in any other language (r). There is a strength and solemnity in his verses to the memory of Lady Gethins, and in his Epitaph upon the two Huntingtons (s), that make one scarcely conceive it possible that he should succeed as well in lighter compositions; and yet the tales that he has told after a celebrated French author, are so unaffected and natural, that if we were not apprised of it, we should never have suspected they were translations (t). But there is one piece of his which ought to be particularly distinguished, as being so truly an original, that though it seems to be written with the utmost facility, yet we may despair of ever seeing it copied: this is his *DORIS*, so highly and so justly commended by Sir Richard Steele, as the sharpest and most delicate satire he had ever met with (u). We must not omit, in this free catalogue of his works, two pieces of the dramatic kind, which do him equal honour as a Poet, and as a lover of Music, viz. the *Judgment of Paris*, a *Masque*, and the *Opera of Semele*. Of these, the former was acted with great applause, and the latter finely set to music by Mr. Eccles. In respect to both, it is but bare justice to say, that they have the stamp of excellency borne by the rest of Mr. Congreve's works, were considered as master-pieces when published, and may serve as models to posterity [L]. We have now almost finished the list of his poetical labours,

(1) In his Dedication to John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire.

(n) Ibid. p. 280.

(p) Ibid. p. 238, 239. 241.

(q) Ibid. p. 299.

(s) Ibid. p. 256, 257.

[K] In the translation of Virgil.] As there have been few authors, whose abilities have been more universally confessed than Mr. Dryden's, so never any author was more remarkable for modesty. He shewed it in that civility, kindness, and candour, with which he corrected the works of others; but much more so in the readiness and gratitude, with which he received any information of mistakes made by himself. He knew that every man was fallible, and therefore, with all the great gifts he received from nature, did not at all repine at his being in that respect not exempt from the lot of mortals. It was from a true sense of this, and not a vain affectation of hearing his own praises echoed, that he communicated his works, before they were printed, to the ablest of his friends, that he might receive their help as well as censure. Neither was he afraid or ashamed to confess this to the world; for he knew that men of parts and probity, would approve and applaud it. In his dedication therefore to the Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire, he makes the following mention of our author (15). Mr. Congreve has done me the favour to review the *Aeneis*, and compare my version with the original. I shall never be ashamed to own, that this excellent young man has shewed me many faults, which I have endeavoured to correct. The English translation of Virgil was not published until 1697, but Mr. Dryden was engaged in it in 1695, and consequently at the time he consulted our

author, he was only between twenty-three and twenty-four years of age. What an honour to have his opinion asked by the greatest poet of his time, upon a subject of such importance to his reputation; what an honour to justify both his friendship and his judgment on so critical an occasion; and what an honour to receive the laurel from his learned brow, only to fix it again upon his tomb; to be the defender of that great man's fame when he was dead, who had loved him so much living; and piously to vindicate the character of him, whose generous, though just, praises had laid the foundation of his own?

[L] And may serve as models to posterity.] The great art of adapting poetry to music, though studied by many, has been acquired by few. This very plainly appears from the want of a true poetic spirit, in many of the pieces set to fine music, in which we evidently perceive, that the notes were not accommodated to the words, but the words to the notes. We do not indeed perceive this so plainly, during the performance, when the faculties of the mind are so transported by the sweetness of the sound, that we have not power to discern the defects in the sense. But what escapes us on the Theatre, stares us in the face in the closet; and we cannot help wondering, when we read what it was that transported us so much in the hearing. But the few great masters that have reached the sublime heights of Harmony, instead of receiving from, communicate helps to the most able composer.

bours, in which we have been the more particular, because it was peculiar to Mr. Congreve to have written and excelled, not barely in every kind of dramatic poetry, but almost in every kind of poetry. The last to which he turned his genius was that of familiar epistles. Of these, that on the *Art of Pleasing* (w), addressed to Sir Richard Temple, afterwards Viscount Cobham, is the only one inserted in his works; and is so truly admirable, that the public has just reason to regret some others that are still said to be preserved in the cabinets of his friends to whom they were addressed, and which it is hoped will one day see the light. Another epistle of his to the same noble person, as it is not to be found in his works, we have, as one of its brightest ornaments, inserted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct [M]. This naturally leads us to mention his prose letters,

(w) Congreve's Works, vol. iii p. 332.

composer. Of this we have the strongest instance in Mr. Dryden's celebrated ode on St. Cecilia's day, which not only ravishes us when performed, but when read, and thereby convinces the judicious peruser of the real force of numbers. The same thing may with equal justice be said of our author's masque, the songs in which are most admirably adapted to the characters, as well as the music; and the performance is not only perfect upon the stage, but perfect also when considered only as a poetic entertainment; and though we may see it with more rapture, yet we read it too with the highest delight, and find nothing in it flat or insipid for want of the support of music. There is an excellency in every kind of writing; and as an author is justly entitled to reputation who reaches this in any, so admiration is the just tribute to that exalted genius that reaches it in all: I need not tell the reader, that this is Mr. Congreve's claim to admiration. His opera of *Semele* was never performed; but, for all that, it has been universally admired. The fable is happily chosen and skilfully managed; the scenes are finely disposed, the sentiments perfectly agreeable to the subject, and the language exactly suitable to the sentiments. There is, however, one thing that deserves peculiar notice, and that is, the manner in which our author has disposed that part of his work which seemed least susceptible of sense and grace at the same time. Himself shall give you an account of it, for none but himself could express it so well. 'It was (16) not thought requisite to have any regard either to rhyme or equality of measure, in the lines of that part of the dialogue, which was designed for the recitative style in music; for as that style in music is not confined to the strict observation of time and measure, which is required in the composition of airs and sonata's; so neither is it necessary that the same exactness in numbers, rhymes, or measure, should be observed in words designed to be set in that manner, which must ever be observed in the formation of odes and sonnets: for what they call recitative in music, is only a more tunable speaking; it is a kind of prose in music; its beauty consists in coming near nature, and in improving the natural accents of words by more pathetic or emphatical tones.' This explains what had never been explained before, that is to say, the nature and meaning of the recitative; how far it approaches, and wherein it is removed from prose; what the use of it, and consequently what rules are to be observed in its composition, so as to keep it from sinking servilely low, and to restrain it from swelling into rant and bombast.

[M] Inserted in ours, from a copy that appeared to be very correct.] This beautiful poem is written with that simple elegance, that force of genius, and that dignity of sentiment, which leaves no room to doubt of its being justly attributed to Mr. Congreve. At what time it was written cannot be said with any pretence to certainty; but as there is a visible allusion in the poem to measures, which the writer thought were too complaisant to the *French*, it is very evident that it must have been penned but a very small time before his death. The title it bears is this,

Of improving the present time.

Sincerest critic of my prose or rhyme,
Tell how thy pleasing Stowe employs thy time.
Say, Cobham, what amuses thy retreat?
Or stratagems of war, or schemes of state?

Dost thou re-call to mind, with joy or grief,
Great Marlbro's actions? that immortal chief,
Whose slightest trophy, rais'd in each campaign,
More than suffic'd to signalize a reign.
Does thy remembrance rising, warm thy heart
With glory past, where thou thyself had'st part;
Or dost thou grieve indignant, now to see
The fruitless end of all thy victory?
To see the audacious foe, so late subdu'd,
Dispute those terms for which so long they su'd,
As if Britannia now were sunk so low,
To beg that peace she wonted to bestow.
Be far, that guilt! be never known that shame!
That England should retract her rightful claim!
Or ceasing to be dreaded and ador'd,
Stain with her pen the lustre of her sword.
Or dost thou give the winds afar to blow,
Each vexing thought and heart-devouring woe,
And fix thy mind alone on rural scenes,
To turn the levell'd lawns to liquid plains;
To raise the creeping rills from humble beds,
And force the latent springs to lift their heads;
On watry columns capitals to rear,
That mix their flowing curls with upper air?
Or dost thou, weary grown, these works neglect,
No temples, statues, obelisks erect;
But catch the morning breeze from fragrant meads,
Or shun the noon-tide ray in wholesome shades;
Or lowly walk along the mazy wood,
To meditate on all that's wise and good?
For nature, bountiful in thee, has join'd,
A person pleasing, with a worthy mind;
Not given the form alone, but means and art,
To draw the eye, or to allure the heart.
Poor were the praise in fortune to excel,
Yet want the way to use that fortune well.
While thus adorn'd, while thus with virtue crown'd,
At home in peace; abroad, in arms renown'd;
Graceful in form, and winning in address,
While well you think what aptly you express,
With health, with honour, with a fair estate,
A table free, and elegantly neat;
What can be added more to mortal bliss?
What can he want that stands possess'd of this?
What can the fondest wishing mother more,
Of Heaven attentive, for her son implore?
And yet, a happiness remains unknown,
Or to Philosophy reveal'd alone;
A precept which, unpractis'd, renders vain
Thy flowing hopes, and pleasure turns to pain.
Shou'd hope and fear thy heart alternate tear,
Or love, or hate, or rage, or anxious care,
Whatever passions may thy mind infest,
(Where is that mind which passions ne'er molest?)
Amidst the pangs of such intestine strife,
Still think the present day the last of life;
Defer not 'till to-morrow to be wise,
To-morrow's fun to thee may never rise;
Or shou'd to-morrow chance to cheer thy sight
With her enliv'ning and unlook'd-for light,
How grateful will appear her dawning rays!
As favours unexpected doubly please.
Who thus can think, and who such thoughts pursues,
Content may keep his life, or calmly lose.
All proofs of this, thou may'st thyself receive,
When leisure from affairs will give thee leave.
Come, see thy friend retir'd, without regret,
Forgetting care, or striving to forget,
In easy contemplation, soothing time
With morals much, and now and then with rhyme;
Not

(16) See the argument prefixed to Mr. Congreve's Opera of *Semele*, in the third vol. of his Works.

letters, which are dispersed through the works of other men; but, whenever they have a new edition, would make a very natural and a very valuable addition to his own. His letter upon *Humour* in English Comedy, is, without doubt, as instructive, as entertaining, and as correct a piece of criticism as is any where to be met with (x). All his other letters are written with infinite wit and spirit, and at the same time with a wonderful facility, and a fine flow of language, so happily intermixed with lively and inoffensive raillery, that it is impossible not to be pleased with them at the first reading, or to find any fault with them on the most mature reflection. We may be satisfied from the perusal of them, that his conversation must have been very engaging; and, therefore, we need not wonder that he lived in such familiarity with the greatest men of his time, or that they courted his friendship, by rendering him every good office in their power. It has been observed, that no change of Ministries affected him in the least, nor was he ever removed from any post that was given him, excepting to a better (y). His place in the Custom-House, and his office of Secretary in Jamaica, are said to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred pounds a year; and though he lived in a manner suitable to such a fortune, yet he was so far an œconomist, as to raise from thence a competent estate. No man of his parts and learning ever passed through life with more ease, or less envy; and as in the dawn of his reputation he was very dear to the greatest wits of his time, so during his whole life he preserved the utmost respect, and received continual marks of esteem from men of genius and letters, without ever being involved in any of their quarrels, or drawing upon himself the least mark of distaste, or even dissatisfaction. On the contrary, they sought his approbation with concern, and received it as the highest sanction of merit. Mr. Addison testified his personal regard for him, and his high esteem of his writings, upon many occasions. Sir Richard Steele considered him as his patron upon one occasion, and was desirous of submitting to his judgment as an umpire on another (z). Even the judicious Mr. Pope, though sufficiently jealous of his poetical character, thought fit to honour him with the highest testimony of deference and esteem (a) [N]. We may add to all this, that Mr. John Dennis, who valued himself so much upon criticising the works of the ablest writers of his time, was so sensible of the superior excellence of Mr. Congreve's writings, or at least was so grateful for the repeated marks of affability and beneficence which he received from him, that he always spoke of him, not with decency only, but with veneration; which, if not a peculiar felicity, must at least have been a singular satisfaction to a man of Mr. Congreve's peaceable disposition, who, as he never gave any offence, was very desirous, if it was possible, to avoid abuse (b). There is no doubt that Mr. Congreve had an appetite to fame, and was not insensible of praise: yet never any man was freer from vanity, or shewed less concern about the fate of his writings; insomuch, that a foreigner of distinction, and, without comparison, the best Poet his country has to boast, was a little offended at this, and thought him rather too careless as to his literary reputation (c) [O].

(x) Inserted in Dennis's Letters.

(y) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; P. ii. P. 51.

(z) In his Dedication of his *Miscellanies*, and in the Address prefixed to the *Drummer*, a Comedy of Mr. Addison's, of which he published a second edition.

(a) See this at large in note [N].

(b) Memoirs of William Congreve, Esq; P. ii. P. 137.

(c) Voltaire's Letters concerning the English Nation. Lond. 1733, 8vo. P. 188, 189.

Not so robust in body as in mind,
And always undejected, tho' declin'd;
Not wond'ring at the world's new wicked ways,
Compar'd with those of our fore-fathers days;
For virtue now is neither more or less,
And vice is only vary'd in the dress:
Believe it, men have ever been the same,
And *Ovid's* GOLDEN AGE is but a dream.

WILLIAM CONGREVE.

[N] With the highest testimony of deference and esteem.] Those who were well acquainted with the late Mr. Pope know, that there was nothing he despised so much in others, or the imputation of which he could have borne with so little patience himself, as the paying a servile court, and shewing a mean dependance upon any man, how great soever. He knew that virtue was true nobility, and parts the riches of nature: hence his deep reverence for Mr. Bethel, and his high regard for Mr. Congreve. To them, however, he would have been ashamed to dedicate his works, and yet to them he was proud to inscribe them. He looked upon his performances, as monuments secure from time and accident, and every name they bore as consecrated to immortality. This was his sentiment, nor was it vanity: the most generous possessor of gold knows the properties and value of the metal as well as the meanest miser. Let us hear then what praises one who was so sparing of them has bestowed on Mr. Congreve. We shall find them at the close of his postscript to the translation of Homer, and there they run thus (17). 'Instead of endeavouring to raise a vain monument to myself, let me leave behind me a memorial of my friendship, with one of the most valuable men, as well as finest

writers of my age and country. One who has tried, and knows by his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to do justice to Homer, and one who I am sure, sincerely rejoices with me at the period of my labours. To him therefore, having brought this long work to a conclusion, I desire to dedicate it, and to have the honour and satisfaction of placing together in this manner the names of Mr. Congreve, and of

A. POPE.

[O] As to his literary reputation.] The gentleman mentioned in the text, was the late eminent wit, and justly esteemed poet of France, Mr. Voltaire, who, in the short time that he stayed here, acquired indeed a wonderful knowledge of our language, and of our manners; notwithstanding which, however, he was sometimes mistaken; and it is the more necessary to take notice of his mistakes, because no man's authority in the world is more likely to pass them upon the present age, or upon posterity, for undoubted truths. The character he is pleased to give Mr. Congreve runs thus: 'He raised the glory of comedy to a greater height than any English writer before or since his time (18). He wrote only a few plays, but they are excellent in their kind. The laws of the drama are strictly observed in them. They abound with characters, all which are shadowed with the utmost delicacy, and we do not meet with so much as one low or coarse jest. The language is every where that of men of fashion, but their actions are those of knaves; a proof that he was perfectly well acquainted with human nature, and frequented what we call polite company. He was infirm, and come to the verge of life when I knew of him.

(18) Letters concerning the English Nation, p. 188, 189.

(17) Postscript to his Translation of the Iliad of Homer, dated March 25, 1720: Vol. IV.

X

The best part of the last twenty years of his life was spent in ease and retirement; but towards the end of his days he was very much afflicted with the gout, which at length broke his constitution so much, as to bring on a gradual decay. It was for this, that in the summer of the year 1728, he made a tour to the Bath for the benefit of the waters, where he had the misfortune to be overturned in his chariot, from which time he complained of a pain in his side, which was supposed to arise from some inward bruise. However it was, upon his return to London, his health declined more and more, but without making any impression on his spirits or understanding. He had accustomed himself to consider life, and every thing belonging to it, as blessings in which we have a very uncertain tenure, and therefore was not either surprized or disturbed at the prospect of losing it: the only concern he expressed, was for the grief it occasioned to his friends, more especially those for whom he had a tender affection, and a most profound esteem. He yielded his last breath about the hour of five on Sunday morning, January 19, 1728-9, at his house in Surrey-street in the Strand, in the fifty-seventh year of his age (e); and on the Sunday following, January 26, his corpse lay in state in the Jerusalem-Chamber, from whence, the same evening, between the hours of nine and ten, it was carried, with great decency and solemnity, into King Henry the VIIIth's Chapel; and, after the funeral service was performed, was interred in the Abbey. The pall was supported by the Duke of Bridgewater, Earl of Godolphin, Lord Cobham, Lord Wilmington, the Honourable George Berkeley, Esq; and Brigadier-General Churchill; and Colonel Congreve followed his corpse as chief mourner. Some time after, a neat and elegant monument, with a suitable inscription thereupon [P], was erected to his memory by Henrietta Duchess of Marlborough.

(e) Mr. Congreve's last Will and Testament. Lond. 1730, 8vo. p. 10.

Mr. Congreve had one defect, which was his entertaining too mean an idea of his first profession, that of a writer, though it was to this he owed his fame and fortune. He spoke of his works as of trifles that were beneath him, and hinted to me in our first conversation, that I should visit him upon no other foot than that of a gentleman, who led a life of plainness and simplicity. I answered that had he been so unfortunate as to be a mere gentleman, I should never have come to see him, and I was very much disgusted at so unseasonable a piece of vanity.

It is somewhat strange to hear an author accused of vanity, for undervaluing his own works. We often meet with censures even upon great men, for talking continually of themselves and their writings; but it is a very singular censure that is passed upon Mr. Congreve, that he was troubled with an unseasonable vanity, which hindered him from talking of them at all. The truth of the matter seems to have been, that instead of feeling an unseasonable vanity, he had outlived the season of vanity, if ever he had any; and having no longer any thing of the pride of an author about him, it is not at all wonderful that his conversation was not relished by Mr. Voltaire, whose merit, as an author, was superior to every thing—but the sense he had of that merit.

[P] *With a suitable inscription thereupon.* As the erecting of this monument is later, in point of time, than any of the collections of such kind of ornaments in Westminster-Abbey*, it is proper to insert the inscription here, which runs thus. 'Mr. William Congreve died Jan. the 19th, 1728, aged fifty-six, and was buried near this place; to whose most valuable memory this monument is set up, by Henrietta, Dutches of Marlborough, as a mark how dearly she remembers the happiness and honour she enjoyed in the sincere friendship of so worthy and honest a man, whose virtue, candour and wit, gained him the love and esteem of the present age, and whose writings will be the admiration of the future.' C.

* [There are scarcely any new circumstances, relative to the personal history of Mr. Congreve, which can at present be collected by the most diligent investigation. Notwithstanding his own assertion that he was born in England, it is believed by many, and hath positively been affirmed by some of his Biographers, that Ireland was the country of his nativity. Dr. Johnson appears to have been of this opinion. "It was said by himself," observes the Doctor, "that he owed his Nativity to England, and by every body else that he was born in Ireland. Southerne mentioned him with sharp censure, as a man that meanly disowned his native country.—To doubt whether a man of eminence has told the truth

about his own birth, is, in appearance, to be very deficient in candour; yet nobody can live long without knowing that falsehoods of convenience or vanity, falsehoods from which no evil immediately visibly ensues, except the general degradation of human testimony, are very lightly uttered, and when once uttered, are fully supported. Boileau, who desired to be thought a rigorous and steady moralist, having told a petty lye to Lewis the fourteenth, continued it afterwards by false dates; thinking himself obliged in honour, says his admirer, to maintain what, when he said it, was so well received (19)." Whilst we are sensible of the acuteness of the preceding remark, and that it shews Dr. Johnson's great knowledge of the human mind, we are not satisfied with the application of it, in regard to Mr. Congreve. There doth not appear to be any sufficient reason for charging him with maintaining a falsehood; and his assigning so particularly the place in Yorkshire in which he declared that he was born, has all the appearance of truth. Accordingly, his two last Biographers, in the New and General Biographical Dictionary, and in the Biographia Dramatica, decidedly prefer our Poet's own testimony to that of Mr. Southerne (20).

(19) Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 41, 42. Octavo edition.

(20) New and General Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 86. Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 95.

In contradiction to every account we have of Mr. Congreve, Dr. Swift, in the following lines, has represented him as but indifferently provided for, in the more early part of his life.

"Thus Congreve spent in writing plays,
And one poor office, half his days,
While Montagu, who claim'd the station
To be Mecenas of the nation,
For Poets open table kept,
But ne'er consider'd where they slept.
Himself, as rich as fifty Jews,
Was easy, tho' they wanted shoes;
And crazy Congreve scarce could spare
A shilling to discharge his chair,
Till prudence taught him to appeal
From pæan's fire to party zeal;
Not owing to his happy vein
The fortunes of his latter scene;
Took proper principles to thrive,
And so might every dunce alive."

These lines afford a striking instance how much men are biased by a party spirit, and what little dependence can be placed on satirical writers, in their representations of characters and facts. Swift's design was to throw abuse on Lord Halifax, in the doing of which he has not scrupled to violate truth (21). It would have been strange indeed, if Congreve could scarcely afford a shilling for the discharge of his chair, been obliged.

(21) From the communications of a correspondent, to whom we have often been obliged.

*When this note was written.

chair, when, from his first setting out in the world, he was put into valuable places by his noble patron.

Theophilus Cibber (or rather Mr. Shiells) informs us, that it is said, that when Congreve found his play of the "Way of the World" not likely to be successful, he came in a passion on the stage, and desired the audience to save themselves the trouble of shewing their dislike; for he never intended to write again for the theatre, nor submit his works to the censure of impotent critics (22). As this fact is grounded only upon report, we cannot pay much credit to it; especially, as it doth not seem to comport with Mr. Congreve's acknowledged manners as a Gentleman.

Of our author's controversy with Jeremy Collier, proper notice is taken under that Gentleman's article; and, therefore, we shall only add in this place, that however successful Congreve might be in his attempts to vindicate some particular passages in his comedies, it was totally out of his power to defend their general tendency. In the latter part of his life, he became convinced that his conduct as a writer could not admit of a justification. On a visit to Mr. Bevern the Quaker, in company with Mr. Pope, he said, in the course of the conversation, that he most sincerely wished that it were possible to obliterate all the offensive and impure passages in his works; and that he was fully sensible of the errors into which he had been betrayed, by the liveliness of youth (23).

Our worthy Predecessor, Dr. Campbell, has taken some pains in vindicating Mr. Congreve's behaviour to Voltaire; but the generality of Biographers will be found to disapprove of that behaviour. Cibber observes, that, when he owed to his wit and writings the reputation, as well as the fortune he acquired, his pretending to divest himself of human nature to such a degree, as to have no consciousness of his own merit, was the most absurd piece of vanity which ever entered into the heart of man; and that of all vanity, that is the greatest which masks itself under the appearance of the opposite quality (24). "He treated," says Dr. Johnson, "the muses with ingratitude: for, having long conversed familiarly with the great, he wished to be considered rather as a man of fashion than of wit; and, when he received a visit from Voltaire, disgusted him by the despicable foppery of desiring to be considered not as an author but a gentleman (25)." Congreve, however, has had the good fortune to meet with an ingenious defender in an eminent modern Poet. "I have often thought," says Mr. Mason, "that Mr. Congreve might very well be vindicated on this head. It seldom happens that the vanity of authorship continues to the end of a man's days. It usually soon leaves him where it found him; and if he has not something better to build his self-approbation upon than that of being a popular writer, he generally finds himself ill at ease, if respected only on that account. Mr. Congreve was much advanced in years when the young French Poet paid him this visit; and, though a man of the world, he might now feel that indifference to literary fame which Mr. Gray, who always led a more retired and philosophic life, certainly felt much earlier. Both of them, therefore, might reasonably, at times, express some disgust, if their quiet was obtruded upon by persons who thought they flattered them by such intrusion (26)." Whatever force there may be in this reasoning, we believe that the common sense of mankind will find it difficult to acquit Mr. Congreve of some degree of vanity and affectation, in his reception of Voltaire's visit.

The bequest of Congreve to Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, has been exposed to strictures. It is Cibber's remark, that he would have made a better figure in his last will, had he remembered the friendship he professed for Mrs. Bracegirdle, whose admirable performance added spirit to his dramatic pieces; but that he forgot her, and gratified his vanity by choosing a rich Duchess his sole legatee, and executrix (27). This short paragraph is full of mistakes. It is not true that Mr. Congreve forgot Mrs. Bracegirdle; for he left two hundred pounds to that Lady. He bequeathed, likewise, several other legacies, among which were some to his relations; and particularly, three hundred pounds to William Congreve,

son of Colonel William Congreve of Highgate; and two hundred pounds to Mrs. Anne Congreve, daughter of Colonel Ralph Congreve, of Clarges-street. Neither was the Duchess of Marlborough the executrix of our Poet's last will. He constituted the Earl of Godolphin his sole executor, in trust for the Duchess his Lordship's wife, and in confidence of his honour and justice (28). Mr. Congreve's leaving to that Lady the bulk of his fortune, which amounted to ten thousand pounds, is not to be justified. Dr. Johnson justly observes, that this accumulation of attentive parsimony, though to her superfluous and useless, might have given great assistance to the ancient family from which he descended, at that time, by the imprudence of his relation, reduced to difficulties and distress (29). The Duchess of Marlborough's attachment to Congreve appears to have been of a very extravagant nature. Cibber mentions it; but the following account of it hath been transmitted to us by a respectable correspondent. "This Lady, commonly known by the name of the young Duchess of Marlborough, had a veneration for the memory of Mr. Congreve which seemed nearly to approach to madness. Common fame reports, that she had his figure made in wax after his death, talked to it as if it had been alive, placed it at table with her, took great care to help it with different sorts of food, had an imaginary fore on its leg regularly dressed; and to compleat all, consulted Physicians with relation to its health. These things are usually ranked under the appellation of *whim*. But whenever a person acts thus absurdly, the best excuse is insanity." It ought to be remembered, that as the preceding account is grounded only on common report, there is the highest probability of its being greatly exaggerated.

Of Congreve's works much hath been said by various writers, whose remarks are not to be neglected; and particular regard will deserve to be given to those which have been made by Dr. Johnson. Concerning the "Incognita, or Love and Duty reconciled," the Doctor says, that "it is praised by the Biographers, who quote some part of the preface, that is indeed, for such a time of life, uncommonly judicious. I would rather praise it than read it (30)." Not being altogether so fastidious, we have perused this performance, and, as it is short, without much hindrance to better objects. It has merit, considering the age of the author. What it is chiefly distinguished by, is that intricacy of plot which he afterwards so much displayed in his dramatic writings; and something may be traced in the dialogue parts, of his succeeding coruscations of wit. The story, however, is very unnatural. We shall not read it again.

Dr. Johnson's general estimation of our Poet's genius as a Dramatist is finely expressed. "Congreve, says the Doctor, has merit of the highest kind; he is an original writer, who borrowed neither the models of his plot, nor the manner of his dialogue. Of his plays I cannot speak distinctly; for since I inspected them many years have passed; but what remains upon my memory is, that his characters are commonly fictitious and artificial, with very little of nature, and not much of life. He formed a peculiar idea of comic excellence, which he supposed to consist in gay remarks and unexpected answers; but that which he endeavoured, he seldom failed of performing. His scenes exhibit not much of humour, imagery, or passion: his personages are a kind of intellectual gladiators; every sentence is to ward or strike; the contest of smartness is never intermitted; his wit is a meteor playing to and fro with alternate coruscations. His comedies have therefore, in some degree, the operation of tragedies; they surprise rather than divert, and raise admiration oftener than merriment. But they are the works of a mind replete with images, and quick in combination (31)."

Of Mr. Congreve's first play, the "Old Batchelor," Dr. Johnson thus speaks:

"Such a comedy, written at such an age, requires some consideration. As the lighter species of dramatic poetry professes the imitation of common life, of real manners, and daily incidents, it apparently presupposes a familiar knowledge of many characters,

(28) See Mr. Congreve's Will, in Wilson's Life of him.

(29) Johnson's Lives, *ubi supra*, p. 56.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 43.

(31) Johnson's Lives of the Poets, *ubi supra*, p. 57.

(22) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 90.

(23) From the information of the late Robert Dingley, Esq; whose account was from Mr. Bevern.

(24) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 94.

(25) Johnson, *ubi supra*, vol. iii. p. 55.

(26) Mason's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, p. 403. note, 4th edition.

(27) Cibber, *ubi supra*, p. 93.

and exact observation of the passing world; the difficulty therefore is to conceive how this knowledge can be obtained by a boy.

"But if the *Old Batchelor* be more nearly examined, it will be found to be one of those comedies which may be made by a mind vigorous and acute, and furnished with comic characters by the perusal of other poets, without much actual commerce with mankind. The dialogue is one constant reciprocation of conceits, or clash of wit, in which nothing flows necessarily from the occasion, or is dictated by nature. The characters both of men and women are either fictitious and artificial, as those of *Heartwell* and the *Ladies*; or easy and common, as *Wittol* a tame idiot, *Bluff* a swaggering coward, and *Fondlewife* a jealous puritan; and the catastrophe arises from a mistake not very probably produced, by marrying a woman in a mask.

"Yet this gay comedy, when all these deductions are made, will still remain the work of a very powerful and fertile mind: the dialogue is quick and sparkling, the incidents such as seize the attention, and the wit so exuberant that it *o'er-informs its tenuity* (32)."

(32) *Ibid.* p. 45, 46.

Concerning our author's second performance, the "*Double Dealer*," the Editors of the *Biographia Dramatica* observe, that "the characters of it are strongly drawn, the wit genuine and original, the plot finely laid, and the conduct inimitable; yet such is, and ever has been the capricious disposition of audiences, that it met not equal encouragement with the "*Old Batchelor* (in some respects a much more exceptionable play,) nor had it the same success with his later performances (33)."

(33) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. ii. p. 91.

Dr. Johnson remarks, that the comedy of "*Love for Love*" is of nearer alliance to life, and exhibits more real manners, than either of the former. "The character of *Forefight*, says that eminent Biographer, was then common. Dryden calculated nativities; both Cromwell and King William had their lucky days; and Shaftesbury himself, though he had no religion, was said to regard predictions. "The *sailor* is not accounted very natural, but he "is very pleasant (34)." We well remember that above forty years ago the character of *Ben* was not deemed unnatural. It was then a common tradition, that Congreve had resided six weeks at Portsmouth, in order to draw the character from living manners. It is true, that the generality of seamen are not so witty as *Ben*; but there have always been some wits among that body of people. A man must be a great stranger to Portsmouth and Plymouth, who does not know that a good deal of sea-wit subsists in those places. Besides, *Ben* is not a common sailor, but a Gentleman's son brought up to the navy.

(34) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 47, 48.

The annotators, in the last edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's works, have pointed out two passages in the "*Elder Brother*" of those Poets, which Congreve appears to have had in his eye when he wrote his "*Love for Love* (35)." We dispute not the instances; but surely no Dramatist was ever less of a borrower.

(35) Beaumont and Fletcher's *Dramatic Works*, vol. ii. p. 116. 157. notes.

Scarcely any tragedy has had more different accounts given of it than Congreve's "*Mourning Bride*." We have inserted a high character of it in the article of Blackmore (36), and Lord Kaims speaks of it in very favourable terms. Treating on the violation of the unity of place, he adds: "From the foregoing censure must be excepted the "*Mourning Bride*" of Congreve, where regularity concurs with the beauty of sentiment and of language, to make it one of the most complete pieces England has to boast of." Lord Kaims acknowledges, however, that in point of regularity, it is not altogether unexceptionable; the unity of place being broken in the fifth act (37). The Editors of the *Biographia Dramatica* treat the "*Mourning Bride*" with no small degree of contempt. "Thus, they say, is the "only tragedy our author ever wrote, and met with "more success than any of his other pieces; yet it "is certainly greatly inferior to the very worst of "them: for although the story is a pleasing and affecting one, and well told, yet the language has so "much of the bombast, and so little of real nature

(36) *Biog. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 329, 330.

(37) *Elements of Criticism*, vol. iii. p. 324, 325. Second edition.

"in it, that it is scarcely credible it could be the "work of an author so remarkable for the contrary, "in the easy flowing wit of his comedies (38)." We have observed, that other critics have spoken of the "*Mourning Bride*" in the like contemptuous language; not, we confess, with our entire approbation; for, though we are not insensible of its faults, we think, at the same time, that it has considerable excellencies: and it is some argument in its favour, that it has maintained its popularity on the theatre, so as to be continued a stock play, down to the present period. Mrs. Siddons has not deemed it derogatory to her reputation to appear frequently in the character of *Zara*. Dr. Johnson, though not partial to the "*Mourning Bride*," says, that it is so written as to shew that Mr. Congreve was sufficiently qualified for either kind of dramatic poetry. The Doctor remarks, however, that there is more bustle in this play than sentiment; that the plot is busy and intricate, and the events take hold on the attention; but that, excepting a very few passages, we are rather amused with noise, and perplexed with stratagem, than entertained with any true delineation of natural characters. To these strictures Dr. Johnson hath added a passage highly to Congreve's honour. "But "whatever objections may be made either to his "comic or tragic excellence, they are lost at once in "a blaze of admiration, when it is remembered, that "he had produced these four plays before he had "passed his twenty-fifth year; before other men, "even such as are some time to shine in eminence, "have passed their probation of literature, or presume to hope for any other notice than such as is bestowed on diligence and inquiry. Among all the efforts of early genius which literary history records, I doubt whether any one can be produced that more surpasses the common limits of "nature than the plays of Congreve (39)."

(38) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. ii. p. 243.

Our Author's "*Way of the World*" is generally esteemed the most perfect of his comedies. It is observed, in the *Biographia Dramatica*, that, as it is the last, it is perhaps the best of his plays; that the language is pure, the wit genuine, the characters natural, and the paintings highly finished; and that, though it was not well received at the first, time has since opened the eyes of the town to its perfections (40). Lord Kaims commends the "*Way of the World*," on account of its preserving the unity of place during every act, and a stricter unity of time during the whole play than is necessary (41).

(39) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 49.

(40) Vol. ii. p. 399.

(41) *Elements of Criticism*, vol. iii. p. 325.

None of our readers can be ignorant of Mr. Pope's line,

"Tell me if Congreve's fools are fools indeed."

In reference to this line, and speaking of the character of *Lady Withfort*, Mr. Mason has the following curious observation. "For my own part, I think it one of the most entertaining characters that ever was written. I know, however, that it is commonly thought extravagant and unnatural; and I believe it is true, that no woman ever existed who had so much folly and affectation, and at the same time so much wit and fancy: yet every one sees that were this wit and fancy taken away, her character would become insipid, in proportion as it became more natural; so that in this and other instances, if Congreve's fools were fools indeed, they would, by being true characters, cease to be entertaining ones (42)."

Mr. Murphy, in his life of Henry Fielding, having mentioned that he had contracted a vicious turn of writing by making Congreve his model, and that he had derived an error in his style from the same source, thus characterizes the latter Gentleman's comedies. "It has been observed, that the plays of Congreve appear not to be legitimate comedies, but strings of repartees, and sallies of wit, the most poignant and polite indeed, but unnatural and ill-placed. If we except the *Old Batchelor*, *Forefight*, and *Sir Sampson Legend*, there will hardly, perhaps, be found a character in this lively writer, exempt from this general censure. The frequent surprizes of allusion, and the quickness and vivacity of these sudden turns, which abound in Mr. Congreve, "breaking

(42) *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, p. 214. Quarto edition.

“ breaking out where you least expected them, as if
“ a train of wit had been laid all around, put one in
“ mind of those fire-works in a water-piece, which
“ used formerly to be played off in Cuper's Gardens.
“ No sooner one tube, charged with powder, raised
“ itself in various forms and evolutions of fire, but
“ instantly another and another was lighted up; and
“ the pleasure of the spectators arose from seeing
“ secret artificial mines blazing out of an element,
“ in which such a machinery could not be expected

(43) Life of
Fielding, prefixed
to his Works, p.
43. Edition of
1784.

“ (43).” A short character of our poet is drawn by
Dr. Blair. “ Congreve, says the Doctor, is, unques-
tionably, a writer of genius. He is lively, witty,
and sparkling; full of character, and full of action.
His chief fault as a comic writer, is, that he over-
flows with wit. It is often introduced unseason-
ably; and, almost every where, there is too great
a proportion of it for natural well-bred conversa-

(44) Lectures on
Rhetoric and
Belles Lettres, vol
ii. p. 545, 546.

tion (44).” What this ingenious author hath ad-
ded, concerning the immoral tendency of both
Congreve's and Farquhar's play's, cannot be omitted.
Throughout them all, the rake, the loose intrigue,
and the life of licentiousness, are the objects con-
tinually held up to view; as if the assemblies of a
great and polished nation could be amused with
none but vicious objects. The indelicacy of these
writers, in the female characters which they intro-
duce, is particularly remarkable. Nothing can be
more awkward than their representations of a
woman of virtue and honour. Indeed, there are
hardly any female characters in their plays except
two; women of loose principles, or women of af-
fected manners, when they attempt to draw a cha-
racter of virtue. The censure which I have now
passed upon these celebrated comedians, is far from
being overstrained or severe. Accustomed to the
indelicacy of our own comedy, and amused with
the wit and humour of it, its immorality too easily
escapes our observation. But all foreigners, the
French especially, who are accustomed to a better
regulated and more decent stage, speak of it with
surprize and astonishment. Voltaire, who is, as-
suredly, none of the most austere Moralists, plumes
himself not a little upon the superior *bienveillance* of
the French theatre; and says, that the language of
English comedy is the language of debauchery,
not of politeness. M. Moralt, in his Letters upon
the French and English nations, ascribes the cor-
ruption of manners in London to comedy, as its
chief cause. Their comedy, he says, is like that
of no other country: it is the school in which the
youth of both sexes familiarise themselves with
vice, which is never represented there as vice, but
as mere gaiety (45).” To finish the censure of
the immorality of the English comedies, we shall
transcribe the conclusion of a fine passage upon the
subject, by Lord Kaims, in his Elements of Criticism.

(45) Ibid. p.
546, 547.

“ How odious ought those writers to be, who thus
spread infection through their country, employing
the talents they have from their Maker most un-
gratefully against himself, by endeavouring to cor-
rupt and disfigure his creatures! If the comedies
of Congreve did not rack him with remorse in
his last moments, he must have been lost to all
sense of virtue. Nor will it afford any excuse to
such writers, that their comedies are entertaining,
unless it could be maintained, that wit, sprightli-
ness, and other such qualifications, are better suited
to a vicious than a virtuous character: the direct con-
trary of which holds true in theory; and is exem-
plified in practice from the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,
where we are highly entertained with the conduct
of two ladies, not more remarkable for mirth and
spirit than for the strictest purity of manners (46).”

(46) Elements of
Criticism, ubi
supra, p. 400.

In our Predecessor's article, the most extravagant
encomiums are bestowed on Mr. Congreve's Miscel-
laneous Poems. Such exuberant and indiscriminate
praise is seldom the result of judgment, and certainly
is not so in the present case. Our Author's Dramatic
Works excepted, few readers will now be able to go
through his poetical productions with any great de-
gree of pleasure. Dr. Johnson's criticism upon them
affords a fine contrast to the loud applauses of the
text; and, indeed, in every view, deserves to be in-
serted. Perhaps, in the fastidiousness of his taste, he

may sometimes be thought too severe: but if he have
erred in this respect, with regard to the instance be-
fore us, his error is very trifling. Nay, we can
scarcely help thinking that the following remarks on
Congreve are strictly and universally just.

“ Of his miscellaneous poetry, I cannot say any
thing very favourable. The powers of Congreve
seem to desert him when he leaves the stage, as Antæus
was no longer strong than he could touch the ground.
It cannot be observed without wonder, that a mind
so vigorous and fertile in dramatic compositions,
should on any other occasion discover nothing but
impotence and poverty. He has in these little pieces
neither elevation of fancy, selection of language, nor
skill in versification: yet if I were required to select
from the whole mass of English poetry the most poe-
tical paragraph, I know not what I could prefer to an
exclamation in *The Mourning Bride*:

ALMERIA.

It was a fancy'd noise; for all is hush'd.

LEONORA.

It bore the accent of a human voice.

ALMERIA.

It was thy fear, or else some transient wind
Whistling thro' hollows of this vaulted ile:
We'll listen—

LEONORA.

Hark!

ALMERIA.

No, all is hush'd, and still as death.—'Tis
dreadful!

How reverend is the face of this tall pile;
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
To bear aloft its arch'd and pond'rous roof,
By its own weight made steadfast and immoveable,
Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
And terror on my aching sight; the tombs
And monumental caves of death look cold,
And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart.
Give me thy hand, and let me hear thy voice;
Nay, quickly speak to me, and let me hear
Thy voice—my own affrights me with its echoes.

“ He who reads these lines, enjoys for a moment
the powers of a poet; he feels what he remembers to
have felt before, but he feels it with great increase of
sensibility; he recognizes a familiar image, but meets
it again amplified and expanded, embellished with
beauty, and enlarged with majesty.

“ Yet could the author, who appears here to have
enjoyed the confidence of Nature, lament the death
of queen Mary in lines like these:

The rocks are cleft, and new-descending rills
Furrow the brows of all th' impending hills.
The water-gods to floods their rivulets turn,
And each, with streaming eyes, supplies his wanting
urn.

The Fawns forsake the woods, the Nymphs the grove,
And round the plain in sad distractions rove;
In prickly brakes their tender limbs they tear,
And leave on thorns their locks of golden hair.
With their sharp nails, themselves the Satyrs wound,
And tug their shaggy beards, and bite with grief the
ground.

Lo Pan himself, beneath a blasted oak,
Dejected lies, his pipe in pieces broke.
See Pales weeping too, in wild despair,
And to the piercing winds her bosom bare.
And see yon fading myrtle, where appears
The Queen of Love, all bath'd in flowing tears;
See how she wrings her hands, and beats her breast,
And tears her useless girdle from her waist:
Hear the sad murmurs of her sighing doves!
For grief they sigh, forgetful of their loves.

And many years after he gave no proof that time had
improved his wisdom or his wit; for on the death of
the Marquis of Blandford this was his song:

And now the winds, which had so long been still,
Began the swelling air with sighs to fill:

Y

The

The water-nymphs, who motionless remain'd,
Like images of ice, while she complain'd,
Now loos'd their streams; as when descending rains
Roll the steep torrents headlong o'er the plains.
The prone creation, who so long had gaz'd,
Charm'd with her cries, and at her griefs amaz'd,
Began to roar and howl with horrid yell,
Dismal to hear, and terrible to tell;
Nothing but groans and sighs were heard around,
And Echo multiplied each mournful sound.

In both these funeral poems, when he has *yelled* out many *syllables* of senseless *dolour*, he dismisses his reader with senseless consolation: from the grave of Pastora rises a light that forms a star; and where Amaryllis wept for Amyntas, from every tear sprung up a violet.
"But William is his hero, and of William he will sing;

The hovering winds on downy wings shall wait
around,
And catch, and waft to foreign lands, the flying
sound.

It cannot but be proper to shew what they shall have to catch and carry:

'Twas now, when flowery lawns the prospect made,
And flowing brooks beneath a forest shade,
A lowing heifer, loveliest of the herd,
Stood feeding by; while two fierce bulls prepar'd
Their armed heads for fight; by fate of war to
prove

The victor worthy of the fair-one's love.
Unthought presage of what met next my view;
For soon the shady scene withdrew.
And now, for woods, and fields, and springing
flowers,

Behold a town arise, bulwark'd with walls and
lofty towers;

Two rival armies all the plain o'erspread,
Each in battalia rang'd, and shining arms array'd;
With eager eyes beholding both from far,
Namur, the prize and mistress of the war.

"The *Birth of the Muse* is a miserable fiction. One good line it has, which was borrowed from Dryden. The concluding verses are these:

This said, no more remain'd. Th' ethereal host
Again impatient crowd the crystal coast.
The father, now, within his spacious hands,
Encompass'd all the mingled mass of seas and
lands;

And, having heav'd aloft the ponderous sphere,
He launch'd the world to float in ambient air.

"Of his irregular poems, that to Mrs. Arabella Hunt seems to be the best: his ode for Cecilia's Day, however, has some lines which Pope had in his mind when he wrote his own.

"His Imitations of Horace are feebly paraphrastic, and the additions which he makes are of little value. He sometimes retains what were more properly omitted, as when he talks of *vervain* and *gums* to propitiate Venus.

"Of his Translations the satire of Juvenal was written very early, and may therefore be forgiven,

though it have not the massiness and vigour of the original. In all his versions strength and sprightliness are wanting: his hymn to Venus, from Homer, is perhaps the best. His lines are weakened with expletives, and his rhymes are frequently imperfect.

"His petty poems are seldom worth the cost of criticism: sometimes the thoughts are false, and sometimes common. In his verses on lady Gethin, the latter part is an imitation of Dryden's ode on Mrs. Killigrew; and Doris, that has been so lavishly flattered by Steele, has indeed some lively stanzas, but the expression might be mended; and the most striking part of the character had been already shewn in *Love for Love*. His *Art of Pleasing* is founded on a vulgar but perhaps impracticable principle, and the staleness of the sense is not concealed by any novelty of illustration or elegance of diction.

"This tissue of poetry, from which he seems to have hoped a lasting name, is totally neglected, and known only as it is appended to his plays.

"While comedy or while tragedy is regarded, his plays are likely to be read; but, except what relates to the stage, I know not that he has ever written a stanza that is sung, or a couplet that is quoted. The general character of his *Miscellanies* is, that they shew little wit, and little virtue.

"Yet to him it must be confessed, that we are indebted for the correction of a national error, and the cure of our Pindaric madness. He first taught the English writers that Pindar's odes were regular; and though certainly he had not the fire requisite for the higher species of lyric poetry, he has shewn us that enthusiasm has its rules, and that in mere confusion there is neither grace nor greatness (47)."

Mr. Melmoth, in his elegant *Sir Thomas Fitzborne's Letters*, hath clearly shewn, that some passages, which Congreve translated from Homer, are perfectly contemptible, when compared with Pope's version of the same passages (48).

Mr. Congreve's short *Essay on Humour* in Comedy, though not a regular and finished composition, contains some sensible observations on that difficult subject. Lord Kaims objects, and perhaps justly, to the exactness of his definition (49); but, notwithstanding this, several of his remarks are deserving of attention. Mr. Congreve refers humour to peculiarity of character, to which it does undoubtedly, in general, belong; though sometimes it appears to arise from an odd combination of incidents. His Remarks on Ben Jonson are very judicious (50).

In Mrs. Cockburn's life, are two letters, written to that ingenious lady, when young, by Mr. Congreve. The second of them contains some acute, but friendly, hints with regard to the plot of one of her tragedies (51).

It appears, from Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue, that there are preserved, in the British Museum, several original letters of Mr. Congreve's to Mr. Porter; and a manuscript poem, entitled, "Satyr against Love (52)."

We forgot to mention, in its proper course, that when, upon the extrusion of the Whigs, some intercession was used lest Congreve should be displaced, the Earl of Oxford made this answer:

"Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora pœni,
"Nec tam averfus equos Tyriâ sol jungit ab urbe
"(53)."

CONNOR (BERNARD), an eminent Physician and learned Writer towards the close of the last century. He was descended from an ancient family in the kingdom of Ireland, and was born in the county of Kerry about the year 1666 (a). He had an early tincture of learning given him, though he was not regularly educated in the grammar-schools and university of that island, on account of his family's being of the Popish religion (b). When he grew up towards man's estate, either out of regard to the exhortations of his family, or from the natural turn of his own disposition, he determined to apply his thoughts to the study of Physic; and with that view, about the year 1686, he went over to France, resided for some time in the university of Montpellier, and went from thence to Paris, where he spent his time so well, and directed his studies in so prudent and regular a manner, that he was very much esteemed, not only for his proficiency in the art of Physic, but for his great skill in Anatomy and Chemistry (c). As he professed himself desirous of travelling,

(47) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 57—64.

(48) Fitzborne's Letters, p. 271—276. Seventh edition.

(49) Elements of Criticism, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 45.

(50) Wilson's Life of Congreve, Part 2d, p. 41.

(51) Cockburn's Life, p. vi, vii, xxii, xxiii.

(52) P. 176. 809. 815.

(53) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 54.

(a) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(b) See the account given of this gentleman by Dr. Hayley, in his Funeral Sermon.

(c) De Stupendo Ossium Coalitu, Dissertatio Medico-Physica, p. 4.

travelling, and as there were two sons of the High-Chancellor of Poland then on the point of returning to their own country, it was thought expedient they should take that long journey under the care and inspection of Dr. Connor (*d*). He accordingly conducted them very safely to Venice, where he found the Honourable Mr. William Legg, afterwards Baron and Earl of Dartmouth, much indisposed of a fever; from which, by his great skill and diligent attendance, he happily recovered him; and having accompanied him to Padua (*e*), went from thence through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria, down the Danube to Vienna; and after having made some stay at the Court of the Emperor Leopold, passed through Moravia and Silesia to Cracow, and from thence, in eight days, to Warsaw (*f*). He was very well received at the Court of King John Sobieski, and by the interest of Signor Hieronimo Alberto de Conti, Minister from the Serene Republic of Venice, who married the Lady Margaret Paston, eldest daughter to Robert, and sister to William Earl of Yarmouth, to whom he had been strongly recommended, he became Physician to that Monarch (*g*). This was a very extraordinary preferment in so short a time, and for so young a man; for it happened in the beginning of the year 1694, when Dr. Connor could not be above twenty-eight years of age. In right of his employment he was constantly near the person of that Prince, which gave him an opportunity of entering thoroughly into his character, and of discerning that he was not only a deep Politician, and one of the greatest Captains of his age, but a person also of sound sense, great reading, quick parts, and much addicted to think freely upon all subjects. He gives us a very singular and curious instance of this (*h*), which, as it serves to let us into the Doctor's turn and disposition, as well as the King's, is inserted at the bottom of the page [*A*]. His reputation

(*d*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258. See also Dr. Hayley's Funeral Sermon.

(*f*) See Dr. Hayley's Funeral Sermon. Connor's Hist. of Poland, vol. i. p. 2.

(*e*) Connor's Hist. of Poland, vol. i. p. 2.

(*g*) Peerage of England, Lond. 1709, 8vo. vol. i. p. 246.

(*h*) Connor's Hist. of Poland, vol. i. p. 173.

(*i*) History of Poland, vol. i. p. 179.

[*A* At the bottom of the page.] The King, says he (*i*), was a well-spoken Prince, of very easy access, extremely civil, and had most of the good qualities requisite in a gentleman. He was not only well versed in all military affairs, but likewise in all polite and scholastic learning. Besides his own tongue, the Sclavonian, he understood the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish languages: he delighted much in Natural History, and in all the parts of Physic: he used to reprimand the Clergy for not admitting into the university and schools the Modern Philosophy. He loved to hear persons discourse of those matters, and had a particular talent to set people about him very artfully by the ears, that, by their disputes, he might be diverted, as happened often in my time, especially once when I was undesignedly concerned myself. The King being at dinner, and having the Bishops of Posenania, Plosko, Vilna, and other Divines about him, particularly Father Vota, an ingenious Jesuit, the King asked me in Latin, 'What part of the body I thought the soul was in?' I was willing to decline talking on that subject, and told the King, 'That being a Physician, my chief enquiry was about the body, and that the Divines there present were able to satisfy his Majesty.' The King replied, 'That since the soul has an influence upon the body, and since the passions of the mind, as anger and fear, breed fevers, and other distempers, it was necessary that the Physicians should examine the soul in that respect, as well as the body.' I answered, 'That Physicians did enquire into the nature of the passions, and observed, that there was such an influence of the soul upon the body, and of the body upon the soul, that altered the thoughts of the one, as well as the operations of the other; but that the soul being a substance invisible, and without extension, it was impossible for Physicians to conceive the nature of it themselves, or explain it to others, as they do that of the body, which they take to pieces by Anatomy, and resolve into its minutest elements by Chemistry: that the Physicians only agree in the main, that the supreme Author of things has established such laws between the soul and the body, which make a mutual correspondence between them: that as for the seat of the soul, I might perhaps differ from the Divines then present, and consequently oppose the common doctrine of the schools; for they hold with Aristotle, that the soul is entire in all the body, and wholly in every part of the body, which was impossible to conceive; for if the soul was entire in every part of the body, there would be as many souls in the body as there are parts; since it is impossible that the self-same substance, though an indivisible spirit, can ever be in two places at the same time; besides, the soul cannot be but where it thinks; and every one finds,

by experience, that his thought is not in his hands nor feet, but is conscious to himself, that his thought is in his head, and that consequently the soul must be only in the brain, which is the seat of sensation, and the origin of all the nerves, which are the organs of perception and motion.' Father Vota being alarmed at this doctrine, which seemed altogether new in that part of Europe, said, 'That if the soul was only in the head, the rest of the body would be dead; since the received opinion was, that the soul was the life of the whole body, and that to enliven the whole body, the soul must be wholly present in every part of it.' This drew on a longer dispute than I expected; for I answered, 'That the rational soul was not the life of the body, but the blood only, and the animal spirits; and that this blood and spirits circulated equally all over the body, and gave it natural heat and motion, which is properly its life; and that this circulation of the blood and spirits could not possibly depend on the rational soul, because it was an involuntary motion, formed by the mechanic structure of the body, and by the natural impulse of the heart, which is the *primum mobile* of the whole machine; and that though they all held, not only in Poland, but in other countries, that the rational soul performed every minute action in the body, yet this opinion was very irreconcilable with the free-will of the mind, which they all admitted; for since they allow, that whatever the soul does, it is not only conscious of it, but likewise does it freely, without being necessitated thereto; when, as it is very evidently obvious to every one, that the vital motions in our bodies, I mean the motion of the heart, and that of respiration, with the peristaltic motion of the stomach and guts, are performed naturally with such mechanism, that the soul cannot stop them, no, nor so much as hasten nor retard them; and that the soul is not at all conscious of them; for if we think of any object, or not think at all, as when we are asleep, or in an apoplexy, those vital motions go on equally the same.' The Bishop of Posenania, who was bred up in his youth a Physician, seemed to speak in favour of this opinion, as did likewise some others of the company, which made the Jesuit very angry; insomuch, that he acquainted them in a kind of passion, 'That neither the King nor they ought to hearken to any discourse contrary to the received opinion of the Church: that it might have been a pernicious consequence had it been public; for (says he) if the soul be not in all the body, and if it does not animate the body, and perform all its vital functions, it would be of no use, and consequently we should live like other animals.' I answered him, 'That doubtless the operations of life were performed by the same mechanism

(i) Histoire de
Maison de Rad-
zivil, p. 319.
Connor's Hist. of
Poland, vol. i. p.
199.

(k) See the Pre-
face to his Hist.
of Poland, and
the first Letter to
the Earl of Yar-
mouth.

(l) Hist. of Po-
land, vol. i. p.
397.

tion in the Court of Poland was highly raised by the judgment he made of the Duchess of Radzivil's distemper, which all the Physicians of the Court took to be no more than an ague, from which she might be easily recovered by the regular and constant taking of the Bark; but Dr. Connor insisted, that she had an abscess in her liver, and that her case was desperate (i). As this Lady was the King's only sister, his prediction made a great noise, more especially when it was justified by the event; for she not only died within a month, but, upon the opening of her body, the Doctor's sentiments of her malady were fully verified. He might have continued, with great reputation, at that Court, if he had been so inclined; but as he never proposed to remain longer in Poland than was requisite to finish his enquiries into the Natural History, and other remarkables of that kingdom; and as he foresaw that the King's life could not last long, and that there was little reason to hope for the establishment that was promised him, from the political views of the royal family, he resolved to lay hold of the first favourable opportunity for quitting that country, and returning into the British dominions; nor was it long before he met with as fair an occasion as he could wish (k). The King had an only daughter, the Princess Teresa Cuni-gunda, who espoused the Elector of Bavaria by proxy, in the month of August, 1694. As she was to make a journey from Warsaw to Brussels, of nearly a thousand miles, and in the midst of winter, it was thought necessary that she should be attended by a Physician; and, by the interest of his good friend the Venetian Minister, he procured himself to be named to that employment (l), and accordingly set out with her on the 11th of November for Berlin, and continued his journey through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, the Bishop of Hildesheim, and the Bishop of Munster, to Wezel, where she was met by the Elector of Bavaria; and from thence he proceeded in her train to Brussels, where she arrived on the 12th of January following (m). He soon after resigned his charge to Dr. Pistorini, the Elector's Physician; and, having taken leave of the Princess, set out for Holland, and from thence came over to England, in the month of February 1695 (n). He stayed some short time at London, and then went to Oxford, where, in the spring of the year last mentioned, he read his Lectures upon the Animal Economy, to a numerous and learned audience, with very great applause (o). In his travels through Italy he had conversed with Malpighi, Bellini, Redi, and other celebrated persons (p), of whose acquaintance he made a proper use; and distinguished himself by so clear, so methodical, and so judicious a manner of explaining the new discoveries in Anatomy, Chemistry, and Physic, that his reputation was very soon raised to a great height. This was not a little increased by his printing, during the time of his residence in that seat of the Muses, several learned and accurate Dissertations upon curious and important subjects; which treatise met with a very favourable reception (q), as it certainly deserved, from the many new and sensible thoughts that occur in every part of it, and which discover their author to have been a man of much meditation, as well as of great reading and general know-

(m) Histoire
Chronologique
du dernier Siecle,
p. 219.

(n) Sir James
Ware's Works,
vol. iii. p. 258.

(o) This appears
from the Letters
annexed to his
first vol. of the
Hist. of Poland.

(p) See Dr. Hay-
ley's Funeral
Sermon.

(q) Of this he in-
forms us himself
in the Preface to
the first vol. of
his History of
Poland.

nism in us as they were in brutes, since we have the same organs with them, as likewise the same fluids to enliven us: that the prerogatives of the soul are not less for its not being present to every action of the body; for the soul, though it is not the cause of spontaneous or vital motion in us, yet it performs all voluntary actions, as speaking, walking, and all other free motions of the body; it receives all impressions from the five senses, it forms to itself all ideas of ambient objects, it reasons upon them to know what is most useful and hurtful to itself and to the body. The soul, in short, is like the pilot, though it does not set the body in motion, as the wind does a ship, yet it is capable of governing its actions, and directing voluntarily its course. The King being thus satisfied, that the rational soul did not actuate, as they call it, or enliven, all the parts of the body, desired to know what was properly *Death*. The school Divinity maintains, that *Death* is a separation of the rational soul from the body. I owned, indeed, 'That in death the soul was actually separated from the body.' But I could not allow, 'That that separation was the cause of death, but that the death of the body was the cessation of the motion of the heart, of the blood, and of the spirits; which cessation could not proceed from the separation of the soul, since these do not at all depend upon it,' as I proved before, 'but it was occasioned by some defects in the organs and fluids of the body, which, losing their due disposition, and their mutual correspondence one with another, all their actions cease, which cessation is properly called *Death*; so that the soul, finding them incapable of receiving

its influence, and of obeying its commands, quits the body after it is dead; by which it appears, that the separation of the soul is not properly the cause of death, but that the death of the body is the cause of the separation.' The King himself illustrated this opinion from a familiar example of an organ and an organist: while the parts of the organ were in their due order and symmetry, the organist played upon them; but when, by length of time, they were either broke, used too much, or any other way put quite out of tune, he leaves playing on them. This discourse held from three of the clock till seven, and the Divines were extremely warm in it; and some of them had the boldness to tell the King, that his Majesty should not suffer such heretical opinions to be introduced before such a great assembly, contrary to the received doctrine of the Church. By this it may be plainly seen, how fond the Divines are of their old opinions; relying upon the doctrine of Aristotle, whom we cannot suppose to be so thoroughly acquainted with the structure, springs, and motions of the human body, nor indeed with all other natural causes as the modern Physicians are; yet it is the policy of the Divines, not only in Poland, but in Spain, Italy, and in most other countries, where their power is very great, not to let any opinions creep in among them that would seem to contradict those of Aristotle; for having built their systems of Divinity upon the principles of this Pagan Philosopher, they are justly afraid, that if experience and reason should shake the foundation, the superstructure would fall to the ground, as doubtless it would for the most part.

ledge.

ledge [B]. He returned in the summer of 1695 to London, lived in Bow-street, Covent-Garden, and in the winter read a course of Lectures of the same kind that he had done at Oxford (r), and which were received with general approbation. He became, about this time, a member of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal College of Physicians also, which were a kind of rewards justly due to his great application and singular merit (s). In the summer of the year 1696, he went to Cambridge, in consequence of an invitation from some of the members of that University, read public Lectures there, and made various experiments in Chemistry (t). Upon his return from thence to London, he was honoured with a letter from the Bishop of Plozkow, wherein was contained the case of his old master the King of Poland, upon which his advice was desired; but before he had an opportunity of returning an answer, the news came of that Monarch's death (u). As he was naturally addicted to speak his sentiments very freely, even upon very nice and delicate subjects, he adventured, both at Oxford and at Cambridge, to let fall some discourses in relation to miracles, and of a new method of explaining the nature of them in a physical way, upon which he had digested his sentiments into writing some years before. He was very much pressed to make this work of his public; and though he could not but foresee that many inconveniencies would attend it, yet the solicitations upon this head were so strong, and came from persons to whom he was so much obliged, that he could not avoid yielding to their request (w). He took, however, the precaution of procuring the licence of the College of Physicians, which bears date April 9, 1697, and is subscribed by Sir Thomas Millington, then President, and by Dr. Barwick, Dr. Torlesse, Dr. Dawes, and Dr. Gill, who were Censors (x). He dedicated it to the Right Honourable Charles Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and President of the Royal Society. This work of his made a very great noise in the world, and came to a second edition the same year: it is written in Latin, with as much perspicuity as the subject would permit, and with great prudence and circumspection [C]. Notwithstanding this, it made a bad

(r) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(s) Taken from the printed Lists of both those learned Bodies for that year.

(t) From the Preface to his first vol. of the Hist. of Poland.

(u) Inserted in his Hist. of Poland, vol. i. p. 201.

(w) See his Letter to a Reverend Clergyman and Dignitary of the Church, at the end of the first vol. of the Hist. of Poland.

(x) It is prefixed to his book.

[B] As well as of great reading and general knowledge.] These essays were printed together, under the following general title, viz. *Dissertationes Medico-Physicæ, de Antris Lethiferis. De Montis Vesuvii Incendio. De Stupendo Ossium Coalitu. De Immani Hypogastrii Sarcomate, A. D. Bernardo Connor, M. D. Serenissimi Poloniae Regis Medico, & Regia Camera Patris Societate. Oxonii. E Theatro Sheldoniano Sumptibus Henrici Clementis Bibliopolæ, An. Dom. 1695, 8vo. That is, 'Medico-physical Dissertations concerning Pestiferous Caverns, an extraordinary eruption of Mount Vesuvius, the wonderful coalition of human Bones, and of an extraordinary swelling or dropsy of the womb.' These treatises are printed separately, and with different title pages. There is a table of contents to the first, and another to the other three. The Vice-Chancellor's Imprimatur is dated June 5, 1695. The first of these discourses is dedicated to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomeryshire, at that time Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Lord Justices. It is written very succinctly, and with great perspicuity: the author introduces and discusses a multitude of curious questions, and gives his reasons for believing, that there is nothing infectious or poisonous in the famous cave near Naples; but that animals are killed therein, or rather lose their lives, through the want of elasticity in the air, which renders it unfit for animal respiration. The second discourse is addressed to Dr. Edward Browne, whom he compliments highly upon his Book of Travels that he had published. He therein gives a particular description of a most remarkable eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which happened in the month of April, 1694, and which he attributes to the vast quantities of nitre and antimony lodged in the bowels of that mountain (2). He addresses his third discourse to Dr. John Ratcliff, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Physicians; and therein he gives an accurate account of an anatomical prodigy which he had seen at Paris. The fourth treatise is dedicated to Dr. Hans Sloane, then one of the King's Physicians, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College, who was afterwards knighted, and became President of both those learned bodies; in which he gives him an account of the dissection of a widow at Paris, who died at the age of fifty-seven, and who laboured under a monstrous big belly, occasioned by a mole, or false conception, for twenty-five years. This fleshy substance was of an enormous size, being in length twenty-two inches, twelve*

broad, ten thick, and weighing forty-two pounds. What is most observable in these dissertations, is the great art and skill which the author has shewn in bringing in a great variety of useful subjects, more especially relating to the animal œconomy, of which he discourses with much freedom and judgment; from whence it is very evident, that they were not published so much with a view to gratify the curiosity of the learned men at that time, as to excite a good opinion of the author's capacity and knowledge in his profession; and, at the same time, to shew the improvements he had made in his travels, that by this means he might come into practice with the greater ease and credit. It is pretty certain that this method had its effects, and that if he had not been taken off so suddenly, he would have very soon grown into as high repute as any Physician of his time. It seems to be a pity that these dissertations have not been translated, as there is a great variety of curious observations in them, that would prove very entertaining to the English reader.

[C] And with great prudence and circumspection.] In the first place it will be necessary to see the title of it at large, which we may presume has given at least as much offence as the book, it runs thus: *Evangelium Medici: seu Medicina Mystica de Suspensis Naturæ Legibus, sive de Miraculis; Reliquisque in totis Scælarum Memoratis, quæ Medicæ indagari subijci possunt. Ubi perpenfis prius Corporum Naturæ, sano & morbofo Corporis Humani Statu, nec non Motus Legibus, Rerum Status super naturam, præcipue qui Corpus Humanum & Animam spectant, juxta Medicinæ Principia explicantur. A Bernardo Connor, M. D. & R. S. S. i. e. 'The Physician's Gospel: or, Mystical Physic, with respect to the suspension of the laws of nature, or of miracles; and whatever else worthy of note occurs in the sacred writings, that falls properly under the consideration of Physic, wherein the nature of bodies, the sound and diseased state of human bodies, as also the laws of motion, and the supernatural state of things, more especially of the human body and soul, are previously considered, and, according to the principles of Physic, explained.' Londini 1697, 8vo & 12mo. Amstelodami 1699, 8vo. This curious little treatise contains sixteen short sections, in which the author, with great clearness and conciseness, and with the most perfect connection, treats every part of his subject so as to make the reader fully sensible, that he had not hastily or superficially run it over in his mind, but with great care and caution*

(2) He gives a very clear and accurate description of this mountain, from his own observation.

a bad impression upon some minds, occasioned a suspicion of the author's religious principles here at home, and has given occasion to some warm and inconsiderate writers abroad,

tion had considered all things that he advances, and the consequences that might be drawn from them. The best, as well as most succinct account that can be given of it, the reader will meet with in the following extract of a letter, written by himself, to an eminent Divine (3).

(3) This letter is to be found at the end of the first vol. of his Hist. of Poland.

My design, Sir, says he, is to endeavour to make it no longer a difficulty to conceive and make evident, by reason and the principles of Physic, I mean the principles of nature, all the supernatural effects authentically delivered to us concerning bodies chiefly, but particularly the human: I mean, supposing those effects to be true matters of fact, and all matters of fact, as well natural as supernatural, to be immediate effects of a supreme Being, which must be granted; it is as easy to conceive the manner how this infinite power may be applied to bodies to work supernatural effects, as to produce the common phenomena of nature. By this I hope to convince our Sceptics, the Deists, who must give their assent, when they have the same evident reason to conceive the possibility, and consequently to believe the truth, of such miraculous effects, that are authentically related, as they have to conceive, that straw can burn in a flaming fire. The foundation I go upon is the structure of the human body, which I have often taken to pieces by Anatomy, and resolved into its essential elements, or minute particles, by Chemistry; for I find it as necessary to be acquainted with its fabric, to give an account of the miraculous states it is supposed to have been in supernaturally, as it is to explain the natural effects commonly produced in it. For want of a sufficient insight into this matter, several Divines in the latter ages have given very gross ideas of the supernatural effects they have pretended to explain; and in several places where I have been, I saw them, either through ignorance, or for interest, give out for miracles, phenomena, that were only surprising effects of natural causes, which has given so great an occasion to Scepticism, and increase of Deism. Having laid down for my basis the structure of the human body, as far as I could discover from my senses, anatomy, fire, microscopes, and experiments, I proceed to examine, and endeavour to explain, the different ways its natural state is supposed to have been supernaturally altered by an infinite power: for finding that the human body is all matter, and that all this matter is nothing but an union of particles with bulk, figure, and respective situation, I thought that all the alterations that could supernaturally happen to this bulk, figure, or situation, could be conceived. But before I enter upon those nice subjects, I find it first necessary to enquire into the cause, nature, and laws of motion, because motion is the only true cause of all natural phenomena; and the suspensions of the laws of this motion, are the only causes of all supernatural effects. I conceive the laws of motion can be suspended three different ways; and by one or more of these laws of suspension, it is as easy to solve clearly all supernatural effects, as it is to explain the most evident effects of natural causes by the common laws of motion. Though I mention, that all supernatural effects whatsoever can be easily reduced to some of the three laws of suspension of motion, notwithstanding I do not design to speak of them all in particular, but of such only as are most in dispute amongst the learned; yet any understanding man may easily make his application, and resolve all other miraculous effects into one or other of them. By the suspension of the laws of motion, I do not mean, that these laws are changed or abrogated, but only that their course is stopt while an effect is produced by the immediate action of the Deity, without any influence of theirs, for some particular end; and it cannot be denied, but that supreme Legislator, who made first the laws, may suspend them when he pleases, and, in that state of suspension, produce, of himself alone, without their

concurrence, the same effects, which are wont to be produced only by the same laws put in execution; so that though a body, for example, of a hundred pound weight, by the established laws of motion, must be moved by another that has several degrees of motion, yet an infinite power may, of himself, either move it without the concurrence of another body, or hinder its being moved by any other body of what weight soever, though put into the most rapid motion, as if combustible matter should be in a flaming fire without burning. — Sir, the learned and judicious gentlemen of your own, can have no reason to complain, that I invade their province, or encroach upon their prerogatives; for I do not undertake to prove, that there ever were any supernatural effects produced: that matter, I think, belongs entirely to Divines to make evident from authentic testimony. I only endeavour to demonstrate the possibility of them, and if there were ever any, to explain the mode and mechanism with which we may conceive how they might have been performed. This is not doing any prejudice to your profession; for I have that respect to the Church, and that deference to the Clergy, that I did nothing in this matter without the advice and approbation of those of them that are in the highest station; and they owned, that though this subject had never yet been handled by any Physician, nor indeed by any Divine that I know of, yet it was only a Physician's business to treat of, according to the principles of Natural Philosophy and Physic: for since it is on all sides acknowledged, that miraculous effects are above natural causes, no people can better judge whether any effect is really supernatural, than those that make it their business and profession to know how far the activity of natural causes can reach. For Physicians may find some times that what the wilful mistakes of some, and the ignorance of others, take for supernatural, is the visible effect of a natural cause, as I observed once at Rome some years since; passing by chance through the Strada del Popolo, I saw a multitude of people hurrying a man to St. Mark's Chapel, which belongs to the Venetian Ambassador; they told me, that he was possessed with the devil, and that they were carrying him to be exorcised. I crowded through the throng into the church, and felt the man's pulse; I found him in a fever, making hideous grimaces and motions with his face, eyes, tongue, and all his limbs, which were nothing else but a fit of convulsive motions all over his body, occasioned by disorder of his blood and his spirits, being a hypochondriacal person. The clergy and people began very devoutly to fright the pretended devil out of him, and, in a little time, his disorderly motion ceased; which, as they thought it to be the miraculous effect of their prayers, I attributed to the natural abatement and usual cessation of such fits. Every understanding Naturalist knows, that an able Chemist can work such surprising effects in his art, as may very easily pass for miracles with such as are unacquainted how far the force of natural causes can extend. It would seem to them very astonishing to see two liquors that are cold of their own nature ferment, boil, and become very hot, without any visible cause to put them in motion: to see Aqua Regalis dissolve massy gold, Aqua Fortis dissolve silver, iron, Mercury, and most other minerals: to see the Spirit of Nitre, and the Oil of Cloves, which separately are very quiet, turn into a burning flame when mixed together; to see transparent liquors, when mixed, turn red, green, white, and into all sorts of colours. I say nothing of the Phosphorus, of the surprising effects of the Air-Pump, of the elasticity of the Air, of the Magnet, nor of an infinite number of other wonderful Phenomena in nature, which though they may be common, yet they are not the less surprising, because their cause is as hid from those that do not, and even to those that do, study nature, as that of

super-

(y) Reimanni, *Historia Universalis Atheismi & Atheorum*, p. 449. Heisteri *Apologia pro Medicis*, p. 10.

(z) See his Preface to the first vol. of his History.

(a) This he tells us himself in the same Preface.

abroad (y), to represent him as an absolute Atheist; though there is nothing more certain, than that the Doctor was entirely free from any thing of that kind, and actually wrote this piece with a very good intention: neither is there any thing in the treatise, that, fairly considered, will admit of any such construction, notwithstanding the prejudices that have been raised against it. The Polish election, upon the death of King John Sobieski, having a strong influence upon the general system of affairs in Europe, and being from thence a common topic of discourse at that time, induced many persons of the first distinction to desire the acquaintance of Dr. Connor, that they might inform themselves as to the state of that kingdom, than which there was none so little known, or so indifferently understood, amongst the generality even of intelligent persons: and the satisfaction given by the Doctor in his conversations upon these subjects was such, that he was desired to gratify the public, by committing what he knew of the Polish nation and country to the press (z). Upon his giving his consent to this, he found himself so much hurried in the execution, and this hurry so inconvenient with respect to his practice, that he was obliged to engage one Mr. Savage to assist in composing, correcting, and publishing that performance (a). The method he took, was that of an ingenious French Jesuit in his account of China; that is to say, he threw his materials into the form of letters, each of which he addressed to some person of high rank and distinction, who perhaps had formerly desired those lights from him, that are given in the Epistle thus addressed. The two volumes of which this work consists, were published separately; and the last more especially, carries in it many marks of precipitation: but, however, it must be allowed to be the best book that we have upon the subject, or rather, to contain the best things in it, and may be read with equal pleasure and improvement (b) [D]. There are some particulars which fell more immediately under the author's own inspection, that are very curious, and not to be met with elsewhere; such as his account of the salt-mines, of young children carried away and nourished by bears, and of the diseases peculiar to that country,

(b) *Methode pour etudier l'Histoire*, par M. l'Abbé du Fresnoy, Tom. iv. p. 294.

* supernatural effects is to those Naturalists who trace natural causes to their highest sphere of activity. I do not doubt, but that if the missionaries that are sent from the Western Churches to convert the Pagans of the Eastern Nations, were as well versed in Anatomy and Chemistry, as they are in the tenets of the Christian Religion, and in the Mathematics, and that if they did but dazzle the eyes of those ignorant people with a great many curious and useful experiments in these two fundamental branches of Physic, they would perhaps make as deep impressions upon their minds, and give them as convincing testimonies of the power and legality of their mission, as they can at present by the spiritual or indelible character they say is inherent in them, by virtue of their commission. Pope Clement X. knew well the effects which Chemistry, artfully applied, might produce in the minds of ignorant people, when he secured the person of the famous Italian, Signior Borri, who, about thirty-five years ago, by his skill in Chemistry, did work several extraordinary cures on diseases in Germany, and gained such universal reputation all over the Empire, and the northern kingdoms, that, (as it was reported of him) he thought he had credit and opportunity sufficient to invent and propagate a new religion, by making his surprizing experiments in Chemistry pass for miracles; which they might have easily done, since Chemistry being then in its minority was not much known in the world. But the Pope, foreseeing the ill consequence such a design might produce, gave timely orders to his Nuncio, then at Vienna, to desire the present Emperor to get him seized; which being accordingly done, he was sent prisoner to Rome, on condition nevertheless, that his life should be safe. Here he lived in Castello St. Angelo for several years, where I saw him, and his curious Laboratory for Chemistry, allowed him for his diversion. Nobody was admitted to discourse him without special leave, for fear, I suppose, he should inform the world either of his pretended new doctrine, or of the injustice he might intimate that was done to him. He died lately in this close confinement since I have been at Rome. To this is added another little piece, intitled, *Teutamen Epistolare de Secretione Animalis*, that is, 'An Epistolary Essay upon Animal Secretion,' addressed to Edward Southwell, Esq; son to Sir Edward Southwell, formerly President of the Royal Society.

[D] *With equal pleasure and improvement.*] The title of this work promises largely (4), and there is no doubt that the author was both willing and able to have performed what he promised, if he had been suffered to proceed in his own way; for as he was naturally a very close and concise writer, he intended to have insisted chiefly upon matters of the greatest moment, and upon facts and things that fell under his immediate observation, and to have brought the whole into an octavo volume; which if he had done, there is no doubt it would have appeared a very correct, and finished performance: but being prevailed upon to extend his plan, and to leave the open part of it, for which he had no materials, to be filled up from books by another person, it is, to say the truth, not a little confused and unequal; but wherever we can discern the Doctor's pen, the reader is sure to meet with something worthy his notice. The first volume is divided into six letters, viz. to the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Rochester, the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Yarmouth, the Lord Townsend, and Mr. Stepney. According to the plan of the second volume, printed before the first, there is a scheme of twelve letters, notwithstanding which, there are only ten in that volume, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Secretary Vernon, the Earl of Marlborough, the Marquis of Normanby, the Duke of Ormond, Mr. de Cleverskerk the Dutch Ambassador, the Earl of Burlington, Sir Thomas Millington, and Mr. Bridges, afterwards Duke of Chandos; but the last named letter is not upon the subject which was promised, for that and another, were never executed, though the contents of them shew that this was a loss to the public. Letter XI. giving an anatomical account of the natural cause, why people must necessarily die of old age alone, attended with no other disease. Letter XII. explaining the nature of curable and incurable wounds, demonstrating by practical observations, and anatomical experiments, the small number of wounds which are of themselves absolutely mortal; and shewing the true and common abuse of styptic waters and powders, in the practice of Surgery. All the letters in the second volume, excepting the first, are signed I. S. though it is evident, that part of the materials in each was furnished by Dr. Connor, who seeing them indifferently put together, did not care to own them.

(4) The History of Poland, in several Letters to Persons of Quality, giving an account of the ancient and present State of that Kingdom, Historical, Geographical, Physical, Political, and Ecclesiastical; its Origin and Extent; with a Description of its Towns and Provinces, the Succession and remarkable Actions of all its Kings, and of the Great Dukes of Lithuania, &c.

of which some notice will be taken in its proper place (c) [E]. Dr. Connor's practice, by that time he had finished the first volume of his work, was so much enlarged, that he was forced to charge his assistant with the care of the second entirely, furnishing him only with notes; and there is no doubt that if he had lived, he might have become a very eminent man in his profession. But in the flower of his age, and just as he began to reap the fruits of his learning, study, and travels, he was attacked by a violent fever, which, after a short illness, carried him off in the month of October 1698, when he was very little more than thirty-two years of age (d). He had, as we observed before, been bred in the Romish religion, but had embraced that of the Church of England, upon his first coming over from Holland; but in what communion he died is not perfectly clear, the reasons of which the reader will learn at large in the notes (e) [F], from a funeral sermon preached

(c) See a brief account of these matters in the note.

(e) Dr. Hayley's Sermon at his funeral.

(4) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 258.

(5) History of Poland, vol. ii. p. 246.

(6) Evangel. Medici, Art. 15. p. 131.

(7) History of Poland, vol. ii. p. 95.

[E] Of which some notice will be taken in its proper place.] We are told by Dr. Connor, that the salt-mines near Cracow, were discovered in 1548, by a cobbler (5); and that they have been wrought ever since, without any danger of being exhausted. They descend into them by several pair of wooden stairs, and the depth of the mine is computed at three hundred geometrical paces. There are a vast number of turnings and windings at that depth, some narrow like alleys, and others broad and large like streets. The owner of the mine, Mr. Morstin Covalski, told the Doctor, it would require a week's time to go all over the mine, which must be consequently of a vast extent. In some places there is a great deal of fresh water, but in most places it is salt. There are frequently such fierce winds in the mine, as are not to be withstood; and the air, to those who are not used to it, is excessively penetrating and sharp. The miners positively affirm, that the salt weighs less in the mine than when brought up into the air; of which, however, the Doctor seems a little to doubt. The salt found here is of four sorts; the first clear, and hard like crystal; the second clear, but not so hard; the third brittle and white, like sugar; the fourth not so well coloured, and of a less pungent taste. In some places it is impossible to work, because the nitrous vapours are apt to take fire upon the approach of a candle. The revenue drawn from this mine by the public, amounts to eight hundred thousand Polish florins a year; besides which, the proprietor makes presents to each of the cities and towns of Poland, and to the Starosts, all which, and the expences of working defrayed, there remains a very great income.—The Doctor takes occasion to prove at large, a story he had before mentioned in one of his Latin treatises (6), of a boy kept in a convent in his time, that had been bred up by a she bear, and was taken in the woods when he was about ten years old, as they guessed from his stature and aspect: he was of a hideous countenance, and had not either the use of reason or of speech: he went upon all four, and had nothing in him like a man, excepting his human structure. But seeing he resembled a rational creature, he was admitted to the font, and christened; yet still he was restless and uneasy, and often inclined to flight; and at length being taught to stand upright, by clapping him against a wall, and holding him after the manner that dogs are taught to beg, and being by little and little accustomed to eat at table, he, after some time, became indifferently tame, and began to express his mind with a hoarse and inhuman tone; but being asked concerning his course of life in the woods, he could not give much better account of it, than we can do of our actions in the cradle.—The account the Doctor gives us of the Plica (7) is very singular, but free from the absurdities of former accounts. He tells us, that it consists in the hairs being matted and intangled like fulled cloth, sometimes on one side of the head, sometimes on both; but he assures us, that no blood follows upon cutting it, nor does the patient feel any pain in that operation, though he is afterwards subject to a kind of rheumatic disorder all over, and sometimes to greater inconveniences; yet he assures us, that Dr. Jonas, a Jew, and the King of Poland's Physician, found a very short and safe method of curing it, by first salivating by friction, and then cutting off the hair, which was done without any dangerous consequences ensuing. The most

extraordinary circumstances attending this disease are two (8); first, that it is peculiar to the kingdom of Poland, and Duchy of Lithuania; next, that it comes suddenly without any visible cause, and, that too, frequently in a night's time.

[F] Will learn at large in the notes.] This funeral sermon upon Dr. Bernard Connor, was preached by the Reverend William Hayley, D. D. Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, on the 30th of October 1698, at which time the corps of Dr. Connor was interred there. What follows is in that Divine's own words (9). 'He had in his sickness, before his distemper arrived to a great height, and while he was in his perfect senses made a will, in which he left five pounds to the poor of this parish, where he now lived; and desired, that if it should please God to take him out of this world, I might preach his funeral sermon, and that it might be made public; his friends let me know this, and at his and their request I visited him: I found him very much decayed in strength, but perfectly sensible, as he had still been in the intervals of his fits, though the height of his fever put him into ravings. As soon as I saw him, he requested of me what his friends had told me before hand; and I presumed his design in it was, that he might be vindicated from the suspicion of some heterodox opinions, which his censurers imputed to him, as well as that his death might be the occasion of an useful discourse to the living. I therefore told him, that in case I complied with his desire, I thought it would be expected I should say something of a person whose writings and character had rendered him so much known to the world, and had given occasion to some people to speak doubtfully of his principles in religion; and that for this reason, among others, it would be very proper for me to have some satisfaction from him as to his faith; upon which I put several questions to him, *As whether he believed the gospel? whether he gave credit to the miracles that are there recorded, and looked upon them as attestations of the truth of the Christian religion? whether he believed that Jesus Christ was the saviour of the world, and that he came to be our propitiation, and to satisfy divine justice for the sins of mankind?* To which, and such like questions, he answered affirmatively with great earnestness; and when I discoursed him on the subject of that book of his, which occasioned suspicion of his principles, he declared that he had no intention to prejudice religion thereby, and remitted me to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for farther satisfaction, to whom he said he had explained himself in this matter; and as an attestation of his sincerity, had received the sacrament upon it at the parish church of St. Martin in the Fields, which I have since found to be true.

'I then began to examine him as to the state of his soul, what sense he had of his sins, and what remorse for having at any time offended God? And whether he were persuaded of the necessity of repentance and amendment of life, in order to gain the salvation purchased by Jesus Christ? To all which he gave me satisfactory answers, and expressed great sorrow for the sins and errors of his life past; and then joined with us very devoutly in the prayers of the Church, in the office for the visitation of the sick. In the afternoon of the same day, I went with a desire to have had some farther discourse with him,

(8) Chwalkowski Singularia Polonica, p. 191.

(9) Sermon preached at the funeral of Bernard Connor, M. D. in the parish church of St. Giles's, Oct. 30, 1698, by William Hayley, D. D. Rector of the said Parish. Lond. 1699, 4to.

preached by an eminent Divine, at his own request, who seems to have spoken of him with all the candour and charity that became a Christian Priest. As his writings are very well known, and his character has been much canvassed in foreign countries, this article was thought the more necessary, in which we have endeavoured to collect all the scattered facts that can be met with about him.

‘ but the violence of his fit being upon him, he was not in a condition to be spoken with.

‘ The next morning I visited him again, and found him in one of his intervals still sensible, but very much weakened. I took this occasion to talk with him more particularly concerning his principles; and upon mentioning the merits of our Saviour, asked him whether he depended entirely on the merits of Jesus Christ, and his intercession, for pardon of his sins, and reconciliation to God? And he made answer, that he relied only on the merits of his Saviour. He was then put in mind of receiving the sacrament, and he said he desired it with all his soul. I asked, whether in receiving the sacrament, he had in his view the professing himself a disciple of Christ, and a member of his body the Church? And if in receiving it from my hands, he desired to profess himself a member of the Church of England, which question being a second time distinctly put to him by a friend of his then present, he answered, with very great seriousness, that he did. Then I put him in mind of his neglect of receiving the sacrament, which he had not done since about two years ago, when he communicated at St. Martin’s, and he expressed a sorrow for it. By all this I thought he sufficiently purged himself from the imputation of Deism, Socinianism, or Popery. I looked on him as a true penitent member of the Church of England, and I gave him the sacrament. He received it with signs of very great devotion, with expressions of hearty repentance for all the sins and follies of his life, and earnest petitions for pardon; and so I left him, as far as we could judge, in a Christian disposition for death, which I looked upon as very near.

‘ These are things which I think myself obliged to give a particular account of, partly to answer what I conceive was the design of the deceased, and partly upon occasion of an accident that happened some hours after I left him, which perhaps it will be thought not fair to conceal. A certain person, who it seems was a Romish Priest, came to the Doctor’s lodgings, and desired very earnestly to see him; declaring that he was his countryman, his friend, and his relation: those about him looking upon him as very near his departure, were unwilling he should be disturbed; but upon great importunity did at last grant the stranger admittance, who coming to the bed-side, called the Doctor by his name, and saluted him three times before he regarded, but at the third time he cried out for God’s sake assist me. Upon which the company was prevailed with to leave the room, but the Doctor’s most intimate friend returned to the door, and heard the Doctor repeating over his Confiteor in Latin, in a very buddled manner, upon which the priest gave him absolution; and then asked him, whether he would have extreme unction; and the Doctor said yes, after which it is suspected it was administered to him.

‘ Now here could I imagine the Doctor was in his senses, and that he was really in his heart of the Roman communion, while he only acted this part in the last scene of his life, I should look upon it as a very great stain on his memory; and I am persuaded it would give every body a shocking idea of that religion, which would allow a person so to prevaricate both with God and man.

‘ But I confess that I believe his judgment was now quite decayed, and that he did not know what he did; for he was thought dying by those about him, though he recovered out of that agony and lived till next day. His friend assures me, that in his sickness, he turned away another Romish priest who would have seen him; that the doctor thanked him for it, and desired that none of those persons (adding a reproachful word, which I do not think decent to publish) should be admitted to him; and that it was the Doctor’s own desire that I should attend him in his sickness; and I cannot see what occasion there should be for such a piece of dissimulation if he had been of the Roman communion.” C.

“ [If it was true, when Dr. Campbell wrote the preceding article, that Dr. Connor’s account of Poland was the best book we had upon the subject, or, at least, contained the best things in it, this is no longer the case at present. Several performances have appeared of late years, which throw great light upon that country; and we are, in particular, highly indebted in this respect to Mr. Coxe’s Travels, published in 1784. Our readers will there find the most exact and faithful description of the state of Poland, which, perhaps, has been yet given. Dr. Connor was undoubtedly a man of lively parts; but he doth not seem to have attained to a solid and regular mode of thinking. It is plain, from the letter inserted in note [C], that his ideas concerning the Miracles of Scripture were very ill digested. His writings are now of little consequence, and will probably never be enquired for: and with regard to his History of Poland, it is evident, from our predecessor’s account of it, that it is a confused production, and, in part, a hasty compilation. The circumstances of Dr. Connor’s death are extremely suspicious. The truth of the matter seems to have been, that having been a Sceptic in life, but possibly not a confirmed Infidel, he was desirous, in the darkness and distress of his last moments, to receive the consolations of religion, we should rather say of superstition; and these consolations he was willing to derive from the hands both of a Divine of the Church of England, and of a Popish Priest. The latter, however, appears to have taken an undue advantage of Dr. Connor’s weak state of body and mind, and of his early prejudices, as having been brought up in the Roman Catholic communion.] K.

* For the principal materials of this article, we are indebted to the obliging communications of the Rev. Dr. William Conybeare.

(a) Amory’s Memoirs of Dr. Benson, p. xii.

(b) New Biographical Dictionary, vol. v. p. 408.

[CONYBEARE (JOHN), * a learned Divine and Prelate of the Church of England, was born at Pinhoe, near Exeter, on the 31st of January, 1691-2. His father was the Rev. John Conybeare, Vicar of Pinhoe [A]; and his mother, whose maiden name was Grace Wilcocks, was the daughter of a substantial Gentleman Farmer of that place. At a proper age, he was sent to the free-school of Exeter for grammatical education. In this city, Mr. Joseph Hallet, afterwards a dissenting Minister there, whose notes on the scripture are held in great esteem by Clergymen of all denominations, was one of his school-fellows (a). Another of his school-fellows is said to have been the celebrated Dr. James Foster (b). But though they might be at the school together at the same time, they were not of

[A] Was the Rev. John Conybeare, Vicar of Pinhoe.] This gentleman died when his son was only in the fifteenth year of his age, having never recovered from a bad disorder, which he had contracted on the night of the great storm in 1703. At that time, his parsonage-house, which stood on an eminence, and was

much exposed to the south-west winds, was totally unroofed. However, by the assistance of some good relations, young Mr. Conybeare was enabled to go on in his education, notwithstanding the untimely death of his father.

of the same standing, Foster being more than five years and a half younger than Mr. Conybeare. We may judge, from the great literary improvements of the persons educated in the free-school of Exeter, that it was at that time under excellent tuition †. On the 23d of February, 1707-8, Mr. Conybeare was admitted a Battler of Exeter-College, Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Rennel, afterwards Dr. Rennel, and who for many years was Rector of Drew's Teington, one of the best livings in the county of Devon. Mr. Conybeare, on his coming to the University, was, according to the language of that place, *Chum* with Mr. Richard Harding, who was elected Fellow of Exeter-College in 1709, and died Rector of Marwood in Devonshire, in 1782, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. How early our young student obtained the esteem of the learned society with which he was connected, appears from his having been chosen on the 30th of June, 1710, and admitted on the 8th of July following, a Probationary Fellow of his College, upon Sir William Petre's foundation, in the room of Mr. Daniel Osborne. When he was proposed as a candidate, it was only with the design of recommending him to future notice; but such was the sense entertained of his extraordinary merit, that he was made the object of immediate election. Mr. Harding used to say, that Mr. Conybeare had every way the advantage of him, excepting in seniority; and that he should have had no chance in a competition with him, if they had both been eligible at the same time. The patronage of Dr. Rennel, Mr. Conybeare's worthy tutor, concurred with his own desert, in bringing him forward thus early to academical advantages. On the 17th of July, 1713, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and at the next election of college officers, upon the 30th of June, 1714, he was appointed Prælector, or Moderator, in Philosophy. On the 19th of December following, he received Deacon's orders from the hands of Dr. William Talbot, Bishop of Oxford; and on the 27th of May, 1716, he was ordained Priest by Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Winchester. On the 16th of April, 1716, he proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts (c); soon after which he entered upon the Curacy of Fetcham, in Surry, where he continued about a year. He was advised to this change of scene for the benefit of his health, which was always delicate, and had been greatly impaired by the intenseness of his application. Upon his return from Fetcham to Oxford, he became a tutor in his own College, and was much noticed in the University as a Preacher ‡. In the beginning of the year 1722, he published a sermon, which he had delivered before the University, on the 24th of December preceding, from Hebrews ii. 4. entitled, "The Nature, Possibility, and Certainty of Miracles, &c." This discourse was so well received, that it went through four editions. Mr. Conybeare was hence encouraged to commit to the press a second sermon, from 1 Corinthians xiii. 12. (d), which he had preached before the University, on the 21st of October, 1724, and the title of which was, "The Mysteries of the Christian Religion credible." It is probable, that the reputation our author gained by these discourses, recommended him to the notice of the Lord Bishop of London (Dr. Gibson), who appointed him one of his Majesty's Preachers at Whitehall, upon the first establishment of that institution. The esteem in which his abilities and character were held, procured him, also, the favour of the Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, who, in May, 1724, presented him to the Rectory of St. Clement's in Oxford; a preferment of no great value, but which was convenient to him from his constant residence at that place, and from its being compatible with his fellowship. In 1725, he was chosen senior Proctor of the University, which office he served in conjunction with Mr. Barnaby Smyth, Fellow of Corpus-Christi College, and a scholar of eminence. In the same year, Mr. Conybeare was called upon to preach a visitation sermon before the Bishop of Oxford, at whose request it was published, under the title of "The Case of Subscription to Articles of Religion considered." This sermon, the text of which is taken from 1 Timothy vi. 3, 4. has obtained no small degree of celebrity. It hath often been referred to in the controversy relating to subscription, and is particularly noticed by the acute and learned writer of the Confessional (e). The position of Mr. Conybeare is, that "every one who subscribes the Articles of Religion, does thereby engage, not only not to dispute or contradict them; but his subscription amounts to an approbation of, and an assent to, the truth of the doctrines therein contained, in the very sense in which the compilers are supposed to have understood them (f)." Many persons, who may not agree with our author in other respects, will concur with him in this point; and, indeed, it seems to be clearly confirmed by the avowed design of the Articles of the Church of England, which was to prevent diversities of opinion. Mr. Conybeare's next publication was an assize sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1727, from Ezra vii. 26. and entitled, "The penal Sanctions of Laws considered (g)." This discourse was dedicated by him to the Honourable Charles Talbot, at that time Solicitor General, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, who had honoured our author with the care of his two eldest sons, Mr. Charles Talbot, celebrated by the Poet Thomson, and the late Earl Talbot, Steward of his Majesty's Household. On the 11th of July, 1728, Mr. Conybeare was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and on the 24th of January following, he took his Doctor's degree (h). In the year 1729, he again appeared from the press, in a sermon that had been preached before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen

† St. Mary's Church was scarcely ever so much crowded as when Mr. Conybeare preached.

† Mr. Thorpe; we have reason to believe, was at that time master of the school; and it is understood that two other of Mr. Conybeare's school-fellows were Dr. Atwell and Dr. Rundle.

(c) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, 1772, p. 79.

(d) Cooke's Preacher's Assistant, vol. ii. p. 87.

(e) Confessional. Third edition, p. 32, 33. note.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 208.

(g) Cooke's Preacher's Assistant, *ubi supra*.

(h) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, *ubi supra*.

at St. Paul's Cathedral, and which was entitled, "The Expediency of a divine Revelation represented." It was accompanied with a dedication to Bishop Talbot, father of the Solicitor General. From Dr. Conybeare's introduction to this family, and the reputation he had acquired as a Divine, it was expected that he would soon have been promoted to some dignity in the Church. But the good Bishop was taken off, before he had a proper opportunity of carrying his benevolent intentions, in our author's favour, into execution. In 1730, the Headship of Exeter-College becoming vacant, by the death of Dr. Hole, Dr. Conybeare was chosen to succeed him. His competitor, on this occasion, was the Rev. Mr. Stephens, Vicar of St. Andrew's, Plymouth, a truly worthy Clergyman, and the author of several ingenious discourses. Nevertheless, as he had retired early from the society, he could not be supposed to carry such weight with him as Dr. Conybeare, who had resided constantly in the College. In this year Dr. Tindal's famous deistical book had appeared, entitled, "Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Law of Nature." This work excited the greatest attention, and drew forth the pens of some of the ablest Divines of the kingdom, both in the Church of England, and among the Protestant Dissenters. Bishop Gibson, who had himself engaged in the controversy, in his "Pastoral Letters," encouraged Dr. Conybeare to undertake the task of giving a full and particular answer to Tindal's production. Accordingly, he published, in 1732, his "Defence of revealed Religion [B];" by which he gained great credit

[B] *His defence of revealed Religion.* The whole title of the work is, "A Defence of revealed Religion against the Exceptions of a late Writer, in his Book, intitled, *Christianity as old as the Creation, &c.*" By John Conybeare, D. D. Rector of Exeter-college in Oxford, 8vo. London, 1732. We shall extract the account which Dr. Leland has given of it, in his "View of the Deistical Writers."

"Another answer which particularly engaged the attention of the public, was that published by Dr. John Conybeare, Rector of Exeter-College, Oxford, now Lord Bishop of Bristol, viz. *A Defence of revealed Religion, against the Exceptions of a late Writer in his Book, intitled, Christianity as old as the Creation*, London, 1732. This book is divided into nine chapters: The first is designed by the acute and learned author, to shew what we are to understand by the law or religion of nature, from what the obligation of it arises, and how far it extends. He shews, that the religion or law of nature, does not take in every thing that is founded in the nature or reason of things, which seems to be the sense the author of *Christianity as old as the Creation*, takes it in throughout his whole book, but only such a collection of doctrines and precepts, as is discernible to us in the use of our natural faculties. And this, though founded in nature, becomes then only properly a law to us, when it is regarded as the will of God the supreme legislator; and our obligation to it, strictly speaking, is founded on the divine sanctions of rewards and punishments. In the second chapter it is shewn, that the law or religion of nature, in the sense already explained, is not absolutely perfect: since as the law of nature is only what men are capable of discerning in the use of their natural faculties, it can be no more perfect than human reason. If the law of nature was absolutely perfect, it must have such a clearness as to the meaning and authority of it, as can admit of nothing more in any possible circumstance; it must have such a strength of enforcement, that it cannot be heightened in any way whatsoever; and such an extent of matter, as to comprehend every thing that may be fit and proper to be known or done, and not to admit of any possible article to be added to it. And he plainly proves, that the law or religion of nature is not absolutely perfect in any of these respects. Chap. 3d is intended to shew, that the law of nature is not immutable, in such a sense especially as to be incapable of admitting any additional precepts. And here the question concerning positive precepts is accurately stated, and it is proved that God may appoint them, and an answer is returned to the author's objections to the contrary. In chap. 4th he enquires, whether natural and revealed religion be necessarily the same, and if not, wherein the proper distinction between them doth consist. In the former chapter he had shewn, that positive precepts might be given; here he carries it farther, and proves that some positive institutions might reasonably be expected, if ever

God should reveal his will at all; both as tokens of his authority and our submission, and for the better order and decency of his worship, and the outward part of religion, and for the increase and advancement of inward piety. The same thing is urged from the concurrent sense of mankind in all ages, and under all religions. It is farther shewn, there are other things of higher importance in which natural and revealed religion differ, though they are not properly opposed to each other, *e. g.* with regard to principles and doctrines not discoverable by nature's light, or as to precepts, which though founded in the nature of things, yet are not knowable in the use of our own reason; they also differ in point of clearness, and in efficacy. He instances particularly in the assurance given us of the pardon of sin, divine assistances, and the eternal retributions of a future state. Chap. 5th is designed to shew, that a proper rule of life is not perfectly and easily discoverable by every man, even by those of the meanest capacity. And here it is evinced, that the author's own scheme of natural religion, which he pretends is so obvious to all mankind, is perplexed, obscure, and defective. In chap. 6th he inquires, whether a proper rule of life be more easily and perfectly discoverable by us in the use of our own reason, than the proof or meaning of a revelation can be. He shews the possibility of immediate revelation or inspiration, and that this gives the highest evidence. And that as to traditional revelation, though the evidence be not strictly demonstrative, it may be such as is sufficient to determine the assent of a sober thinking man. And he answers what the author had brought to prove, that the sense and meaning of such a revelation cannot be fixed and ascertained. Chap. 7th is designed to shew, that a revelation is expedient in order to a more easy, more perfect, and more general knowledge of the rule of life. This is distinctly evinced, both with regard to the wiser and better part of men, particularly the philosophers, and with respect to persons of a lower rank and meaner abilities. And a good answer is made to what the author had urged concerning the supposed inconsistency between our being governed by reason, and revelation. In chap. 8th it is shewn, that a revelation is expedient in order to enforce the general practice of the rule of life. That the mere pleasure of doing well, or a moral taste or sense, is not alone a sufficient balance for all the inconveniencies of doing otherwise, amidst all the embarrassments of passion and temptation; nor if to this be added the civil sanctions of human authority, are these alone sufficient. For these are designed not so much to reward virtues, several of which do not come under the cognizance of human courts, as to punish crimes, and those only such as tend to the hurt of the society. Virtue can only be sufficiently enforced by sanctions established by God himself; and a revelation is expedient for that purpose. He concludes this chapter with giving a clear answer to two objections urged by the

dit to himself, and performed an eminent service to the cause of christianity. In his dedication to the learned Prelate now mentioned, he observes, that if he has not succeeded in his book according to his wishes, he may plead that it was drawn up amidst a variety of interruptions, and under a bad state of health. "This, says he, will in some sort excuse the author, though it may detract from the performance." But Dr. Conybeare's work did not stand in need of an apology. It is distinguished by the perspicuity of its method, and the strength of its reasoning; and is, indeed, one of the ablest vindications of Revelation which England has produced. So well was the work received, that the third edition of it was published in 1733. Dr. Warburton justly styles it one of the best reasoned books in the world. It is, likewise, recommended by the temper and candour with which it is composed. Dr. Conybeare's Defence will always maintain its rank, and perhaps be thought to sustain the first place, among the four capital answers which Tindal received. The other three were, Foster's "Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency of the Christian Revelation;" Leland's "Answer to a late Book, intitled, Christianity as old as the Creation;" and Mr. Simon Browne's "Defence of the Religion of Nature and the Christian Revelation."

Though Dr. Conybeare, by his promotion to the Headship of Exeter-College, had obtained a considerable rank in the University, he did not, by the change of his situation, make any addition to his fortune. Indeed, the emoluments of his new place were so small, that he was much richer as a private Fellow and Tutor, than as the Governor of his College. It may be presumed that this circumstance in part, and still more the reputation he had acquired by his answer to Tindal, induced the Bishop of London, who at that time had great influence in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, to exert himself more vigorously in our author's behalf. This the good Prelate so effectually did, that on the death of Dr. Bradshaw, Bishop of Bristol, and Dean of Christ-Church, Oxford, in December, 1732, Dr. Conybeare was appointed to succeed him in the latter dignity. Accordingly, the Doctor was installed Dean of that Cathedral in the month of January following. On this occasion, he resigned the Headship of Exeter-College, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Atwell. Not long after, he gave up, likewise, the Rectory of St. Clement's, in favour of a friend, the Rev. Mr. Webber, one of the Fellows of Exeter. On the 6th of June, 1733, Dean Conybeare married Miss Jemima Jukes, daughter of Mr. William Jukes, of Hoxton Square, near London; and in the same year he published a sermon, which he had preached in the Cathedral of St. Peter, Exon, in August, 1732, from 2 Peter iii. 16. on the subject of Scripture-difficulties (i). In the beginning of the next year, he had the honour of entertaining the Prince of Orange, at the deanery of Christ-Church. The Prince, who had come into England to marry the Princess Royal, being desirous of visiting Oxford, and some of the places adjacent, took up his residence at Dr. Conybeare's apartments; and how solicitous the Dean was to treat his illustrious guest with a proper splendour and dignity, appears from his having received, by the hands of one of her servants, the especial thanks of Queen Caroline on the occasion.

(i) Cooke's
Preacher's Assis-
tant, *ubi supra*.

When, in 1737, Dr. Morgan had published his "Moral Philosopher," the Dean had it in contemplation to answer that work, so far as the general scheme of the writer might be thought to deserve it; and he had prepared many materials for this purpose (k). The design, for what reason we know not, was never carried into execution; and the omission of it will be reflected on with some regret by learned men; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that Dr. Morgan was encountered by a number of very able and successful antagonists. It is to the honour of Dean Conybeare's temper, that he expressed his hope, that none of the animadvertisers on the "Moral Philosopher" would be provoked to imitate his scurrilities (l). In 1738, the Dean was requested to preach the sermon at the annual meeting of the several Charity-schools in London, which he did from Galatians vi. 9.; and the discourse was published (m). In 1747, he met with a great domestic affliction, in the loss of his lady, who departed this life on the 29th of October, after their union had subsisted not much longer than fourteen years. When, on the 25th of April, 1749, a day of solemn thanksgiving was held, on account of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had been signed on the 18th of October in the preceding year, Dr. Conybeare was fixed upon to preach before the Honourable House of Commons on this occasion. The subject was "True Patriotism," and the following words of the Psalmist furnished the text. "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my bre-

(k) Amory's Life
of Dr. Benson,
p. xi.

(m) Cooke's
Preacher's Assis-
tant, *ubi supra*.

(l) *Ibid.* p. xii.

the author: The one is, that if a revelation be expedient to be made to any, it must be equally expedient to be made to all, and at all times. The other is, that the revelation hath not in fact answered that purpose for which we affirm it to be expedient. The ninth and last chapter is intended to evince that there is sufficient evidence of the reality of a revelation, especially of the Christian. He observes, that what is usually called the internal evidence of a revelation is not strictly and properly an evidence, but only a

necessary condition or qualification of a true revelation: That external proof is the only direct evidence of a divine revelation; and this consisteth in miracles as including prophecies, which may be considered as one sort of miracles. He shews what reason we have to believe, that the miracles recorded to have been done in favour of the Christian religion were really wrought; and that supposing them to have been wrought, they were real and satisfactory proofs of a divine original (n).

(n) Leland's
View, vol. i. p.
124—126.
Fourth edition.

" thren and companions fakes I will now say, peace be within thee. Because of the
" house of the LORD our God, I will seek thy good (n)." If our readers would not be
displeased with us for quoting any fine sentiments from a Greek or Roman Classic, it is
to be hoped that we shall be forgiven for reciting sentiments equally beautiful from a Sacred
Writer.

(n) Psalm cxxii.
6, 7, 8, 9.

As Dr. Conybeare was raised early in life to so conspicuous a station as that of the
Deanery of Christ-Church, it might have been expected, from his eminent merit and
learning, that he would sooner have been called to the higher honours of his profession.
But it is to be remembered, that, not long after his promotion to the Deanery, his good
friend, the Bishop of London, lost his influence at Court; and the Lord Chancellor Tal-
bot dying in the year 1737, our author had no particular patron to recommend him to
royal favour. It was not, therefore, till the latter end of 1750, that he attained the mitre;
and this was more owing to his acknowledged abilities and character, than to any personal
interposition. On the translation of Dr. Joseph Butler to the See of Durham, Dr. Cony-
beare was appointed to the Bishoprick of Bristol, and was consecrated at Lambeth Chapel,
on the 23d of December. The consecration sermon, which was soon afterwards pub-
lished, was preached by Francis Webber, D. D. Rector of Exeter-College. The pro-
motion of Dr. Conybeare to the Prelacy, whilst it raised him to the highest order of the
Church, and enlarged his sphere of usefulness, was injurious to his private fortune. The
slender revenues of his Bishoprick were not equal to the expences which accrued from his
necessary residence sometimes at Bristol, and sometimes at London. Four discourses were
published by our author, after he became a Bishop. The first was the Easter Monday
sermon, in 1751, from Proverbs xi. 17. before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the
City of London, in which the virtue of being merciful was stated and enforced. The
second was preached before the House of Lords, on the 11th of June, in the same year,
from Psalm lxxviii. 72. upon occasion of his Majesty's accession to the throne: the subject
treated of, was civil government. The third was from Matthew xviii. 10, 11. in favour
of the Irish Protestant schools; and the fourth, from James i. 27. was before the Sons of
the Clergy, at Bristol. Both these discourses were printed in 1752 (o). It may be ob-
served, with regard to the twelve single sermons published by our Prelate, that they were
not vague, declamatory essays, calculated only to answer a present purpose, but judicious
and solid compositions, in which important topics were discussed with great perspicuity of
method and language, and with equal strength of reasoning; so that it is not a little to
be regretted, that they have not been collected together in a volume. Dr. Conybeare
did not long enjoy a good state of health, after his being raised to the Bishoprick of
Bristol. He was much afflicted with the gout; and, having languished about a year and
a half, was carried off by that disorder at Bath, on the 13th of July, 1755. He was
interred in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, where, some time after his death, the fol-
lowing inscription was erected to his memory:

(o) Cooke's
Preacher's Affis-
tant, ubi supra,
p. 88.

Juxta situs est
Reverendus admodum in Christo Pater,
JOANNES CONYBEARE,
Celeberrimæ Academiae Oxoniensis
Primarius, dum vixit, Ornamentum.
Quippe ex illorum erat hominum numero,
Quorum unus aut alter cuius se ostendit sæculo,
In honorem humani generis quasi de cælo delapsus.
Quid mirum est igitur, si eâ vi, illo ingenii acumine
Hostes fidei revelatæ adeo penitus profligaverit,
Ut de memorabili hac victoriâ
Hodiè glorientur Christiani.
Sane obtinuisse videatur
In Æde Christi eminentiorem Decani locum,
Episcopalem postea in hac Ecclesiâ Cathedram,
Non tam potentiorum auctoritate, aut propriis meritis,
Quam ipsâ Divini Numinis designatione evocatus.
Ut optimi Viri memoriæ quodammodò inserviat,
Marmor hoc positum est
Piâ tanti nominis reverentiâ.
Obiit 13^o die Julii. A. D. 1755. Ætatis suæ 64.

Bishop Conybeare had by his lady five children, three of whom died in their infancy.
A daughter and a son survived him. The daughter, Jemima, departed this life at Ox-
ford, on the 14th of March, 1785. The son, William, is the present Dr. Conybeare.
As our worthy Prelate died in but indifferent circumstances, and consequently left behind
him a very slender provision for his children, it was proposed, by some friends of the fa-
mily, to publish two volumes of sermons by subscription. The scheme succeeded so well,

that perhaps a larger list of subscribers never appeared on the like occasion [C]. Besides this, his Majesty King George the Second was pleased, in consideration of the Bishop's merits, to bestow upon the family, for the life of Miss Jemima Conybeare, a pension, the clear produce of which was about one hundred pounds a year.

Dr. Conybeare's connection with Bishop Gibson, and the Talbot family, has already been mentioned. Amongst his most intimate private friends may be reckoned Dr. Hayter, successively Bishop of Norwich and London, Dr. Atwell, and the famous Dr. Rundle, afterwards Bishop of Derry. The latter gentleman is understood to have been instrumental in recommending our author to the notice of the Talbots. There subsisted, likewise, a great intimacy between Dr. Conybeare and Dr. Secker. When Secker entered himself a Gentleman Commoner at Exeter-College, with a view of taking a degree at the University of Oxford, Mr. Conybeare was appointed his nominal tutor. The present Dr. William Conybeare enjoys the Rectory of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, as an option of Archbishop Secker's.

Bishop Conybeare's character appears to have been, in every view of it, respectable and excellent. Whilst he was a firm and faithful adherent to the doctrine and constitution of that Church of which he was so great an ornament, he was candid in his sentiments, and friendly in his conduct, with regard to the Protestant Dissenters. He occasionally corresponded with his former school-fellow, Mr. Joseph Hallet; and in the article of Dr. George Benson, we have inserted some extracts from a letter written by him to that gentleman, which shew him to have been a truly Christian Prelate, who had imbibed no small portion of the benevolent and liberal spirit of his Divine Master (p)].

K.

(p) Biographia
Britannica, vol.
ii. p. 205, note
[O]. Second
edition.

[C] *That perhaps a larger list of subscribers never appeared on the like occasion.* The number of subscribers amounted to nearly four thousand six hundred persons, many of whom took more than one copy. Such an almost unparalleled subscription can only be accounted for from Dr. Conybeare's numerous connections, in consequence of his having presided over such a society as that of Christ-church, with the greatest reputation, for twenty-two years and a half; from the general estimation in which his abilities and character were held in the world, among men of all denominations; and from the disinterestedness of his temper, in making but a small provision for his family. The sermons were published in 1757, and dedicated, by the Bishop's daughter, to his Majesty King George the Second. The subjects of the discourses are as follows. Volume i. "Christian Salvation the Matter of Joy and Praise to Angels." From Luke ii. 14. "The true Ground of the Jews rejecting the Messiah, considered." From John i. 11. "The Excellency of Patience." From James i. 2, 3, 4. "The History of Joseph." In three parts. From Genesis xxxvii. 36. xxxix. 1, 2. xli. 46. "The Division of Mankind into Rich and Poor, considered." From Proverbs xxii. 2. "Reflections on the Conduct of Herod towards John the Baptist." In two parts. From Matthew xiv. 6, 7, 8, 9. "Prophecies and Miracles sufficient Proofs of a Divine Commission." From John xx. 31. "St. Paul's Difficulties and Distresses considered and applied." From 2 Corinthians xi. 23. "The Condition of Man-

kind in general unhappy, without the Belief of a future State." In two parts. From 1 Corinthians xv. 19. "Different degrees of Happiness in a future State." From 1 John iii. 2. "The Excellency of Charity above Faith and Hope." From 1 Corinthians xiii. 13. Volume ii. "The Aggravations of Sin under the Gospel." From Hebrews x. 29. "Reflections on the Dispute between St. Paul and Barnabas." In two parts. From Acts xv. 39. "The Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction agreeable to Reason." From 1 Peter iii. 18. "The Needfulness of a Revelation, shewn from the Imperfection of the Law of Nature considered as a Rule of Duty." From Luke i. 78, 79. "History of Cain and Abel." In two parts. From Genesis iv. 3, 4, 5. "The Example of Abraham's Faith proposed to Christians." From Hebrews xi. 17, 18, 19. "On the Nature and Employment of good Angels." From Hebrews i. 14. "Providence concerned in the Revolutions of Government." From Isaiah xlv. 24, 25, 26. "Reasons why God delays the punishments of wicked Men." From 2 Peter iii. 8, 9. "The Rule of Equity." In two parts. From Matthew vii. 12. "The Moral Infirmary of Human Nature considered." From Matthew xxv. 5. "Human Life a State of Pilgrimage." From Hebrews xi. 13. "On the Vanity of the World." From Ecclesiastes i. 2, 3. The second volume is concluded with the Bishop's charge to his clergy, delivered at his primary visitation, in the month of July, 1752.

COOKE (Sir ANTHONY), Governor, Preceptor, or School-master to King Edward VI.

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Essex, p. 327.

(c) He is not mentioned at all by A. Wood.

and great-grandson to Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord-Mayor of London, in 1462 [A], was born at Giddy, or Giddy-Hall, in Essex (a), about the year 1506 (b). Where the place of his education was, we cannot find any where mentioned, though it was most probably at Cambridge (c). But wherever it was, he became eminent in the whole circle of arts,

(b) Mr. Camden tells us, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth under the year 1576, that Sir Anthony was septuagenarius, 70 years old, that very year when he died; and therefore must have been born about the year 1506.

(1) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, fol. vol. ii. B. v. p. 122.

[A] *Great Grandson to Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord-Mayor of London, in 1462.* This Sir Thomas Cooke was son of Robert Cooke, of Lavenham, in Suffolk. He was of the Drapers Company, and probably brought up to that business. In the 5th of King Edward IV. he was made Knight of the Bath, and knighted in the field by the King (1); but in the year 1467 he came into great troubles: For one Hawkins having, some years before, desired him to lend him a thousand marks upon good security, Sir Thomas answered, he would first know for whom it was, and for what intent. Understanding it was for the use of Queen Margaret, (wife of King Henry VI.) he answered, he had no goods that he could convert into money without too much loss; and, at length, refused to lend even a hundred pounds. Two or three years after, Hawkins being committed to the Tower, and put to the rack, impeached Sir Thomas

Cooke of high-treason; for what should then have been imputed to him as a virtue rather than a crime. However, he was for the same tried at Guildhall, by the procurement of Sir John Fogg; and though he was acquitted of treason, he was sent to the Counter, and from thence to the King's-Bench. During his confinement, his house in London, and his country-seat at Giddy-Hall, were plundered by the servants of Sir John Fogg, and Anthony Rivers, Earl of Widville: for which damages Sir Thomas could never get the least recompence: nor was he released until he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred pounds to the Queen (2). His son was Philip Cooke, Esq; — his grandson John Cooke, Esq; who died Oct. 10, 1516, — and his great grandson, Sir Anthony, of whom we are now writing (3).

(2) Stow's Annals, edit. 1634, fol. p. 420.

(3) Hist. and Antiq. of Essex, by N. Salmon, p. 249.

being

(d) State Worthies, &c. by Dav. Lloyd, 2d edit. 8vo. Lond. 1679, p. 374, &c. See also Sir John Hayward's Life of King Edward VI. in Compl. Hist. of England, fol. vol. ii. edit. 1706, p. 274, note (d).

(e) D. Lloyd; and Fuller's Worthies, ubi supra; and the History and Antiquities of Essex, &c. by N. Salmon, p. 249.

being a thorough master of the Latin and Greek languages, an excellent Critic and Philologist, and equally skilled in Poetry, History, and the Mathematics. He was, at the same time, adorned with singular piety and goodness. These illustrious qualities, together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family [B], being taken notice of by those noble persons that had the charge of King Edward VI. they appointed Sir Anthony to be that Prince's chief instructor, and the great guide of his learning and manners (d); and what glorious progress he made, under his, and the rest of his governors good care, is sufficiently known. During Queen Mary's persecuting reign, Sir Anthony was an exile for his religion. But after Queen Elizabeth's happy accession, he returned to his native country, and peaceably spent the remainder of his days at Giddy-Hall, of which he finished the building (e) [C]. He died June 11, 1576, aged seventy, leaving behind him the character of a man of severe gravity, and great learning (f). See the rest of his character in the note [D]. Several witty and ingenious sayings of his are recorded [E].

(f) Vir—anti-qua severitate, & doctrina multiplici—as Mr. Camden styles him; Annal. Reg. Eliz. sub anno, 1576.

[B] Together with his uncommon prudence in the management of his own family. His children's maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their disposition; he neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them against their natures. His first care was to give them a true sense of religion, and his next, to inure them to submission, modesty, and obedience; and to let their instructions grow with their years. Their book and pen were their recreation; the music and dancing-school, the court and city, their accomplishment; the needle in the closet, and housewifery in the hall and kitchen, their business. They were reprov'd, but with reason that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenuous shame, as an unfeigned sorrow, and a dutiful fear. He never loved them with over-fondness, nor chastised them in a passion. He said, 'That the joys of parents are secrets, and so are their griefs and fears.' Children sweeten labours, but they embitter misfortunes; they increase the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. The recreations he indulged his in, were moderate, lawful, sober, becoming, useful, and reasonable: the expences he allowed, not so illiberal as to acquaint them with shifts, make them resort with mean company, nor surfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet so prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he advised were not many, but choice; the business he pressed, was not reading, but digesting. The diet he prescribed was moderate: in apparel he allowed for necessity, for decency, and in some cases for magnificence, provided that it were neither too costly, nor too vain; neither above the purse, nor beyond the calling, nor besides the estate (4).

(4) State Worthies, &c. as above, p. 375, 376, 377.

[C] Giddy-hall, of which he finished the building. As the following inscription, on the front of it, testified.

*Ædibus his frontem præceps Thomas dedit olim,
Addidit Antoni cætera sera manus. 1568.
Ædes quisque suas, Domini sed mœnia pauci
Ædificant, levior cura minora decet (5).*

(5) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, edit. 1631, fol. p. 650.

The purport of which is, that the front of that house was built by his great grandfather Thomas, and the rest added by himself in 1568, &c. This seat was not long ago re-built, in an elegant manner, by the late owner, Sir John Eyles, Bart.

(6) Ubi supra, p. 377.

[D] See the rest of his character in the note. He was, if David Lloyd may be credited (6), naturally of a reserved temper; and took more pleasure to breed up statesmen, than to be one. Contemplation was his soul, privacy his life, and discourse his element: business was his purgatory, and publicness his torment. To which may be added what King Edward VI. used to say of his tutors, that Rodolph, the German, spake honestly, Sir John Cheke talked merrily, Dr. Cox solidly, and Sir Anthony Cooke weigh-ingly (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 386.

[E] Several witty and ingenious sayings of his are recorded. Particularly the following: 'That there were three things before whom he could not do amiss; his Prince, his conscience, and his children.' Writing to his daughter Mildred, he said to her, 'My example is your inheritance, and my life is your portion.' This story is likewise related of him: That a Suffex Knight having spent a great

estate at Court, and reduced himself to one park and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain King Edward VI. therein; and to that purpose had new-painted his gates, with a Coat of Arms, and this motto over them in large golden letters, OIA VANITAS. Sir Anthony offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by OIA? who told him it stood for omnia. Sir Anthony replied, 'Sir, I wonder, having made your Omnia (8) so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your Vanitas (9) so large (*).'

(8) i. e. Your All.
(9) i. e. Vanity.

* * [Sir Anthony Cooke's four daughters made so distinguished a figure among the literary Ladies of the period in which they lived, and were otherwise so respectable, in point both of situation and character, that it cannot be improper to give a more particular account of them than has been done by our predecessors. Indeed, to record them in the Biographia, is only paying a deserved tribute to their uncommon attainments and virtues.

(*) State Worthies, by David Lloyd, ubi supra, p. 375, 385.

Of Mildred, the eldest of these daughters, some notice was taken in the article of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh (10). It was there briefly mentioned, that she was long the faithful wife of that great Statesman; that she was learned in the Greek tongue, and wrote a letter to the University of Cambridge in that language; that she was a patroness of literature; and that she was distinguished by her numerous charities. It will, therefore, only be necessary to add a few circumstances concerning her, which have not already been specified. This Lady was born, probably at her father's house at Giddy-Hall, in Essex, in the year 1526. Her preceptor was Mr. Lawrence, an eminent Grecian; and she fully answered the care and pains that were taken in her education. In due time she became excellently acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues, and especially with the former. Her reading was not confined to the classic writers of Greece only, but extended, likewise, to the ancient Christian fathers. Among the rest, she took great delight in perusing Basil, Cyril, Chrysostome, and Gregory Nazianzen. A piece of Saint Chrysostome's was translated by her, from the original, into the English language. It was on the twenty-first of December, 1546, and in the twentieth year of her age, that she was married to Sir William Cecil. Her death, as we have seen in her husband's article, was on the 4th of April, 1589. She had an admirable understanding, and is said to have been a good Politician. Nor is this at all surprizing, considering her intellectual powers, and that, for more than forty and two years, she was the wife of such an illustrious Statesman as Lord Burleigh. As an evidence of her political talents, Mr. Ballard has produced a letter written by her, on the 26th of October, 1573, to Sir William Fitzwilliams, at that time Lord Deputy of Ireland. The letter contains some excellent advice, and shews that she was not only a woman of great good sense, but well acquainted with the world. Five days after her decease, Lord Burleigh wrote what he calls a meditation on the death of his Lady. As it contains several farther particulars concerning her; as it is a striking testimony of his affection to her memory; and as it is the production of so eminent a person, the insertion of it will probably be a gratification to many of our readers.

(10) Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. Second edition, p. 395, note [F].

"Thar

(g) J. Strype's
Annals, vol. ii.
p. 467, &c.

He was buried in the chapel of Rumford in Essex, where a monument is erected to his memory (g). If he was great and happy in himself, he was much happier and greater in his

" There is no cogitation to be used with an intent
" to recover that which never can be had ageyn,
" that is, to have my deare wiff to lyve ageyn in her
" mortall body, which is seperated from the fowle,
" and resteth in the erth deade, and the fowle taken
" up to heaven, and ther to remayne in the fruition
" of blessednes unspeakable, untill the generall sur-
" rection of all flesh; whan by the almighty power
" of God (who made all thyngs of nothyng) hir body
" shall be rayfed upp and joyned wyth her fowle, in
" an everlastyng unspeakable joye, such as no tongue
" can exprefs, nor hart can conceive.

" Therefor my cogitations ought to be occupied
" in these thyngs following.

" I ought to thank Almighty God for his favor in
" permittynge hir to have lyved so manny yers togi-
" ther with me, and to have given hir grace to have
" had the trew knolledg of hir salvation by the death
" of his Son *Jesus*, oppened to hir by the knowlledg
" of the gospel: wherof she was a professor from
" hir youth.

" I ought to comfort my self with the remembrance
" of hir manny vertuous and godly actions wherin
" she contynued all hir liff, and especially in that she
" did of late yers sondry charitable dedes, wherof
" she determined to have no outward knolledg
" whylest she lyved, in so much as when I had some
" litell understanding therof, and asked her wherin
" she had disposed any charitable gifts, accordyng to
" hir often wishyng that she was hable to doo some
" speciall act, for mayntenance of learnyng, and
" releff of the poore; she wold allweifs only shew
" her self rather desiroose so to do, than ever confes
" any such act; as fence hir deth is manifestly known
" now to me, and confessed by sondry good men,
" whose names and ministeryes she secretly used, that
" she did charg them most stryctly that whylest she
" lyved, they should never declare the same to me
" nor to any other. And so now have I sene hir er-
" nest wrytyngs to that purpose of hir own hand.

" The particulars of many of these hereafter do
" follow, which I do with myne owne hand wrytyng
" recite, for my comfort in the memory therof, with
" assurance that God hath accepted the same in such
" fayourable sort, as she fyndeth now the fructs
" therof in heaven.

" About yers fence, she caused exhibitions
" to be secretly given by the hands of the master of
" St. Ihons in Cambridg for the mayntenance of two
" schollars for a perpetuite whereof to conynew.

" She did cause some lands to be purchased in the
" name of the Dean of Westmynster, who also in
" his own name to, did assure the same to that col-
" ledg for a perpetuall mayntenance of the sayd two
" schollars in that colledg. All which was done
" without any signification of hir act or charg to any
" manner of person but only of the Deane, and one
" William Walter of Wymbleton, whose advise was
" used; for the wrytyng of the purchase and assu-
" rance.

" She also did with the privite of Mr. Deanes of
" Powles and Westmystre, and of Mr. Alderly, beyng
" fre of the Haberdashers in London, give to the
" company of the sayd Haberdashers a good some of
" money; whereby is provyded that every two yers
" ther is lent to six poore men of certen speciall oc-
" cupations, as Smyths, Carpyntors, Weavors and
" such like in Romford in Essex, twenty pounds a
" pece, in the whole one hundred and twenty pounds.
" And in Chesthunt and Wooltham to other six lik
" persons twenty marks a pece, in the whole four-
" score pound. Which releff by way of loan is to
" continew. By the same means is provided for
" twenty poore people in Chesthunt the first sonday
" of every month a meass of meate, in flesh, bread,
" and money for drynk. And lykwise is provided
" four marks yerly for four sermons to be preached
" quarterly, by on of the preachers of St. Ihon's
" Colledg. And these distributions have bene made
" a long time, whylest she lyved by some of my ser-
" vants, without gyvyn me knolledg therof; though

" in dede, I had cause to thynk that she did some-
" tymes bestow such kynd of alms, but not that I
" knew of any order taken for contynuanse therof;
" for she wold rather cōenly use speches with me,
" how she was disposed to give all that she cold to
" some such uses if she cold devise to have the same
" faythfully performed after hir liff, wherof she all-
" wayes pretended many doubts. And for that she
" used the advise of Mr. Deanes of Powles and of
" Westmynster, and wold have hir actions kept se-
" crett, she forced upon them some small peces of
" plate to be used in their chambres, as remembrances
" of hir good will for their paynes.

" She did also four tymes in the yere secretly send
" to all the prisons in London, money to buy bread,
" chese and drink cōenly for four hundred persons,
" and many tymes more, without knolledg from
" whom the same come.

" She did lykwise sondry tymes in the yere send
" shyrts and smokks to the poore people, both in
" London, and at Chesthunt.

" She also gave a some of money to the master of
" St. Ihon's Colledg, to procure to have fyres in the
" hall of that colledg uppon all sondays and holly-
" dayes betwixt the fest of all Sayntes and Candel-
" mas, whan ther war no ordinary fyres of the charge
" of the colledg.

" She gave also a some of mony secretly towards
" a buyldyng for a new waye at Cambridg to the
" Cōen Scolles.

" She also provyded a great number of books,
" wherof she gave some to the University of Cam-
" bridge, namely the great Bible in Hebrew, and
" four other tongs. And to the college of Saint
" Ihon's very many books in Greke, of divinite and
" physick, and of other sciences. The lyk she did
" to Christ's Chyrch, and St. Ihon's Colledg in Ox-
" ford. The lyk she did to the colledg of West-
" minster.

" She did also yerly provyde wooll and flaxe, and
" did distribute it to women in Chesthunt parish,
" wylling them to work the same into yarn, and to
" bryng it to hir to se ther manner of workyng;
" and for the most part, she gave to them the stuff by
" way of alms. Some tyme she caused the same to
" be wrought into cloth and gave it to the poore,
" paying first for the spyning more than it was
" worth.

" Not long afor hir deth, she caused secretly to be
" bought a large quantite of wheat and rye, to be
" disposed amongst the poore in tyme of derth.
" Which remayned unspent at hir deth; but the
" same confessed by such as provyded it secretly.
" And therfor in conscience to be so distributed ac-
" cordyng to hir mynd.

" April 9th 1589. Written at Collings

" Lodge by me in sorrow

" W. B. (11)." (11) Ballard's

Memoirs of Bri-
tish Ladies, p.
126—132. Se-
cond edition.

Anna, the second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke,
was born in 1528. She had the same liberal educa-
tion which was bestowed upon her elder sister, and
perhaps under the same tutor. Having added much
acquired knowledge to great natural endowments,
she made an illustrious figure among the literati of
that period; and hence acquired so extraordinary a
reputation, that she is said to have been constituted
Governess to King Edward the sixth (12). If this be
a fact, it is a very surprizing one; since she could not
be much more than twenty-five years of age at the
death of that young monarch, and only nineteen
years old when he began to reign. However that
matter may stand, it is certain that she early became
eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, and that she
was skilled in the Greek, Latin, and Italian tongues.
At what time she was married to Sir Nicholas Bacon
has not exactly been ascertained. Her eldest son,
Anthony, was born in 1558 (13); and her youngest
son, p. 21.

(12) Ibid. p. 132.

(13) Birch's Me-
moirs of the
Reign of Queen
Elizabeth, vol. i.
son, p. 21.

his four daughters, learned above their sex in Greek and Latin; namely, 1. Mildred, married to Sir William Cecil, Baron Burleigh, Lord-Treasurer of England. 2. Anne, to

(14) See his article.

fon, Francis, on the twenty-second of January, 1560-61 (14). It was a great honour to her to be the parent of two gentlemen of such distinguished abilities, and especially of the younger of them, whose intellectual powers and attainments are so well known to have been above all praise. There can be no doubt, but that they were much indebted to their mother for the early cultivation of their understandings; and we may be assured, from her acknowledged character, that she was equally assiduous, if not equally successful, in forming their minds to the principles of piety and virtue. Before she became Lady Bacon, she had given to the world a specimen of her literary industry, in translating, out of Italian into English, twenty-five sermons, written by Barnardine Ochine, a celebrated Divine of that age, concerning the predestination and election of God. This translation was published, in octavo, about the year 1550. Another edition, in 12mo, without a date, is mentioned in Ames's "Typographical Antiquities," under the following title: "Certayne sermons of the ryghte famous and excellent Clerk, master Barnardine Ochine, born within the famous Universitie of Siena in Italy, now also an example in thys lyfe, for the faithful testimony of Jesus Christe. Twenty-five sermons, translated into English from the Italian, by a gentleman, and the last twenty-five translated by a young Lady." Not long after her marriage, Lady Bacon again employed her pen, much to her own honour and to the advantage of her country. At that time, the Roman Catholics in general, and the English fugitives in particular, industriously applied all the learning, wit, and malice they were masters of, to the purposes of blackening the reformation of the Church of England, and of bringing our excellent reformers into contempt. Pope Pius the fourth had called the council of Trent, and had sent his nuncio, Martinigo, to invite Queen Elizabeth to accede to it. The chief Princes of Christendom interposed, likewise, by letters to her Majesty, soliciting her to entertain the nuncio, and submit to the council. At such a crisis, it was deemed necessary to give the world an account of what had been done in the English Parliament, and of the reasons on which it had proceeded; and to retort the many accusations that had been brought against our Church by the Papists. Upon this occasion, the learned, eloquent, and masterly pen of the incomparable Bishop Jewel was employed in drawing up, in the Latin tongue, "An Apology for the Church of England." This task he performed to the infinite satisfaction of the reformed churches, and to the shame and confusion of the Romanists. As the book made a great noise in the world, and excited no small degree of alarm among the advocates of the Popish Communion, the common people of England were earnestly desirous of becoming acquainted with its contents. But the literary men of that period being wholly engaged in refuting the calumnies raised by the Papists, and in answering the numerous seditious libels which swarmed hither from Louvain, Doway, and other places, Lady Bacon determined to gratify the curiosity of the public, and to promote the edification of her countrymen, by translating Bishop Jewel's work. The version is said not only to be faithful but elegant, due regard being had to the time in which it was made. When the translation was finished, Lady Bacon sent the copy to Archbishop Parker for his perusal, as a person to whom the care of the Church of England, and of its doctrine, chiefly belonged. Another copy was sent by her to Bishop Jewel, to be overlooked by him, lest she should in any point have mistaken his meaning. The translation was accompanied by an epistle to him in Greek, which he answered in the same language. Both the Bishop and the Archbishop, after reading over the version, found it to be so correct, as not to require the alteration of a single word. Lady Bacon must undoubtedly have been an excellent Latinist, and have thoroughly entered into the spirit of the work,

VOL. IV.

when the original author of it could find nothing to amend in her translation. The letter written to her by the Archbishop was so highly to her honour, that were we not to transcribe part of it, we should not render her that full justice to which her character is entitled. It was superscribed "To the Right Honourable, learned, and virtuous Lady, A. B. M. C. wisheth from God, Grace, Honour, and Felicity." The Archbishop tells her, "That according to her request, he had perused her studious labour of translation, profitably employed in a right commendable work. Whereof, for that it liked her to make him a judge, and for that the thing itself had singularly pleased his judgment, and delighted his mind in reading it, he had right heartily to thank her Ladyship, both for her well thinking of him, and for the comfort that it wrought in him. But far above these private respects, he was by greater causes enforced, not only to shew his rejoice of this her doing, but also to testify the same by this his writing prefixed before the work, to the commodity of others, and good encouragement of herself. That she had used her accustomed modesty, in submitting it to judgment; but therein her praise doubled, sith it had passed judgment without reproach. And whereas both the chief author of the Latin work, and he, severally perusing and conferring her whole translation, had without alteration allowed of it, he was both to desire her Ladyship, and advertise the readers, to think that they had not therein given any thing to any dissembling affection towards her, as being contented to wink at faults to please her, or to make her without cause to please herself. For that there were sundry respects to draw them from so doing, although they had been so ill minded, as there was no cause why they should be so thought of. That her own judgment in discerning flattery, her modesty in milking it, the laying open of their opinion to the world, the truth of their friendship towards her, the unwillingness of them both, in respect of their vocations, to have that public work not truly and well translated, were good causes to persuade, that their allowance was of sincere truth and understanding. That by her travail she expressed an acceptable duty to the glory of God, deserved well of this Church of Christ, honourably defended the good fame and estimation of her own native tongue, shewing it so able to contend with a work originally written in the most praised speech. That besides the honour done to her sex, and to the degree of Ladies, she had done pleasure to the author of the Latin book, in delivering him, by her clear translation, from the perils of ambiguous and doubtful constructions; and in making his good work more publicly beneficial: whereby she had raised up great comfort to her friends, and had furnished her own conscience joyfully with the fruit of her labour, in so occupying her time. Which must needs redound to the encouragement of noble youth in their good education, and to spend their time and knowledge in godly exercise, she having delivered them so singular a precedent. That as God, he was sure, did accept that her doing, and would blefs with increase; so her, and their most virtuous and learned sovereign Lady and mistress, it should be good cause to commend; and all noble gentlewomen should, he trusted, hereby be allured from vain delights, to doings of more perfect glory. That he, for his part, as occasion might serve, should exhort others to take profit by her work, and follow her example: whose success he beseeched our heavenly Father to blefs and prosper. That to the end, both to acknowledge his good approbation, and to spread the benefit more largely, where her Ladyship had sent him her book written, he had, with most hearty thanks, returned it her, as she saw, printed: knowing that he had thereby done for the best, and in this point used a reasonable

C c

"able

to Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. 3. Elizabeth, to John, Lord Ruffel, son and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford; and, 4. Catherine, to Henry Killigrew, Esq.
By

- (15) Ballard's *Memoirs*, p. 132—136.
(16) Birch, *ubi supra*, p. 11.
(17) Ballard, *ubi supra*.
(18) Birch, *ubi supra*, p. 16.
(19) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 54. 56. 67. 107. 116. 143. 173. 174. 195. 227. 270. 271. 278. Vol. ii. p. 24. 61. 65. 102. 218. 220.
(20) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 11.
(*) See the addition to that article, vol. i. of our work, p. 506.

- (21) Birch, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 218—220.
(22) Ballard, *ubi supra*.

“able policy; that is, to prevent such excuses as her modesty would have made in stay of publishing it (15).” Lady Bacon’s version of Jewel’s Apology was accompanied, when printed, with some additions by the Archbishop (16). It first appeared, in quarto, in 1564. Another edition, in 12mo. was published in 1600 (17). That her Ladyship’s literary reputation extended beyond her own country, is evident from the famous Theodore Beza’s dedication to her of his *Meditations* (18). In Birch’s *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Lady Bacon’s name frequently occurs; and we there meet with some of her letters at full length, and with extracts from others of them (19), which will fully justify the following character given of her by the historian now mentioned. “She frequently introduces Greek as well as Latin into her letters, sometimes with a view of secrecy, but more commonly from the custom of that age, wherein such an intermixture of languages had less the air of pedantry and affectation, than it would have in the present. She was very strict in the duties of piety, and inclined to the principles of the Puritans, to whom her husband had not been thought unfavourable: but her temper seems to have been severe and peevish, especially in the latter years of her life, when it was probably affected by her ill health. Her advices and remonstrances to her elder son, Anthony, were generally delivered in a style of authority, and in terms of reproach, which rendered them less acceptable and effectual, than otherwise they might have been (20).” Of her letters to Mr. Anthony Bacon, we have taken particular notice in that gentleman’s article (*). The advice she gave to the Earl of Essex, when she apprehended him to be in danger of a criminal connection, reflects great credit upon her integrity; and the Earl’s answer (both of which may be seen in the book referred to) was as honourable to himself as it was respectful to her Ladyship (21). What was the exact time of Lady Bacon’s death cannot now be ascertained; but it is certain, from the dates of the circumstances last related, that she was living in December, 1596. Mr. Ballard conjectures, that she died about the beginning of King James the First’s reign, at Gorhambury, near St. Alban’s, where her picture still remains. According to Dr. Rawley, she was buried at St. Michael’s Church, in that town; but Mr. Ballard could not find there any monument or inscription to her memory (22).

Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was born about the year 1529, and enjoyed the same liberal education which was bestowed upon her sisters. She was equally happy in improving the advantages conferred upon her; for such was her progress in the learned languages, that she gained the applause of the most eminent scholars of the age. It was observed by Sir John Harrington, that if Madam Vittoria, an Italian Lady, deserved to have her name celebrated and transmitted to posterity by Ariosto, for writing some verses, in the manner of an epitaph, upon her husband, after his decease; no less commendation was due to the Lady before us, who did as much and more, not only for two husbands, but for her son, daughter, brother, sister, and venerable old friend Mr. Noke of Shotelbrooke, in the Greek, Latin, and English tongues. She was married, first, to Sir Thomas Hobby, and accompanied him to France, when he went there, as Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth. At Paris Sir Thomas died, on the 13th of July, 1566, aged thirty-six years. His disconsolate Lady, who was big with child, brought him honourably home, and having erected a chapel in the chancel of the church at Bisham, in Berkshire, she carefully deposited the remains of her husband, and of his brother, Sir Philip Hobby, in one tomb together, which she adorned with large inscriptions, in Latin and English verse, of her own composition. She had by Sir Thomas Hobby four children, Edward, Elizabeth, Anne, and Thomas Posthumus. It doth not appear that she had great comfort in

either of her sons; and the youngest in particular, as is manifest from a letter written by her to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, was guilty of such extravagancies and undutifulness, as gave her much uneasiness. It is evident, from the letter, that she was a woman of uncommon spirit and sense, and an excellent oeconomist. Some years after the decease of Sir Thomas Hobby, she was married, a second time, to John, Lord Ruffel, son and heir to Francis Ruffel, Earl of Bedford. Her husband, dying before his father, in the year 1584, was buried in the Abbey Church of Westminster, where there is a noble monument erected to his memory, and embellished with inscriptions, in Greek, Latin, and English, by this his surviving Lady. Her children, by John Lord Ruffel, were one son, who died young in 1580, and two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. The last of them survived her father but a little time, and is said to have bled to death by the prick of a needle in the forefinger of her left hand. This story has been supported by the figure placed on her monument, which is in the same grate with that of her father; where, on a pedestal of black and white marble made column-wise, in imitation of a Roman altar, may be seen the statue of a young Lady seated in a most curiously wrought oster chair, of the finest polished alabaster, in a very melancholy posture, inclining her head to the right hand, and with the fore-finger of her left only extended downwards, to direct us to behold the death’s-head underneath her feet, and, as the tradition goes, to signify the disaster that brought her to her end. Mr. Ballard thinks, that if the fact be true, it must be attributed to some gangrene, or other dangerous symptom, occasioned, perhaps, at first, by the pricking of an artery or nerve, which at last brought her to the grave. The matter, however doth not deserve to be reasoned upon; being, in truth, no other than an idle and groundless tale, which very well answers the purpose of amusing the croud who go to visit the tombs in the Abbey.

Lady Ruffel translated out of French into English a tract, entitled, “A Way of Reconciliation of a good and learned Man, touching the true Nature and Substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament.” This work was printed in 1605 (+), and is dedicated to her only daughter, Anne Herbert, wife to Henry Lord Herbert, son and heir to Edward Earl of Worcester. A short extract from the dedication will afford a specimen of Lady Ruffel’s disposition of mind, and of her manner of writing. “Most virtuous and worthily beloved daughter; even as from your first birth and cradle, I was ever most careful, above any worldly thing, to have you suck the perfect milk of sincere religion; so, willing to end as I began, I have left to you, as my last legacy, this book, a most precious jewel, to the comfort of your soul; being the work of a good learned man, made above fifty years since in Germany; after by travail a French creature, now naturalized by me into English.” Then proceeding to give the reason of her publishing this piece, she added, “That at first she meant not to set it abroad in print; but herself only to have some certainty to lean unto in a matter so full of controversy, and to yield a reason of her opinion. But since lending the copy of her own hand to a friend, she was bereft thereof by some: and fearing lest after her death it should be printed according to the humours of others, and wrong of the dead: who in his life approved her translation with his own allowance: therefore dreading, she said, wrong to him, above any other respect, she had by anticipation prevented the worst. And then piously and affectionately she concludes thus; that she meant it for a new-year’s gift: and then, farewell, my good Nancy. God bless thee with a continuance of the comfort of the holy Spirit; that it may ever work in you, and persevere with you to the end, and in the end.”

The dedication is concluded with the following Tetra-stich

(+) We have some doubts whether this was the first edition.

By his Lady, Anne, daughter of Sir William Fitz-Williams, of Milton, Knt. he had also
(b) *Strype, ibid.* two sons, Richard and William (b).

Tetrastich to her daughter, suitable to the new year:

" In A N N A M filiam,

" Ut veniens annus tibi plurima commodet, Anna,
" Voce piâ Mater, supplice mente, precor;
" Ut valeat pariterq; tuo cum conjuge Proles,
" Officiis junctis, vita serena fluat.

" ELIZABETHA RUSSELLA, Dowager.

" To her Daughter A N N E.

" That each new year new blessings Anne may bear,
" Thy tender mother breathes her pious pray'r,
" Blest be thy husband, blest thy offspring be,
" And all thy days from ev'ry ill be free."

The time of Lady Russel's death has not been ascertained. In a letter written by her to Sir Robert Cecil, without date, she complains of her bad health and infirmities, and mentions her having completed sixty-eight years. She seems to have been buried at Bisham, in Berks, near the remains of her first husband, and in the chapel which she herself had founded (23). From Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, it appears that Lady Russel interested herself in the concerns of her nephew Anthony Bacon, and endeavoured to do him service with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. In that work there are some extracts from two of her letters upon this occasion, and a long account of a curious conversation which she had with her nephew, relative to the disputes between him and the Treasurer. The fact was, that Lord Burleigh was dissatisfied with the connections both of Mr. Anthony and Mr. Francis Bacon, and especially with their attachment to the Earl of Essex, and on these accounts was not favourable to their promotion (24).

(23) Ballard, *ubi supra*, p. 136—141.

(24) Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 129, 131, 132—137, 168.

Katherine, the fourth daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was born about the year 1530; and her natural genius being improved by the same excellent education which was bestowed upon her sisters, she became famous for her knowledge in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and for her skill in poetry. A short specimen of her talent in that art has been preserved by Sir John Harington and Dr. Thomas Fuller; but there is some difficulty in determining the occasion upon which the verses were written. Sir John Harington says, that her design in writing them was to get a kinsman of her's sent to Cornwall, where she inhabited, and to prevent his going beyond sea. Mr. Phillips, in his "Theatrum Poetarum," asserts that it was her lover. Dr. Fuller, however, with greater appearance of reason, informs us, that her husband being designed by Queen Elizabeth Ambassador to France, in troublesome times, when the employment, always difficult, was then apparently dangerous, his Lady wrote these lines to her sister Mildred Cecil, to engage her interest with Lord Burleigh for preventing the appointment. The verses are as follows:

" Si mihi quem cupio cures Mildreda remitti,
" Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror:
" Sin male cessando retines, & trans mare mittis,
" Tu mala, tu peior, tu mihi nulla soror.
" Is si Cornubiam, tibi pax fit & omnia læta;
" Sin mare, Ciciliæ nuncio bella. Vale."

Thus translated by a friend of Mr. Ballard's.

" If, Mildred, to my wishes kind,
" Thy valued charge thou send,
" In thee my soul shall own combin'd
" The sister and the friend.
" If from my eyes by thee detain'd
" The wanderer crosses the seas,
" No more thy love shall sooth, as friend,
" No more as sister, please.
" His stay let Cornwall's shore engage;
" And peace with Mildred dwell:
" Else war with Cecil's name I wage,
" Perpetual war. Farewell."

The person to whom Katherine Cooke was married was Henry Killegrew, Esq; a Gentleman of good abilities, and who, for the services he performed to his country in the quality of an Ambassador, was afterwards knighted. It should seem, therefore, that, if Fuller be right in the account he has given of the purpose of the preceding verses, the fair author did not obtain her request. Sir Henry Killegrew had a daughter, probably by this Lady, married to Sir Jonathan Trelawny, a Gentleman of Cornwall, about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Sir Henry was living in great esteem, in the year 1602. It appears, from her father's will, that Lady Killegrew was alive on the 22d of May, 1576. She was buried in the Chancel of the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, in Vintry-yard, London, where is an elegant monument erected to her memory, on which is the following inscription, composed by herself.

" Dormio nunc Domino, Domini virtute resurgam;
" Et *σωτηρα* meum carne videbo mea.
" Mortua ne dicar, fruitur pars altera Christo:
" Et furgam Capiti, Tempore, tota meo."

" To God I sleep, but I in God shall rise,
" And, in the flesh, my Lord and Saviour see.
" Call me not dead, my soul to Christ is fled,
" And soon, both soul and body join'd shall be.

The death of Lady Killegrew was lamented in various Epitaphs. Her sister, Lady Russel, wrote one, partly in Greek and partly in Latin verse. Three others, in Latin verse, were written by Robert Mason Forman, Minister of the reformed French Church in London, by Andrew Melvin, and by William Chark. Such of our readers as are curious to see these productions, may find them in Ballard (25).

It is generally understood that Sir Anthony Cooke had only four daughters; but there is some reason to believe that he had, at least, one more. Camden, Fuller, Lloyd, Bohun, and Strype concur in mentioning a fifth daughter, whose name, they say, is lost. Nevertheless, they all observe that she was married to Sir Ralph Rowlet. Nay, Sir William Dugdale informs us (though without producing any authority for his assertion), that Sir Anthony Cooke had six daughters. On the other hand, Sir John Harington, who corresponded with Lady Russel, and who might be supposed not likely to be mistaken in this affair, speaks only of four. What is still more material, there is a monumental inscription for Sir Anthony Cooke, in the Church of Rumford in Essex, that contains a sort of pedigree of the family, and which mentions two sons, Richard and William, and the above-named four daughters. It is, likewise, observable, that the monument represents Sir Anthony with two sons behind him; and his Lady with only four daughters behind her. Strong as this evidence may be thought, it is weakened by the testimony of Mr. Fulman's manuscripts, in which that indefatigable Gentleman remarks, that the name of Sir Anthony Cooke's fifth daughter was Margaret, and that she was married to Ralph Rowlet. These facts are farther confirmed by the following tetrastich in Dr. Haddon's poems.

(25) Ballard, *ubi supra*, p. 142—146.

In nuptias Rodolphi Rouleti, & Thomæ Hobei, qui duas D. Antonii Coci filias, duxere uxores eodem die.

" Margaritam, Roulete, tuam fac mente recondas,
" Gemma fit ut tuto tam pretiosa loco.
" Sit frater fratri similis, sit filia patri,
" Sic vir erit dignus conjuge, sponsa viro."

On the nuptials of Ralph Rowlet, and Thomas Hobby, who, on the same day, married two daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke.

" Rowlet, in purest heart thy Marg'ret wear,
" A casket proper for a gem so rare!

" The

"The brother's merit let the brother claim,
 "The daughter emulate the father's fame:
 "So shall the bridegroom to his like be join'd,
 "The bride her virtues in her consort find."

Strype, in his *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, under the year 1557, says, that "December the eighth, the Lady Rowlet, one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, and the youngest of the five, wife of Sir Ralph Rowlet, Knight, was buried in the parish of St. Mary Staining, London." Mr. Ballard proposes a query, whether Lady Rowlet might not be a natural daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke; but this is a supposition to which we cannot give our assent. It doth not well accord with her being married to a Gentleman of such rank as her husband was, nor with the celebration of her marriage on the same day with that of her sister Elizabeth. Neither does Strype's account of her agree with Mr. Ballard's suggestion. Mr. Strype speaks of her without ignominy as one of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, and as the youngest of the five (26). Her not being mentioned in the inscription of the monument at Rumford may be accounted for, by her having died nearly twenty years before her father. The surviving children only appear to have been represented in that monument. If, however, Lady Rowlet possessed as much literature as her sister, no memorials of it have come to our knowledge. Her early decease, for she could not, at most, be above twenty-six years of age when she died, might prevent the public fruits which would otherwise have been produced from her literary accomplishments. We are sensible, that this short disquisition concerning her is of little importance; but, when such subjects come properly before us, it is our duty to ascertain historical truth, as far as we are able. Bayle, whose genius was so much superior to our's, did not think these minute discussions beneath his attention; and whilst we are in some measure justified by his example, it fortunately happens that we shall not have occasion to enter into them so frequently as was done by that great Biographer.

We cannot dismiss Sir Anthony Cooke's four celebrated daughters, without making a few observations on the general state of female literature in that period. It has been remarked by Mr. Wotton, that no age was so productive of learned women as the sixteenth century. Speaking of the flourishing condition of learning in that century, he says, it was so very modish, that the fair sex seemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charms; and that Plato and Aristotle untranslated were frequent ornaments of their closets. "One would think by the effects, that it was a proper way of educating them, since there are no accounts in history of so many great women in any one age, as are to be found between the years fifteen and sixteen hundred." Erasmus, also, describing those times, says, "*Scena rerum humanarum invertitur: monarchi literas nesciunt, & fœminæ libris indulgent. — Bellum est eum sexum ad prisca exempla sese postliminio recipere.*" "The scene of human affairs is changed: the monks are ignorant of literature, and women are fond of books.—It is a pleasing circumstance, that the female sex should at length have recourse to the ancient examples." Learning was then held in such high estimation, that several great men were desirous that their daughters should be possessed of it, as well as their sons. The examples of King Henry the Eighth, in the education of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and of Sir Thomas More with regard to Mrs. Roper, are thought to have chiefly contributed to the introduction of this custom (27). There can be no doubt but that the conduct of persons so illustrious would have much effect upon the sentiments of our countrymen, and be productive of imitation. But, besides this, there was a concurrence of other causes; such as the recent origin of printing; the curiosity hence excited in the human mind; the admiration with which the ancient writers, so lately brought to light, were contemplated; and the distinguished honour that arose from literary pursuits. In short, the general spirit of the age nourished the principle of training up wo-

men in learning. Nor was a slight degree of learning deemed sufficient for them. They were rendered complete mistresses of the Greek and Latin, as well as of the modern languages. Their reading was not confined to the classic authors, but comprehended the fathers of the Church. They could write Greek epistles, and compose Greek verses. It should be remembered, however, that the literature of the women of that period extended comparatively but to a few persons, and those only of considerable rank, the generality of the female sex being in a state of ignorance. There was by no means that diffusion of knowledge, that cultivation of mind, that taste for books, which we now meet with in almost every company of ladies. Neither do we find that the learned women of the sixteenth century produced such works as have continued to be read much by posterity. The most important production of any of Sir Anthony Cooke's daughters, was Lady Bacon's translation of Bishop Jewel's Apology; and yet, who but an Antiquary would now seek for it, or give himself the trouble of perusing it? Not a single Poetess, deserving to be mentioned, arose in this country till the seventeenth century. The Duchesses of Newcastle, Mrs. Katherine Philips, and Mrs. Behn, appear to have been the first who could, in any degree, merit that appellation. If we come down to later times, we shall be sensible that, independently of poetry, the learned women of the sixteenth century have been far exceeded by the ingenious ladies of the present age, both in the general and extensive utility of their writings, and in the elegancies of composition. We pretend not to enumerate all those whose works will be read and admired by succeeding generations; but it is impossible, whilst we are treating on such a subject, to forget the names of a Cockburn, a Rowe, a Montagu, a Carter, a Chapone, a More, and a Barbauld. We are speaking of prose works only, since otherwise we could not avoid adding to the catalogue a Seward and a Williams. Neither does novel-writing come under our immediate view, to which so many, perhaps too many female authors, apply themselves, though none with a success equal to that of a Burney.

There is a remark to be made concerning the difference between the literature of the ladies of the sixteenth century, and that of the women of more recent times. The former entered deeply into the study of the ancient languages, whilst the latter, besides acquiring a skill in the modern tongues, especially the French and the Italian, have paid their principal attention to the cultivation of general knowledge. Some of them, however, have been no small proficient in the learning of antiquity. Mrs. Carter stands, without competition, at the head of her sex in this respect; having displayed her accurate acquaintance with the Greek writings and philosophy, in a manner highly honourable to herself, and advantageous to the world. How admirably Mrs. Barbauld hath entered into the spirit of the Latin classics, is apparent from the uncommon propriety and beauty of her mottoes. Mrs. Montagu, in her admirable Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare, hath shewn that, amongst the other qualifications necessary to constitute a Critic of the first order, such as a penetrating mind, a fine taste, and a correct and elegant style, she is well acquainted with ancient literature, and rich in the stores of various knowledge.

Another circumstance observable in the learned ladies of the sixteenth century is, that they were most eminent for their piety. Religion was deeply impressed upon their minds, and, agreeably to the fashion of the times, religion was almost the sole topic of their writings. It is pleasing to reflect, that the best female authors of the present day are not inferior to them in pious and virtuous principles and conduct. Those who have the happiness of a personal intimacy with Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Chapone, and Miss Hannah More, will know that we speak the truth; to which may be added, that these ladies are unaffected in their manners, and that they do not esteem themselves above the ordinary duties of domestic life.] K.

* * [COOK (JAMES), one of the greatest Navigators and Discoverers that ever existed, had no claim to distinction on account of the lustre of his birth, or the dignity of his ancestors. His father, James Cook, who from his dialect is supposed to have been a Northumbrian, was in the humble station of a servant in husbandry, and married a woman of the same rank with himself, whose christian name was Grace. Both of them were noted in their neighbourhood for their honesty, sobriety, and diligence. They first lived at a village called Morton, and then removed to Marton, another village in the North-riding of Yorkshire, situated in the high road from Gisbrough, in Cleveland, to Stockton upon Tees, in the county of Durham, at the distance of six miles from each of these towns. At Marton Captain Cook was born, on the 27th of October, 1728 (a); and, agreeably to the custom of the Vicar of the parish, whose practice it was to baptize infants soon after their birth, he was baptized on the 3d of November following. He was one of nine children, all of whom are now dead, excepting a daughter, who married a fisherman at Redcar. The first rudiments of young Cook's education were received by him at Marton, where he was taught to read by Dame Walker, the School-mistress of the village. When he was eight years of age, his father, in consequence of the character he had obtained for industry, frugality, and skill in husbandry, had a little promotion bestowed upon him, which was that of being appointed head servant, or hind (b), to a farm belonging to the late Thomas Skottow, Esq; called Airy Holme, near Great Ayton. To this place, therefore, he removed with his family (c); and his son James, at Mr. Skottow's expence, was put to a day School in Ayton, where he was instructed in writing, and in a few of the first rules of arithmetic. Before he was thirteen years of age, he was bound an apprentice to Mr. William Sanderson, a Haberdasher, or Shopkeeper, at Staiths, a considerable fishing town, about ten miles north of Whitby. This employment, however, was very unsuitable to young Cook's disposition. The sea was the object of his inclination; and his passion for it could not avoid being strengthened by the situation of the town in which he was placed, and the manner of life of the persons with whom he must frequently converse. Some disagreement having happened between him and his Master, he obtained his discharge, and soon after bound himself for seven years to Messrs. John and Henry Walker, of Whitby, Quakers by religious profession, and principal owners of the ship Free-love, and of another vessel, both of which were constantly employed in the coal trade. The greatest part of his apprenticeship was spent on board the Free-love. After he was out of his time he continued to serve in the coal and other branches of trade (though chiefly in the former) in the capacity of a common sailor; till, at length, he was raised to be mate of one of Mr. John Walker's ships. During this period it is not recollected that he exhibited any thing very peculiar, either in his abilities or his conduct; though there can be no doubt but that he had gained a considerable degree of knowledge in the practical part of navigation, and that his attentive and sagacious mind was laying up a store of observations which would be useful to him in future life (d). In the Spring of the year 1755, when hostilities broke out between England and France, and there was a hot press for seamen, Mr. Cook happened to be in the river Thames with the ship to which he belonged. At first he concealed himself, to avoid being pressed; but reflecting that it might be difficult, notwithstanding all his vigilance, to elude discovery or escape pursuit, he determined, upon farther consideration, to enter voluntarily into his Majesty's service, and to take his future fortune in the Royal Navy. Perhaps he had some presage in his own mind, that by his activity and exertions he might rise considerably above his present situation. Accordingly, he went to a rendezvous at Wapping, and entered with an officer of the Eagle man of war, a ship of sixty guns, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer. To this ship Captain (now Sir Hugh) Palliser was appointed, in the month of October, 1755; and when he took the command, found in her James Cook, whom he soon distinguished to be an able, active, and diligent seaman. All the officers spoke highly in his favour, and the Captain was so well pleased with his behaviour, that he gave him every encouragement which lay in his power. In the course of some time, Captain Palliser received a letter from Mr. Osbaldeston, then Member of Parliament for Scarborough, acquainting him that several neighbours of his had solicited him to write in favour of one Cook, on board the Captain's ship. They had heard that Captain Palliser had taken notice of him, and they requested, if he thought Cook deserving of it, that he would point out in what manner Mr. Osbaldeston might best contribute his assistance towards forwarding the young man's promotion. The Captain, in his reply, did justice to Cook's merit; but, as he had been only a short time in the Navy, informed Mr. Osbaldeston that he could not be promoted as a commission officer. A Master's warrant, Captain Palliser added, might perhaps be procured for Mr. Cook, by which he would be raised to a station that he was well qualified to discharge with ability and credit (e). Such a warrant he obtained on the 10th of May, 1759, for the Grampus sloop; but the proper Master having unexpectedly returned to her, the appointment did not take place. Four days after he was made Master of the Garland; when, upon enquiry, it was found that he could not join her, as the ship had already failed. On the next day, the 15th of May, he was appointed to the Mercury (f). These

(a) The mud house in which Captain Cook drew his first breath is pulled down, and no vestiges of it are now remaining.

(b) This is the name which, in that part of the country, is given to the head servant, or bailiff, of a farm.

(c) Mr. Cook, senior, spent the close of his life with his daughter, at Redcar, and is supposed to have been about eight or five years of age when he died.

(d) From the register of the parish of Marton; from the account given by some inhabitants of the parish; and from the information of — Jackson, Esq. of Normanby, Yorkshire, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. president of the Royal Society.

(e) From the information of Sir Hugh Palliser.

(f) From the books of the Admiralty.

quick and successive appointments shew that his interest was strong, and that the intention to serve him was real and effectual. The destination of the Mercury was to North America, where she joined the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Saunders, which, in conjunction with the land forces under General Wolfe, was engaged in the famous siege of Quebec. During that siege, a difficult and dangerous service was necessary to be performed. This was to take the soundings in the Channel of the river St. Lawrence, between the Island of Orleans and the north shore, directly in the front of the French fortified camp at Montmorency and Beauport, in order to enable the Admiral to place ships against the enemy's batteries, and to cover our army on a general attack, which the heroic Wolfe intended to make on the camp. Captain Palliser, in consequence of his acquaintance with Mr. Cook's sagacity and resolution, recommended him to the service; and he performed it in the most complete manner. In this business he was employed during the night-time, for several nights together. At length he was discovered by the enemy, who collected a great number of Indians and canoes, in a wood near the water-side, which were launched in the night, for the purpose of surrounding him, and cutting him off. On this occasion, he had a very narrow escape. He was obliged to run for it, and pushed on shore on the Island of Orleans, near the guard of the English Hospital. Some of the Indians entered at the stern of the boat, as Mr. Cook leaped out at the bow; and the boat, which was a barge belonging to one of the ships of war, was carried away in triumph. However, he furnished the Admiral with as correct and complete a draught of the Channel and soundings as could have been made after our countrymen were in possession of Quebec. Sir Hugh Palliser has good reason to believe, that before this time Mr. Cook had scarcely ever used a pencil, and that he knew nothing of drawing. But such was his capacity, that he speedily made himself master of every object to which he applied his attention. Another important service was performed by Mr. Cook while the fleet continued in the river of St. Lawrence. The navigation of that river is exceedingly difficult and hazardous. It was particularly so to the English, who were then in a great measure strangers to this part of North America, and who had no chart, on the correctness of which they could depend. It was, therefore, ordered by the Admiral, that Mr. Cook should be employed to survey those parts of the river, below Quebec, which navigators had experienced to be attended with peculiar difficulty and danger; and he executed the business with the same diligence and skill of which he had already afforded so happy a specimen. When he had finished the undertaking, his Chart of the river St. Lawrence was published, with soundings, and directions for sailing in that river. Of the accuracy and utility of this Chart it is sufficient to say, that it hath never since been found necessary to publish any other. One which has appeared in France is only a copy of our author's, on a reduced scale. After the expedition at Quebec, Mr. Cook, by warrant from Lord Colvill, was appointed, on the 22d of September, Master of the Northumberland man of war, the ship in which his lordship staid, in the following winter, as Commodore, with the command of a squadron at Halifax. In this station Mr. Cook's behaviour did not fail to gain him the esteem and friendship of his commander. During the leisure which the season of Winter afforded him, he employed his time in the acquisition of such knowledge as eminently qualified him for future service. It was at Halifax that he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of astronomy and other branches of science. The books of which he had the assistance were few in number; but his industry enabled him to supply many defects, and to make a progress far superior to what could be expected from the advantages he enjoyed (g). While Mr. Cook was Master of the Northumberland under Lord Colvill, that ship came to Newfoundland, in September, 1762, to assist in the recapture of the Island from the French, by the forces under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Amherst. When the Island was recovered, the English fleet staid some days at Placentia, in order to put it in a more complete state of defence. During this time Mr. Cook manifested a diligence in surveying the harbour and heights of the place, which arrested the notice of Captain (now Admiral) Graves, Commander of the Antelope, and Governor of Newfoundland. The Governor was hence induced to ask Cook a variety of questions, from the answers to which he was led to entertain a very favourable opinion of his abilities. This opinion was increased, the more he saw of Mr. Cook's conduct; who, wherever they went, continued to display the most unremitting attention to every object that related to the knowledge of the coast, and which was calculated to facilitate the practice of navigation. The esteem which Captain Graves had conceived for him, was confirmed by the testimonies to his Character that were given by all the officers under whom he served (h). In the latter end of 1762, Mr. Cook returned to England; and, on the 21st of December, in the same year, married, at Barking in Essex, Miss Elizabeth Batts (i), an amiable and deserving woman, who was justly entitled to, and enjoyed his tenderest regard and affection. But his station in life, and the high duties to which he was called, did not permit him to partake of matrimonial felicity without many and very long interruptions. Early in the year of 1763, after the peace with France and Spain was concluded, it was determined that Captain Graves should go out again, as Governor of Newfoundland. As the country was very valuable in a commercial view, and had been

(g) From the information of Sir Hugh Palliser.

(h) From a paper of Admiral Graves's communicated by the Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Carlisle.

(i) From the information of Mrs. Cook.

an object of great contention between the English and the French; the Captain obtained an establishment for the survey of its coasts; which, however, he procured with some difficulty, because the matter was not sufficiently understood by Government at home. In considering the execution of the plan, Mr. Cook appeared to Captain Graves to be a proper person for the purpose; and proposals were made to him, to which, notwithstanding his recent marriage, he readily and prudently acceded. Accordingly, he went out with the Captain as surveyor; and was first employed to survey Miquelon and St. Pierre, which had been ceded by the treaty to the French, who, by order of Administration, were to take possession of them at a certain period, even though the English Commander should not happen to be arrived in the country. When Captain Graves had reached that part of the world, he found there the Governor who had been sent from France (Mons. D'Anjac), with all the settlers and his own family, on board a frigate and some transports. It was contrived, however, to keep them in that disagreeable situation for a whole month, which was the time taken by Mr. Cook to complete his survey. When the business was finished, the French were put into possession of the two islands, and left in the quiet enjoyment of them, with every profession of civility (*k*). At the end of the season, Mr. Cook returned to England, but did not long continue at home. In the beginning of the year 1764, his old and constant friend and patron, Sir Hugh Palliser, was appointed Governor and Commodore of Newfoundland and Labradore; upon which occasion he was glad to take Mr. Cook with him, in the same capacity that he had sustained under Captain Graves. Indeed, no man could have been found who was better qualified for finishing the design which had been begun in the preceding year. The charts of the coasts, in that part of North America, were very erroneous; and it was highly necessary to the trade and navigation of his Majesty's subjects, that new ones should be formed, which would be more correct and useful. Accordingly, under the orders of Commodore Palliser, Mr. Cook was appointed, on the 18th of April, 1764, Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland and Labradore; and he had a vessel, the Grenville schooner, to attend him for that purpose. How well he executed his commission is known to every man acquainted with navigation. The Charts which he afterwards published of the different surveys he had made, reflected great credit on his abilities and character, and the utility of them is universally acknowledged. It is understood, that, so far as Newfoundland is concerned, they were of considerable service to the King's Ministers, in settling the terms of the last peace. Mr. Cook explored the inland parts of this Island in a much completer manner than had ever been done before. By penetrating farther into the middle of the country than any man had hitherto attempted, he discovered several large lakes, which are indicated upon the general Chart (*l*). In these services Mr. Cook appears to have been employed, with the intervals of occasionally returning to England for the winter season, till the year 1767, which was the last time that he went out upon his station of Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland. It must not be omitted, that, while he occupied this post, he had an opportunity of exhibiting to the Royal Society a proof of his progress in the study of astronomy. A short paper was written by him, and inserted in the fifty-seventh volume of the Philosophical Transactions, entitled, "An Observation of an Eclipse of the Sun at the Island of Newfoundland, August 5, 1766, with the Longitude of the Place of Observation deduced from it." The observation was made at one of the Burgeo Islands, near Cape Ray, in latitude $47^{\circ} 36' 19''$, on the south-west extremity of Newfoundland. Mr. Cook's paper having been communicated by Dr. Bevis to Mr. Witchell, the latter Gentleman compared it with an observation taken at Oxford, by the Rev. Mr. Hornsby, on the same eclipse, and thence computed the difference of longitude respecting the places of observation, making due allowance for the effect of parallax, and the prolate spheroidal figure of the earth. It appears from the "Transactions," that our navigator had already obtained the character of being an able Mathematician (*m*).

There is scarcely any thing from which the natural curiosity of man receives a higher gratification, than from the accounts of distant countries and nations. Nor is it curiosity only that is gratified by such accounts; for the sphere of human knowledge is hereby enlarged, and various objects are brought into view, an acquaintance with which greatly contributes to the improvement of life and the benefit of the world. With regard to information of this kind, the moderns have eminently the advantage over the ancients. The ancients could neither pursue their enquiries with the same accuracy, nor carry them on to the same extent. Travelling by land was much more inconvenient and dangerous than it hath been in later times; and, as navigation was principally confined to coasting, it must necessarily have been circumscribed within very narrow limits. The invention of the compass, seconded by the ardent and enterprising spirit of several able men, was followed by wonderful discoveries. Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and a new way being thus found out to the East Indies, the countries in that part of the earth became more accurately and extensively known. Another world was discovered by Columbus; and, at length, Magalhaens accomplished the arduous and hitherto unattempted task of sailing round the globe. At different periods, he was succeeded by other circum-

navigators,

(k) From Admiral Graves's paper.

(l) From Sir Hugh Palliser's communications.

(m) Philosophical Transactions, vol. lvii. p. 215, 216.

(n) Introduction
to Capt. Cook's
Voyage to the
Pacific Ocean,
vol. i. p. i.

(p) Introd. to
Capt. Cook's
Voyage to the
Pacific Ocean,
vol. i. p. xviii.

(r) From the
minutes of the
Council of the
Royal Society.

navigators, of whom it is no part of the present narrative to give an account. The spirit of discovery, which was so vigorous during the latter end of the fifteenth and through the whole of the sixteenth century, began, soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century, to decline. Great navigations were only occasionally undertaken, and more from the immediate views of avarice or war, than from any noble and generous principles. But of late years they have been revived, with the enlarged and benevolent design of promoting the happiness of the human species. A beginning of this kind was made in the reign of King George the Second, during which two voyages were performed; the first under the command of Captain Middleton, and the next under the direction of Captains Smith and Moore, in order to discover a North-west passage, through Hudson's Bay (n). It was reserved, however, for the glory of the present reign to carry the spirit of discovery to its height, and to conduct it on the noblest principles; not for the purposes of covetousness or ambition; not to plunder or destroy the inhabitants of newly-explored countries; but to improve their condition, to instruct them in the arts of life, and to extend the boundaries of science. No sooner was peace restored, in 1763, than these laudable designs engaged his Majesty's patronage; and two voyages round the world had been undertaken, before Mr. Cook set out on his first command. The conductors of these voyages were the Captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret (o), by whom several discoveries were made, which contributed, in no small degree, to increase the knowledge of geography and navigation. Nevertheless, as the purpose for which they were sent out appears to have had a principal reference to a particular object in the South Atlantic, the direct tract they were obliged to hold, on their way homeward by the East Indies, prevented them from doing so much as might otherwise have been expected towards giving the world a complete view of that immense expanse of ocean which the South Pacific comprehends (p). Before Captain Wallis and Captain Carteret had returned to Great Britain, another voyage was resolved upon, for which the improvement of astronomical science afforded the immediate occasion. It having been calculated by Astronomers, that a transit of Venus over the Sun's disk would happen in 1769, it was judged that the best place for observing it would be in some part of the South Sea, either at the Marquesas, or at one of those Islands which Tasman had called Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middleburg, and which are now better known under the appellation of the Friendly Islands (q). This being a matter of eminent consequence in astronomy, and which excited the attention of foreign nations as well as of our own, the affair was taken up by the Royal Society, with the zeal which has always been displayed by that learned body for the advancement of every branch of philosophical science. Accordingly, a long memorial was addressed to his Majesty, dated February the 15th, 1768, representing the great importance of the object, together with the regard which had been paid to it by the principal Courts of Europe; and intreating, among other things, that a vessel might be ordered, at the expence of Government, for the conveyance of suitable persons, to make the observation of the transit of Venus at one of the places before mentioned. This memorial having been laid before the King by the Earl of Shelburne, (now the Marquis of Lansdown) one of the principal Secretaries of State, his Majesty graciously signified his pleasure to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that they should provide a ship for carrying over such observers as the Royal Society should judge proper to send to the South Seas; and, on the 3d of April, Mr. Stephens informed the Society, that a bark had been taken up for the purpose (r). The Gentleman who had originally been fixed upon to take the direction of the expedition, was Alexander Dalrymple, Esq; an eminent Member of the Royal Society, and who, besides possessing an accurate knowledge of astronomy, had distinguished himself by his enquiries into the geography of the Southern Oceans, and by the collection he had published of several voyages to those parts of the world. Mr. Dalrymple being sensible of the difficulty, or rather of the impossibility, of carrying a ship through unknown seas, the crew of which were not subject to the military discipline of his Majesty's Navy, he made it the condition of his going, that he should have a brevet commission as Captain of the vessel, in the same manner as such a commission had been granted to Dr. Halley in his voyage of discovery. To this demand Sir Edward Hawke, who was then at the head of the Admiralty, and who possessed more of the spirit of his profession than either of education or science, absolutely refused to accede. He said at the board, that his conscience would not allow him to trust any ship of his Majesty's to a person who had not regularly been bred a seaman. On being farther pressed upon the subject, Sir Edward declared, that he would suffer his right hand to be cut off, before he would sign any such commission. In this he was, in some degree, justified by the mutinous behaviour of Halley's crew, who refused to acknowledge the legal authority of their commander, and involved him in a dispute which was attended with pernicious consequences. Mr. Dalrymple, on the other hand, was equally steady in requiring a compliance with the terms he had proposed. Such was the state of things, when Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, whose discrimination of the numerous characters, with which by his station he is conversant, reflects as much credit on his understanding, as his upright and able conduct does on the office he has filled, for so many years, and under so many Administrations, with honour to

(o) The Captains Wallis and Carteret went out together upon the same expedition; but the vessels they commanded having accidentally parted company, they proceeded and returned by a different route. Hence their voyages are distinctly related by Dr. Hawke's worth.

(q) *Ibid.* second voyage, vol. i. p. xx. fourth edit.

to himself and advantage to the public, observed to the board, that, since Sir Edward Hawke and Mr. Dalrymple were equally inflexible, no method remained but that of finding out another person capable of the service. He knew, he said, a Mr. Cook, who had been employed as Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland, who had been regularly educated in the Navy, in which he was a Master, and whom he judged to be fully qualified for the direction of the present undertaking. Mr. Stephens, at the same time, recommended it to the Board, to take the opinion of Sir Hugh Palliser, who had lately been Governor of Newfoundland, and was intimately acquainted with Cook's character. Sir Hugh rejoiced in the opportunity of serving his friend. He strengthened Mr. Stephens's recommendation to the utmost of his power; and added many things in Mr. Cook's favour, arising from the particular knowledge which he had of his abilities and merit (s). Accordingly, Mr. Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition by the Lords of the Admiralty; and, on this occasion, he was promoted to the rank of a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, his commission bearing date on the twenty-fifth of May, 1768 (t).

(s) From the information of Philip Stephens, Esq; communicated by Sir Joseph Banks.

(t) From the books of the Admiralty.

When the appointment had taken place, the first object was to provide a vessel adapted to the purposes of the voyage. This business was committed to Sir Hugh Palliser; who took Lieutenant Cook to his assistance, and they examined together a great number of the ships which then lay in the river Thames. At length, they fixed upon one, of three hundred and seventy tons, to which was given the name of the Endeavour (u). While preparations were making for Lieutenant Cook's expedition, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world. The Earl of Morton, President of the Royal Society, had recommended it to this Gentleman, on his going out, to fix upon a proper place for observing the transit of Venus. He kept, accordingly, the object in view; and having discovered, in the course of his enterprise, an Island, called by him George's Island, but which hath since been found to bear the name of Otaheite, he judged that Port Royal harbour in this Island would afford an eligible situation for the purpose. Having, immediately on his return to England, signified his opinion to the Earl of Morton, the Captain's idea was adopted by the Society, and an answer conformable to it was sent to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, who had applied for directions to what place the observers should be sent (w).

(u) From Sir Hugh Palliser's communications.

(w) General Introduction to Hawke's Voyages, vol. i. p. iii.

(x) Minutes of the Council.

Mr. Charles Green, a Gentleman who had been assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, was united with Lieutenant Cook in conducting the astronomical part of the voyage; and, soon after their appointment, they received ample instructions, from the Council of the Royal Society, with regard to the method of carrying on their enquiries (x). The Lieutenant was also accompanied by Joseph Banks, Esq. (now Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.) and Dr. Solander, who, in the prime of life, and the first of them at great expence to himself, quitted all the gratifications of polished society, and engaged in a very tedious, fatiguing, and hazardous navigation, with the laudable views, of acquiring knowledge in general, of promoting natural knowledge in particular, and of contributing something to the improvement and the happiness of the rude inhabitants of the earth. Though it was the principal, it was not the sole object of Lieutenant Cook's voyage to observe the transit of Venus. A more accurate examination of the Pacific Ocean was committed to him, although in subserviency to his main design; and, when his chief business was accomplished, he was directed to proceed in making farther discoveries in the great Southern Seas (y).

(y) Hawke's worth, ubi supra, p. iv.

The complement of Lieutenant Cook's ship consisted of eighty-four persons, besides the Commander. Her victualling was for eighteen months; and there were put on board of her ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, together with an ample store of ammunition and other necessaries (z). On the 25th of May, 1768, Lieutenant Cook was appointed, by the Lords of the Admiralty, to the command of the Endeavour, in consequence of which he went on board on the 27th, and took charge of the ship. She then lay in the basin in Deptford-yard, where she continued to lie till she was completely fitted for sea. On the 30th of July she sailed down the river, and on the 13th of August anchored in Plymouth Sound. The wind becoming fair on the 26th of that month, our navigators got under sail, and on the 13th of September anchored in Funchiale Road, in the Island of Madeira (a). While Lieutenant Cook and his company were in this Island, they were treated with the utmost kindness and liberality by Mr. Cheap, the English Consul there, and one of the most considerable Merchants in the town of Funchiale. He insisted upon their taking possession of his house, and furnished them with every possible accommodation during their stay at Madeira. They received, likewise, great marks of attention and civility from Dr. Thomas Heberden, the principal Physician of the Island, and brother to the excellent and learned Dr. William Heberden, of London. Dr. Thomas Heberden afforded all the assistance in his power to Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander in their botanical enquiries (b). It was not solely from the English that the Lieutenant and his friends experienced a kind reception. The fathers of the Franciscan Convent displayed a liberality of sentiment towards them, which might not have been expected from Portuguese Friars; and in a visit which they paid to a Convent of Nuns, the Ladies expressed a particular pleasure in seeing them. At this visit the good Nuns gave an amusing proof of the progress they had made in the cultivation of their understandings. Having heard that there were great Philosophers among the English

(z) Ibid.

(a) Hawke's worth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 1. 3.

(b) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

(c) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 9.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 15,
16.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 18-
27.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 41, 42.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 15,
16.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 34.

Gentlemen, they asked them a variety of questions; one of which was, when it would thunder; and another, whether a spring of fresh water, which was much wanted, was any where to be found within the walls of the Convent. Eminent as our Philosophers were, they were puzzled by these questions (c). Lieutenant Cook, having laid in a fresh stock of beef, water, and wine, set sail from the Island of Madeira, in the night of the 18th of September, and proceeded on his voyage. By the 7th of November, several articles of the ship's provisions began to fall short; for which reason the Lieutenant determined to put into Rio de Janeiro. This place he preferred to any other port in Brasil or to Falkland's Islands, because he could there be better supplied with what he wanted, and had no doubt of meeting with a friendly reception (d). During the run between Madeira and Rio de Janeiro, Lieutenant Cook and the Gentlemen in the Endeavour had an opportunity of determining a philosophical question. On the evening of the 29th of October, they observed that luminous appearance of the sea which hath so often been mentioned by Navigators, and which has been ascribed to such a variety of causes. Flashes of light appeared to be emitted, exactly resembling those of lightning, though without being so considerable; and such was the frequency of them that sometimes eight or ten were visible almost at the same moment. It was the opinion of Mr. Cook and the other Gentlemen, that these flashes proceeded from some luminous animal; and their opinion was confirmed by experiment (e). At Rio de Janeiro, in the port of which Lieutenant Cook came to an anchor on the 13th of November, he did not meet with the polite reception that, perhaps, he had too sanguinely expected. His stay was spent in continual altercations with the Viceroy, who appeared not a little jealous of the designs of the English: nor were all the attempts of the Lieutenant to set the matter right, capable of producing any effect. The Viceroy was by no means distinguished either by his knowledge or his love of science; and the grand object of Mr. Cook's expedition was quite beyond his comprehension. When he was told that the English were bound to the Southward, by the order of his Britannic Majesty, to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun, an astronomical phenomenon of great importance to Navigation, he could form no other conception of the matter, than that it was the passing of the North star through the South Pole. During the whole of the contest with the Viceroy, Lieutenant Cook behaved with equal spirit and discretion. A supply of water and other necessaries could not be refused him, and these were gotten on board by the 1st of December. On that day the Lieutenant sent to the Viceroy for a pilot to carry the Endeavour to sea; but the wind preventing the ship from getting out, she was obliged to continue some time longer in the harbour. A Spanish packet having arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the 2d of December, with dispatches from Buenos Ayres for Spain, the Commander, Don Antonio de Monte Negro y Velasco, offered, with great politeness, to convey the letters of the English to Europe. This favour Lieutenant Cook accepted, and gave Don Antonio a packet for the Secretary of the Admiralty, containing copies of all the papers that had passed between himself and the Viceroy. He left, also, duplicates with the Viceroy, that he might forward them, if he thought proper, to Lisbon. On the 5th of December, it being a dead calm, our Navigators weighed anchor, and towed down the Bay; but, to their great astonishment, two shot were fired at them, when they had gotten abreast of Santa Cruz, the principal fortification of the harbour. Lieutenant Cook immediately cast anchor, and sent to the Fort to demand the reason of this conduct; the answer to which was, that the Commandant had received no order from the Viceroy to let the ship pass; and that, without such an order, no vessel was ever suffered to go below the Fort. It now became necessary to send to the Viceroy, to enquire why the order had not been given; and his behaviour appeared the more extraordinary, as notice had been transmitted to him of the departure of the English, and he had thought proper to write a polite letter to Mr. Cook, wishing him a good voyage. The Lieutenant's messenger soon returned, with the information that the order had been written several days, and that its not having been sent had arisen from some unaccountable negligence. It was not till the 7th of December that the Endeavour got under sail (f). In the account which Lieutenant Cook has given of Rio de Janeiro, and the country around it, one circumstance is recorded, which cannot be otherwise than very painful to humanity. It is the horrid expence of life at which the gold mines are wrought. No less than forty thousand negroes are annually imported for this purpose, on the King of Portugal's account; and the English were credibly informed, that, in the year 1766, this number fell so short, that twenty thousand more were drafted from the town of Rio (g). From Rio de Janeiro Lieutenant Cook pursued his voyage, and, on the 14th of January, 1769, entered the Streight of Le Maire, at which time the tide drove the ship out with so much violence, and raised such a sea off Cape St. Diego, that she frequently pitched, so that the bowsprit was under water (h). On the next day, the Lieutenant anchored, first before a small cove, which was understood to be Port Maurice, and afterwards in the Bay of Good Success. While the Endeavour was in this station, happened the memorable adventure of Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse the Surgeon, and Mr. Green the Astronomer, together with their attendants and servants, and two seamen, in ascending a mountain to search for plants. In this expedition, they were all of them exposed to the

utmost extremity of danger and of cold; Dr. Solander was seized with a torpor which had nearly proved fatal to his life; and two black servants actually died. When the Gentlemen had, at length, on the second day of their adventure, gotten back to the ship, they congratulated each other on their safety, with a joy that can only be felt by those who have experienced equal perils; and Mr. Cook was relieved from a very painful anxiety. It was a dreadful testimony of the severity of the climate, that this event took place when it was the midst of summer in that part of the world (*i*), and at the close of a day the beginning of which was as mild and warm as the month of May usually is in England. In the passage through the Streight of Le Maire, Lieutenant Cook and his ingenious associates had an opportunity of gaining a considerable degree of acquaintance with the inhabitants of the adjoining country. Here it was that they saw human nature in its lowest form. The natives appeared to be the most destitute and forlorn, as well as the most stupid, of the children of men. Their lives are spent in wandering about the dreary wastes that surround them; and their dwellings are no other than wretched hovels of sticks and grass, which not only admit the wind, but the snow and the rain. They are almost naked; and so devoid are they of every convenience which is furnished by the rudest art, that they have not so much as an implement to dress their food. Nevertheless, they seemed to have no wish for acquiring more than they possessed; nor did any thing that was offered them by the English appear acceptable but beads, as an ornamental superfluity of life. A conclusion is hence drawn by Dr. Hawkesworth, that these people may be upon a level with ourselves, in respect to the happiness they enjoy (*k*). This, however, is a position which ought not hastily to be admitted. It is, indeed, a beautiful circumstance, in the order of Divine Providence, that the rudest inhabitants of the earth, and those who are situated in the most unfavourable climates, should not be sensible of their disadvantages. But still it must be allowed, that their happiness is greatly inferior, both in kind and degree, to that intellectual, social, and moral felicity which is capable of being attained in a highly-cultivated state of society.

(i) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 43. 46—53.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 59.

In voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, the determination of the best passage from the Atlantic is a point of peculiar importance. It is well known what prodigious difficulties were experienced in this respect by former Navigators. The doubling of Cape Horn, in particular, was so much dreaded, that, in the general opinion, it was far more eligible to pass through the Streight of Magalhaens. Lieutenant Cook hath fully ascertained the erroneousness of this opinion. He was but three-and-thirty days in coming round the land of Terra del Fuego, from the East entrance of the Streight of Le Maire, till he had advanced about twelve degrees to the westward, and three and a half to the northward of the Streight of Magalhaens; and, during this time, the ship scarcely received any damage. Whereas, if he had come into the Pacific Ocean by that passage, he would not have been able to accomplish it in less than three months; besides which, his people would have been fatigued, and the anchors, cables, sails, and rigging of the vessel much injured. By the course he pursued, none of these inconveniencies were suffered. In short, Lieutenant Cook, by his own example in doubling Cape Horn, by his accurate ascertainment of the latitude and longitude of the places he came to, and by his instructions to future Voyagers, performed the most essential services to this part of navigation (*l*). It was on the 26th of January that the Endeavour took her departure from Cape Horn; and it appeared, that, from that time to the 1st of March, during a run of six hundred and sixty leagues, there was no current which affected the ship. Hence it was highly probable that our Navigators had been near no land of any considerable extent, currents being always found when land is not remote (*m*). In the prosecution of Lieutenant Cook's voyage from Cape Horn to Otaheite several Islands were discovered, to which the names were given of Lagoon Island, Thrumb-cap, Bow Island, The Groups, Bird Island, and Chain Island. It appeared that most of these Islands were inhabited; and the verdure, and groves of palm-trees, which were visible upon some of them, gave them the aspect of a terrestrial paradise to men who, excepting the dreary hills of Terra del Fuego, had seen nothing for a long time but sky and water [*A*]. On the 11th of April, the Endeavour arrived in sight of Otaheite, and on the 13th she came to an anchor in Port Royal Bay, which is called *Matavai* by the natives. As the stay of the English in the Island was not likely to be very short, and much depended on the manner in which traffic should be carried on with the inhabitants, Lieutenant Cook, with great good sense and humanity, drew up a set of regulations for the behaviour of his people, and gave it in command that they should punctually be observed [*B*]. One of the first things that occupied the Lieutenant's attention, after his arrival

(l) *Ibid.* p. 67, 68.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 66. 69.

[*A*] Had seen nothing for a long time but sky and water.] Lagoon Island lies in latitude $18^{\circ} 47'$ S. and longitude $139^{\circ} 28'$ W.; the Thrumb-cap, in latitude $18^{\circ} 35'$ S. and longitude $139^{\circ} 48'$ W.; Bow Island, in latitude $18^{\circ} 23'$ S. and longitude $141^{\circ} 12'$ W.; the south-easternmost of the Groups, in latitude $18^{\circ} 12'$ S. and longitude $142^{\circ} 42'$ W.; Bird Island, in latitude $17^{\circ} 48'$ S. and longitude $143^{\circ} 35'$ W.; and

Chain Island, in latitude $17^{\circ} 23'$ S. and longitude $145^{\circ} 54'$ W. (*1*).

[*B*] And gave it in command that they should punctually be observed.] The rules were as follows: "I. To endeavour, by every fair means, to cultivate a friendship with the natives; and to treat them with all imaginable humanity. II. A proper person, or persons, will be appointed to trade with

(1) *Ibid.* p. 72—73.

" the

arrival at Otaheite, was to prepare for the execution of his grand commission. For this purpose, as, in an excursion to the westward, he had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which the Endeavour lay, he determined to go on shore and fix upon some spot, commanded by the guns of the ship, where he might throw up a small fort for defence, and get every thing ready for making the astronomical observation. Accordingly, he took a party of men, and landed, being accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Green. They soon fixed upon a place very proper for their design, and which was at a considerable distance from any habitation of the natives. While the Gentlemen were marking out the ground which they intended to occupy, and seeing a small tent erected that belonged to Mr. Banks, a great number of the people of the country gathered gradually around them, but with no hostile appearance, as there was not among the Indians a single weapon of any kind. Mr. Cook, however, intimated that none of them were to come within the line he had drawn, excepting one, who appeared to be a chief, and Owahaw, a native who had attached himself to the English, both in Captain Wallis's expedition and in the present voyage. The Lieutenant endeavoured to make these two persons understand that the ground which had been marked out was only wanted to sleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then it would be quitted. Whether his meaning was comprehended or not, he could not certainly determine; but the people behaved with a deference and respect that could scarcely have been expected, and which were highly pleasing. They sat down without the circle, peaceably and uninterruptedly attending to the progress of the business, which was upwards of two hours in completing. This matter being finished, and Mr. Cook having appointed thirteen Marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, he and the Gentlemen with him set out upon a little excursion into the woods of the country. They had not, however, gone far, before they were brought back by a very disagreeable event. One of the Indians, who remained about the tent after the Lieutenant and his friends had left it, watched an opportunity of taking the sentry at unawares, and snatched away his musquet. Upon this, the petty officer who commanded the party, and who was a Midshipman, ordered the Marines to fire. With equal want of consideration, and, perhaps, with equal inhumanity, the men immediately discharged their pieces among the thickest of the flying crowd, who consisted of more than a hundred. It being observed that the thief did not fall, he was pursued, and shot dead. From subsequent information it happily appeared, that none of the natives besides were either killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cook, who was highly displeased with the conduct of the petty officer, used every method in his power to dispel the terrors and apprehensions of the Indians, but not immediately with effect. The next morning but few of the inhabitants were seen upon the beach, and not one of them came off to the ship. What added particularly to the regret of the English was, that even Owahaw, who had hitherto been so constant in his attachment, and who the day before had been remarkably active in endeavouring to renew the peace which had been broken, did not now make his appearance. In the evening, however, when the Lieutenant went on shore with only a boat's crew and some of the Gentlemen, between thirty and forty of the natives gathered around them, and trafficked with them, in a friendly manner, for cocoa-nuts and other fruit (p). On the 17th, Mr. Cook and Mr. Green set up a tent on shore, and spent the night there, in order to observe an Eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter; but they met with a disappointment, in consequence of the weather's becoming cloudy. The next day, the Lieutenant, with as many of his people as could possibly be spared from the ship, began to erect the fort. While the English were employed in this business, many of the Indians were so far from hindering, that they voluntarily assisted them, and with great alacrity brought the pickets and fascines from the wood where they had been cut. Indeed, so scrupulous had Mr. Cook been of invading their property, that every stake which was used was purchased, and not a tree was cut down till their consent had first been obtained (q). On the 26th, the Lieutenant mounted six swivel guns upon the fort, on which occasion he saw, with concern, that the natives were alarmed and terrified. Some fishermen, who lived upon the point, removed to a greater distance; and Owahaw informed the English, by signs, of his expectation that in four days they would fire their great guns. The Lieutenant, on the succeeding day, gave a striking proof of his regard to justice, and of his care to preserve the inhabitants from injury and violence, by the punishment he inflicted on the butcher of the Endeavour, who was accused of having threatened, or

(p) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 89—93.

(q) *Ibid.* p. 93, 94.

“ the natives for all manner of provisions, fruit, and
 “ other productions of the earth; and no officer or
 “ seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, ex-
 “ cepting such as are so appointed, shall trade, or
 “ offer to trade, for any sort of provision, fruit, or
 “ other productions of the earth, unless they have
 “ leave so to do. III. Every person employed on
 “ shore on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend
 “ to the same; and if by any neglect he loseth any
 “ of his arms, or working tools, or suffers them to
 “ be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged

“ against his pay, according to the custom of the Navy
 “ in such cases, and he shall receive such farther pu-
 “ nishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.
 “ IV. The same penalty will be inflicted on every
 “ person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer
 “ to trade, with any part of the ship's stores, of what
 “ nature soever. V. No sort of iron, or any thing
 “ that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other
 “ useful or necessary articles, are to be given in ex-
 “ change for any thing but provision.

“ J. Cook (2).”

attempted

(2) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 79—82.

attempted, the life of a woman that was the wife of Tubourai Tomaide, a chief remarkable for his attachment to our navigators. The butcher wanted to purchase of her a stone hatchet for a nail. To this bargain she absolutely refused to accede; upon which the fellow caught up the hatchet, and threw down the nail; threatening, at the same time, that if she made any resistance, he would cut her throat with a reaping-hook which he had in his hand. The charge was so fully proved in the presence of Mr. Banks, and the butcher had so little to say in exculpation of himself, that not the least doubt remained of his guilt. The affair being reported by Mr. Banks to Lieutenant Cook, he took an opportunity, when the Chief and his women, with others of the natives, were on board the ship, to call up the offender, and, after recapitulating the accusation and the proof of it, to give orders for his immediate punishment. While the butcher was stripped, and tied up to the rigging, the Indians preserved a fixed attention, and waited for the event in silent suspense. But as soon as the first stroke was inflicted, such was the humanity of these people, that they interfered with great agitation, and earnestly intreated that the rest of the punishment might be remitted. To this, however, the Lieutenant, for various reasons, could not grant his consent; and, when they found that their intercessions were ineffectual, they manifested their compassion by tears (r). On the first of May, the observatory was set up, and the astronomical quadrant, together with some other instruments, was taken on shore. When, on the next morning, Mr. Cook and Mr. Green landed for the purpose of fixing the quadrant in a situation for use, to their inexpressible surprize and concern it was not to be found. It had been deposited in a tent reserved for the Lieutenant's use, where no one had slept: it had never been taken out of the packing-case, and the whole was of considerable weight: none of the other instruments were missing; and a centinel had been posted the whole night within five yards of the tent. These circumstances induced a suspicion that the robbery might have been committed by some of our own people, who having seen a deal box, and not knowing the contents, might imagine that it contained nails, or other articles for traffic with the natives. The most diligent search, therefore, was made, and a large reward was offered for the finding of the quadrant, but with no degree of success. In this exigency, Mr. Banks was of eminent service. As this Gentleman had more influence over the Indians than any other person on board the Endeavour, and as there could now be little doubt of the quadrant's having been conveyed away by some of the natives, he determined to go in search of it into the woods; and it was recovered in consequence of his judicious and spirited exertions. The pleasure with which it was brought back was equal to the importance of the event; for the grand object of the voyage could not otherwise have been accomplished (s). Another embarrassment, though not of so serious a nature, was occasioned, on the very same day, by one of our officers having inadvertently taken into custody Tootahah, a chief who had connected himself in the most friendly manner with the English. Lieutenant Cook, who had given express orders that none of the Indians should be confined, and who, therefore, was equally surprized and concerned at this transaction, instantly set Tootahah at liberty. So strongly had this Indian been possessed with the notion that it was intended to put him to death, that he could not be persuaded to the contrary till he was led out of the fort. His joy at his deliverance was so great, that it displayed itself in a liberality which our people were very unwilling to partake of, from a consciousness that on this occasion they had no claim to the reception of favours. The impression, however, of the confinement of the chief operated with such force upon the minds of the natives, that few of them appeared; and the market was so ill supplied, that the English were in want of necessaries. At length, by the prudent exertions of Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, the friendship of Tootahah was completely recovered, and the reconciliation worked upon the Indians like a charm; for it was no sooner known that he had gone voluntarily on board the Endeavour, than bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other provisions, were brought to the fort in great plenty (t). The Lieutenant and the rest of the Gentlemen had hitherto, with a laudable discretion, bartered only beads for the articles of food now mentioned. But the market becoming slack, they were obliged for the first time, on the eighth of May, to bring out their nails; and such was the effect of this new commodity, that one of the smallest size, which was about four inches long, procured twenty cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit in proportion (u). It was not till the tenth of the month that our voyagers learned that the Indian name of the Island was OTAHEITE, by which name it hath since been always distinguished (w). On Sunday the fourteenth, an instance was exhibited of the inattention of the natives to our modes of religion. The Lieutenant had directed that divine service should be performed at the fort; and he was desirous that some of the principal Indians should be present. Mr. Banks secured the attendance of Tubourai Tomaide and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occasion to some enquiries on their part, and to some instruction in return. During the whole service, they very attentively observed Mr. Banks's behaviour, and stood, sat, or kneeled, as they saw him do; and they appeared to be sensible that it was a serious and important employment in which the English were engaged. But when the worship was ended, neither of them asked any questions, nor would they attend to any explanations which were attempted to

(r) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 102, 103.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 114 —115.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 122.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 123.

(x) Hawkef-
worth, *ubi supra*,
p. 127.

be given of what had been performed (x). As the day approached for executing the grand purpose of the voyage, Lieutenant Cook determined, in consequence of some hints which he had received from the Earl of Morton, to send out two parties, to observe the transit of Venus from other situations. By this means he hoped that the success of the observation would be secured, if there should happen to be any failure at Otaheite. Accordingly, on Thursday the first of June, he dispatched Mr. Gore in the long-boat to Eimeo, a neighbouring island, together with Mr. Monkhouse, and Mr. Sporing, a Gentleman belonging to Mr. Banks. They were furnished by Mr. Green with proper instruments. Mr. Banks himself chose to go upon this expedition, in which he was accompanied by Tubourai Tomaide and Tomio, and by others of the natives. Early the next morning, the Lieutenant sent Mr. Hicks, in the pinnace, with Mr. Clerke and Mr. Pickersgill, and Mr. Saunders, one of the midshipmen, ordering them to fix upon some convenient spot to the eastward, at a distance from the principal observatory, where they also might employ the instruments they were provided with for observing the transit. The anxiety for such weather as would be favourable to the success of the experiment, was powerfully felt by all the parties concerned. They could not sleep in peace the preceding night: but their apprehensions were happily removed by the sun's rising, on the morning of the third of June, without a cloud. The weather continued with equal clearness through the whole of the day; so that the observation was successfully made in every quarter. At the fort, where Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Green, and Dr. Solander were stationed, the whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage. The magnifying power of Dr. Solander's telescope was superior to that of those which belonged to the Lieutenant and to Mr. Green. They all saw an atmosphere or dusky cloud round the body of the planet; which much disturbed the times of contact, and especially of the internal ones; and, in their accounts of these times, they differed from each other in a greater degree than might have been expected. According to Mr. Green,

	Morning.	h. min. sec.
The first external contact, or first appearance of Venus on the sun, was	9 25 42	
The first internal contact, or total immersion, was	9 44 4	
	Afternoon.	
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion, was	3 14 8	
The second external contact, or total emersion, was	3 32 10	
The latitude of the observatory was found to be $17^{\circ} 29' 15''$; and the longitude $149^{\circ} 32' 30''$ west of Greenwich.		

A more particular account of this great astronomical event, the providing for the accurate observation of which reflects so much honour on his Majesty's munificent patronage of science, may be seen in the sixty-first volume of the Philosophical Transactions (y).

(y) *Ibid.* p. 137
—141.
Transactions,
vol. lxi. p. 397.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 141.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 142.

The pleasure which Lieutenant Cook and his friends derived from having thus successfully accomplished the first grand object of the voyage, was not a little abated by the conduct of some of the ship's company, who, while the attention of the officers was engrossed by the transit of Venus, broke into one of the store-rooms, and stole a quantity of spike nails, amounting to no less than an hundred weight. This was an evil of a public and serious nature; for these nails, if injudiciously circulated among the Indians, would be productive of irreparable injury to the English, by reducing the value of iron, their staple commodity. One of the thieves, from whom only seven nails were recovered, was detected; but, though the punishment of two dozen lashes was inflicted upon him, he would not impeach any of his accomplices (z). Upon account of the absence of the two parties who had been sent out to observe the transit, the King's birth-day was celebrated on the fifth, instead of the fourth of June (a); and the festivity of the day must have been greatly heightened by the happy success with which his Majesty's liberality had been crowned. On the twelfth, Lieutenant Cook was again reduced to the necessity of exercising the severity of discipline. Complaint having been made to him, by certain of the natives, that two of the seamen had taken from them several bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, and the charge being fully supported, he punished each of the criminals with two dozen of lashes. On the same day it was discovered, that Otaheite, like other countries in a certain period of society, has its bards and its minstrels. Mr. Banks, in his morning's walk, had met with a number of natives, who appeared, upon enquiry, to be travelling musicians; and having learned where they were to be at night, all the Gentlemen of the Endeavour repaired to the place. The band consisted of two flutes and three drums; and the drummers accompanied the music with their voices. To the surprise of the English Gentlemen, they found that themselves were generally the subject of the song, which was unpremeditated. These minstrels were continually going about from place to place; and they were rewarded, by the master of the house and the audience, with such things as they wanted. The repeated thefts which were committed by the inhabitants of Otaheite brought our voyagers into frequent difficulties, and it required all the wisdom of Lieutenant Cook to conduct himself in a proper manner. His sentiments

VI. 107 on

on the subject displayed the liberality of his mind. He thought it of consequence, to put an end, if possible, to thievish practices at once, by doing something that should engage the natives in general to prevent them, from a regard to their common interest. Strict orders had been given by him, that they should not be fired upon, even when they were detected in attempting to steal any of the English property. For this the Lieutenant had many reasons. The common centinels were in no degree fit to be entrusted with a power of life and death; neither did Mr. Cook think that the thefts committed by the Otaheitans deserved so severe a punishment. They were not born under the law of England; nor was it one of the conditions under which they claimed the benefits of civil society, that their lives should be forfeited, unless they abstained from theft. As the Lieutenant was not willing that the natives should be exposed to fire-arms loaded with shot, neither did he approve of firing only with powder, which, if repeatedly found to be harmless, would at length be despised. At a time when a considerable robbery had been committed, an accident furnished him with what he hoped would be a happy expedient for preventing future attempts of the same kind. Above twenty of the sailing canoes of the inhabitants came in with a supply of fish. Upon these Lieutenant Cook immediately seized, and, having brought them into the river behind the fort, gave notice, that unless the things which had been stolen were returned, the canoes should be burnt. This menace, without designing to put it into execution, he ventured to publish, from a full conviction that, as restitution was thus made a common cause, the stolen goods would all of them speedily be brought back. In this, however, he was mistaken. An iron coal-rake, indeed, was restored; upon which great solicitation was made for the release of the canoes; but he still insisted on his original condition. When the next day came, he was much surprized to find that nothing farther had been returned; and, as the people were in the utmost distress for the fish, which would in a short time be spoilt, he was reduced to the disagreeable alternative, either of releasing the canoes, contrary to what he had solemnly and publicly declared, or of detaining them, to the great damage of those who were innocent. As a temporary expedient, he permitted the natives to take the fish, but still detained the canoes. So far was this measure from being attended with advantage, that it was productive of new confusion and injury; for as it was not easy at once to distinguish to what particular persons the several lots of fish belonged, the canoes were plundered by those who had no right to any part of their cargo. At length, most pressing instances being still made for the restoration of the canoes, and Lieutenant Cook having reason to believe, either that the things for which he detained them were not in the Island, or that those who suffered by their detention were absolutely incapable of prevailing upon the thieves to relinquish their booty, he determined, though not immediately, to comply with the solicitations of the natives. Our commander was, however, not a little mortified at the ill success of his project (b). About the same time, another accident occurred, which, notwithstanding all the caution of our principal voyagers, was very near embroiling them with the Indians. The Lieutenant having sent a boat on shore to get ballast for the ship, the officer, not immediately finding stones suitable to the purpose, began to pull down some part of an inclosure in which the inhabitants had deposited the bones of their dead. This action a number of the natives violently opposed; and a messenger came down to the tents, to acquaint the Gentlemen that no such thing would be suffered. Mr. Banks directly repaired to the place, and soon put an amicable end to the contest, by sending the boat's crew to the river, where a sufficient quantity of stones might be gathered without a possibility of giving offence. These Indians appeared to be much more alarmed at any injury which they apprehended to be done to the dead than to the living. This was the only measure in which they ventured to oppose the English: and the only insult that was ever offered to any individual belonging to the Endeavour was upon a similar occasion (c). It should undoubtedly be the concern of all voyagers, to abstain from wantonly offending the religious prejudices of the people among whom they come. To extend the knowledge of navigation and the sphere of discovery, objects which we need not say that Lieutenant Cook kept always steadily in view, he set out, in the pinnace, on the twenty-sixth of June, accompanied by Mr. Banks, to make the circuit of the Island. The particulars of this circuit, in which the Lieutenant and his companions were once thrown into great alarm by the apprehended loss of the boat, are fully related in Dr. Hawkesworth's Narrative. By this expedition Mr. Cook obtained an acquaintance with the several districts of Otaheite, the chiefs who presided over them, and a variety of curious circumstances respecting the manners and customs of the inhabitants. On the first of July, he got back to the fort at Matavai, having found the circuit of the island, including the two peninsulas of which it consisted, to be about thirty leagues (d). The circumnavigation of Otaheite was followed by an expedition of Mr. Banks's to trace the river up the valley from which it issues, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. During this excursion, he discerned many traces of subterraneous fire. The stones, like those of Madeira, displayed evident tokens of having been burnt; and the very clay upon the hills had the same appearance. Another valuable employment of Mr. Banks was the planting of a great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected

(b) Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 147—250.

(d) Ibid. p. 155—169.

(c) Ibid. p. 150, 151.

collected at Rio de Janeiro. For these he prepared ground on each side of the fort, and selected as many varieties of soil as could be found. He gave, also, liberally of these seeds to the natives, and planted many of them in the woods (e). Lieutenant Cook now began to prepare for his departure. On the seventh of July, the carpenters were employed in taking down the gates and pallisades of the fortification; and it was continued to be dismantled during the two following days. Our Commander and the rest of the Gentlemen were in hopes that they should quit Otaheite without giving or receiving any farther offence; but in this respect they were unfortunately disappointed. The Lieutenant had prudently overlooked a dispute of a smaller nature between a couple of foreign seamen and some of the Indians, when he was immediately involved in a quarrel which he greatly regretted, and which yet it was totally out of his power to avoid. In the middle of the night, between the eighth and the ninth, Clement Webb and Samuel Gibson, two of the marines, went privately from the fort. As they were not to be found in the morning, Mr. Cook was apprehensive that they intended to stay behind; but, being unwilling to endanger the harmony and good-will which at present subsisted between our people and the natives, he determined to wait a day for the chance of the men's return. As, to the great concern of the Lieutenant, the marines were not come back on the morning of the tenth, enquiry was made after them of the Indians, who acknowledged that each of them had taken a wife, and had resolved to become inhabitants of the country. After some deliberation, two of the natives undertook to conduct such persons to the place of the deserters' retreat as Mr. Cook should think proper to send; and accordingly he dispatched with the guides a petty officer, and the corporal of the marines. As it was of the utmost importance to recover the men, and to do it speedily, it was intimated to several of the Chiefs who were in the fort with the women, among whom were Tubourai Tomaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be permitted to leave it till the fugitives were returned; and the Lieutenant had the pleasure of observing that they received the intimation with very little indications of alarm, and with assurances that his people should be secured and sent back as soon as possible. While this transaction took place at the fort, our Commander sent Mr. Hicks in the pinnace to fetch Tootahah on board the ship. Mr. Cook had reason to expect, if the Indian guides proved faithful, that the deserters, and those who went in search of them, would return before the evening. Being disappointed, his suspicions increased, and thinking it not safe, when the night approached, to let the persons whom he had detained as hostages to continue at the fort, he ordered Tubourai Tomaide, Oberea, and some others, to be taken on board the Endeavour; a circumstance which excited so general an alarm, that several of them, and especially the women, expressed their apprehensions with great emotions and many tears. Webb, about nine o'clock, was brought back by some of the natives, who declared that Gibson, and the petty officer and corporal, would not be restored till Tootahah should be set at liberty. Lieutenant Cook now found that the tables were turned upon him; but, having proceeded too far to retreat, he immediately dispatched Mr. Hicks in the long-boat, with a strong party of men, to rescue the prisoners. Tootahah was, at the same time, informed, that it behoved him to send some of his people with them, for the purpose of affording them effectual assistance. With this injunction he readily complied, and the prisoners were restored without the least opposition. On the next day they were brought back to the ship, upon which the chiefs were released from their confinement. Thus ended an affair which had given the Lieutenant a great deal of trouble and concern. It appears, however, that the measure which he pursued was the result of an absolute necessity; since it was only by the seizure of the Chiefs that he could have recovered his men. Love was the seducer of the two marines. So strong was the attachment which they had formed to a couple of girls, that it was their design to conceal themselves till the ship had sailed, and to take up their residence in the Island (f). Tupia was one of the natives who had so particularly devoted himself to the English, that he had scarcely ever been absent from them during the whole of their stay at Otaheite. He had been Oberea's first Minister, while she was in the height of her power; and he was also Chief Priest of the country. To his knowledge of the religious principles and ceremonies of the Indians, he added great experience in navigation, and a particular acquaintance with the number and situation of the neighbouring Islands. This man had often expressed a desire to go with our Navigators, and when they were ready to depart, he came on board, with a boy about thirteen years of age, and intreated that he might be permitted to proceed with them on their voyage. To have such a person in the Endeavour, was desirable on many accounts; and, therefore, Lieutenant Cook gladly acceded to his proposal. On the thirteenth of July, the English weighed anchor; and as soon as the ship was under sail, the Indians on board took their leaves, and wept, with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender. Tupia sustained himself in this scene with a truly admirable firmness and resolution; for, though he wept, the effort he made to conceal his tears concurred, with them, to do him honour. The stay of our voyagers at Otaheite was three months, the greater part of which time was spent in the most cordial friendship with the inhabitants, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. That any differences should happen, was greatly regretted

(e) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 172—175.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 175—180.

on the part of Lieutenant Cook and his friends, who were studious to avoid them as much as possible. The principal causes of them resulted from the peculiar situation and circumstances of the English and the Indians, and especially from the disposition of the latter to theft. The effects of this disposition could not always be submitted to or prevented. It was happy, however, that there was only a single instance in which the differences that arose were attended with any fatal consequence; and by that accident the Lieutenant was instructed to take the most effectual measures for the future prevention of similar events. He had nothing so much at heart, as that in no case the intercourse of his people with the natives should be productive of bloodshed. The traffic with the inhabitants for provisions and refreshments, which was chiefly under the management of Mr. Banks, was carried on with as much order as in any well-regulated market in Europe. Axes, hatchets, spikes, large nails, looking-glasses, knives, and beads, were found to be the best articles to deal in; and for some of these, every thing which the inhabitants possessed might be procured. They were, indeed, fond of fine linen cloth, whether white or printed; but an axe, worth half a crown, would fetch more than a piece of cloth of the value of twenty shillings (g). It would deviate from the plan of this narrative, to enter into a minute account of the nature, productions, inhabitants, customs, and manners of the countries which were discovered or visited by Mr. Cook; or to give a particular detail of every nautical, geographical, and astronomical observation. These things must be sought for in the voyages at large which have been published by authority. It will be sufficient here to take notice, that our Commander did not depart from Otaheite without accumulating a store of information and instruction for the enlargement of knowledge and the benefit of navigation.

(g) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 180—183.

While the Endeavour proceeded on her voyage under an easy sail, Tupia informed Lieutenant Cook, that, at four of the neighbouring Islands, which he distinguished by the names of HUAHEINE, ULIETEA, OTAHA, and BOLABOLA, hogs, fowls, and other refreshments, which had latterly been sparingly supplied at Otaheite, might be procured in great plenty. The Lieutenant, however, was desirous of first examining an Island that lay to the northward, and was called TETHUROA. Accordingly, he came near it; but having found it to be only a small low Island, and being told, at the same time, that it had no settled inhabitants, he determined to drop any farther examination of it, and to go in search of Huaheine and Ulietea, which were described to be well peopled, and as large as Otaheite. On the fifteenth of July, the weather being hazy, with light breezes and calms succeeding each other, so that no land could be seen, and little way was made, Tupia afforded an amusing proof that, in the exercise of his priestly character, he knew how to unite some degree of art with his superstition. He often prayed for a wind to his god Tane, and as often boasted of his success. This, indeed, he took a most effectual method to secure; for he never began his address to his Divinity, till he perceived the breeze to be so near, that he knew it must approach the ship before his supplications could well be brought to a conclusion (b). The Endeavour, on the sixteenth, being close in with the north-west part of Huaheine, some canoes soon came off, in one of which was the King of the Island and his wife. At first the people seemed afraid; but, upon seeing Tupia, their apprehensions were in part dispersed, and, at length, in consequence of frequent and earnestly-repeated assurances of friendship, their Majesties and several others ventured on board the ship. Their astonishment at every thing which was shewn them was very great; and yet their curiosity did not extend to any objects but what were particularly pointed out to their notice. When they had become more familiar, Mr. Cook was given to understand, that the King was called OREE, and that he proposed, as a mark of amity, their making an exchange of their names. To this our Commander readily consented; and, during the remainder of their being together, the Lieutenant was Oree, and his Majesty was Cookee. In the afternoon, the Endeavour having come to an anchor, in a small but excellent harbour on the West side of the Island, the name of which was OWHARRE, Mr. Cook, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Monkhouse, Tupia, and the natives who had been on board ever since the morning, immediately went on shore. The English Gentlemen repeated their excursions on the two following days; in the course of which they found that the people of Huaheine had a very near resemblance to those of Otaheite, in person, dress, language, and every other circumstance; and that the productions of the country were exactly similar. In trafficking with our people, the inhabitants of Huaheine displayed a caution and hesitation which rendered the dealing with them slow and tedious. On the nineteenth, therefore, the English were obliged to bring out some hatchets, which it was at first hoped there would be no occasion for, in an Island that had never before been visited by any European. These procured three very large hogs; and as it was proposed to sail in the afternoon, Oree and several others came on board to take their leave. To the King Mr. Cook gave a small pewter plate, on which was stamped this inscription; "His Britannic Majesty's ship Endeavour, Lieutenant James Cook Commander, 16th July 1769, Huaheine." Among other presents made to Oree, were some medals or counters, resembling the coin of England, and struck in the year 1761; all of which, and particularly the plate, he promised carefully and violably to preserve. This the Lieutenant thought to be as lasting a testimony as any he could well provide, that the

(b) *Ibid.* p. 249, 250.

English had first discovered the Island; and having dismissed his visitors, who were highly pleased with the treatment they had met with, he sailed for Ulietea, in a good harbour of which he anchored the next day [C]. Tupia had expressed his apprehension that our Navigators, if they landed upon the Island, would be exposed to the attacks of the men of Bolabola, whom he represented as having lately conquered it, and of whom he entertained a very formidable idea. This, however, did not deter Mr. Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the other Gentlemen, from going immediately on shore. Tupia, who was of the party, introduced them, by performing some ceremonies which he had practised before at Huaheine. After this, the Lieutenant hoisted an English jack, and, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, took possession of Ulietea, and the three neighbouring Islands, Huaheine, Otaha, and Bolabola, all of which were in sight. On the twenty-first, the Master was dispatched in the long-boat, to examine the coast of the South part of the Island; and one of the Mates was sent in the yawl, to sound the harbour where the Endeavour lay [D]. At the same time, Lieutenant Cook went himself in the pinnace, to survey that part of Ulietea which lies to the North. Mr. Banks, likewise, and the Gentlemen again went on shore, and employed themselves in trading with the natives, and in examining the productions and curiosities of the country; but they saw nothing worthy of notice, excepting some human jaw-bones, which, like scalps among the Indians of North America, were trophies of war, and had probably been hung up, by the warriors of Bolabola, as a memorial of their conquest. The weather being hazy on the twenty-second and twenty-third, with strong gales, the Lieutenant did not venture to put to sea; but, on the twenty-fourth, though the wind continued to be variable, he got under sail, and plied to the northward within the reef, purposing to go out at a wider opening than that by which he had entered the harbour. However, in doing this, he was in imminent danger of striking on the rock. The Master, who by his order had kept continually sounding in the chains, suddenly called out, "two fathom." Though our Commander knew that the ship drew at least fourteen feet, and consequently that the shoal could not possibly be under her keel, he was, nevertheless justly, alarmed. Happily, the Master was either mistaken, or the Endeavour went along the edge of a coral rock, many of which, in the neighbourhood of these Islands, are as steep as a wall (i). After a tedious navigation of some days, during which several small Islands were seen, and the long-boat landed at Otaha, Lieutenant Cook returned to Ulietea, but to a different part of it from that which he had visited before. In a harbour, belonging to the West side of the Island, he came to an anchor on the first of August. This measure was necessary, in order to stop a leak which the ship had sprung in the powder-room, and to take in more ballast, as she was found too light to carry sail upon a wind. The place where the Endeavour was secured was conveniently situated for the Lieutenant's purpose of obtaining ballast and water. Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the Gentlemen who went on shore this day, spent their time much to their satisfaction. The reception they met was respectful in the highest degree, and the behaviour of the Indians to the English indicated a fear of them, mixed with a confidence that they had no propensity to commit any kind of injury. In an intercourse which the Lieutenant and his friends carried on, for several days, with the inhabitants of this part of the Island, it appeared that the terrors which Tupia had expressed of the Bolabola conquerors were wholly groundless. Even Opoony, the formidable King of Bolabola, treated our Navigators with respect. Being at Ulietea on the fifth of August, he sent Mr. Cook a present of three hogs, some fowls, and several pieces of cloth, of uncommon length, together with a considerable quantity of plantains, cocoa-nuts, and other refreshments. This present was accompanied with a message, that, on the next day, he intended to pay our Commander a visit. Accordingly, on the sixth, the Lieutenant and the rest of the Gentlemen all staid at home, in expectation of this important visiter; who did not, however, make his appearance, but sent three very pretty girls as his messengers, to demand something in return for his present. In the afternoon, as the great King would not go to the English, the English determined to go to the great King. From the account which had been given of him, as lord of the Bolabola men, who were the conquerors of Ulietea, and the terror of all the other Islands, Lieutenant Cook and his companions expected to see a young and vigorous Chief, with an intelligent countenance, and the marks of an enterprising spirit; instead of which, they found a feeble wretch, withered and decrepit, half blind with age, and so sluggish and stupid that he scarcely appeared to be possessed even of a common degree of understanding. Otaha being the principal place of Opoony's residence, he went with our Navigators to that Island on the next day; and they were in hopes of deriving some advantage from his influence, in obtaining such provision as they wanted. In this respect, however, they were disappointed; for, though

(i) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 256—258.

[C] In a good harbour of which he anchored the next day.] Huaheine is situated in the latitude of $16^{\circ} 43'$ S. and longitude $150^{\circ} 52'$ W. from Greenwich. Its distance from Otahaite is about thirty-one leagues, in the direction of N. 58° W. and it is about seven leagues in compass (3).

(3) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 150—156.

[D] To sound the harbour where the Endeavour lay.] This harbour or bay is called by the natives OOROA, and extends almost the whole length of the east side of the Island. In its greatest extent it is capable of holding any number of shipping.

they

they had presented him with an axe, as an inducement to him to encourage his subjects in dealing with them, they were obliged to leave him without having procured a single article. The time which the Carpenters had taken up in stopping the leak of the ship, having detained our Voyagers longer at Ulitea than they would otherwise have staid, Lieutenant Cook determined to give up the design of going on shore at Bolabola, especially as it appeared to be difficult of access. The principal Islands, about which the English had now spent somewhat more than three weeks, were six in number; Ulitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua [E]. As they lie contiguous to each other, the Lieutenant gave them the general appellation of SOCIETY ISLANDS; but did not think proper to distinguish them separately by any other names than those by which they were called by the natives. On the ninth of August, the leak of the vessel having been stopped, and the fresh stock that had been purchased being brought on board, our Commander took the opportunity of a breeze which sprang up at East, and sailed out of the harbour. As he was sailing away, Tupia strongly urged him to fire a shot towards Bolabola; and, though that Island was at seven leagues distance, the Lieutenant obliged him by complying with his request. Tupia's views probably were, to display a mark of his resentment, and to shew the power of his new allies (k). Our Voyagers pursued their course, without meeting with any event worthy of notice, till the thirteenth, when land was discovered bearing South-east, and which Tupia informed them to be an Island called OHETEROA. On the next day, Mr. Cook sent Mr. Gore, one of his Lieutenants, in the pinnace, with orders that he should endeavour to get on shore, and learn from the natives whether there was anchorage in a bay then in sight, and what land lay farther to the Southward. Mr. Gore was accompanied in this expedition by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, who used every method, but in vain, to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants, and to engage them in a friendly intercourse. As, upon making the circuit of the Island, neither harbour nor anchorage could be found upon it, and, at the same time, the disposition of the people was so hostile, that landing would be rendered impracticable without bloodshed, Mr. Cook determined, with equal wisdom and humanity, not to attempt it, having no motive that could justify the risk of life [F]. From Tupia our Navigators learned that there were various Islands lying at different distances and in different directions from Oheteroa, between the South and the North-west; and that to the North-east there was an Island called Manua, Bird Island. This he represented as being at the distance of three days sail; but he seemed most desirous that Lieutenant Cook should proceed to the Westward, and described several Islands in that situation, which he said he had visited. It appeared, from his description of them, that these were probably Boscawen and Keppel's Islands, which were discovered by Captain Wallis. The farthest Island that Tupia knew of to the Southward, lay, he said, at the distance of about two days sail from Oheteroa, and was called MOUTOU. But he added, that his father had informed him of there being Islands still more to the South. Upon the whole, our Commander determined to stand Southward in search of a Continent, and to lose no time in attempting to discover any other Islands than such as he might happen to fall in with during his course (l).

(k) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 258—
270.

(l) Ibid. p. 272—
279.

On the fifteenth of August, our Voyagers sailed from Oheteroa; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month was celebrated the anniversary of their departure from England. The comet was seen on the thirtieth. It was a little above the horizon, in the eastern part of the heavens, at one in the morning; and at about half an hour after four it passed the meridian, and its tail subtended an angle of forty-two degrees (m). Tupia, who was among others that observed the comet, instantly cried out, that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would attack the inhabitants of Ulitea, who would be obliged to endeavour to preserve their lives by fleeing with the utmost precipitation to the mountains. On the sixth of October land was discovered, which appeared to be large. When, on the next day, it was more distinctly visible, it assumed a still larger appearance, and displayed four or five ranges of hills, rising one over the other, above all which was a chain of mountains of an enormous height. This land naturally became the subject of much eager conversation; and the general opinion of the Gentlemen on board the Endeavour was, that they had found the *Terra australis incognita*. In fact, it was a part of New Zealand, where the first adventures the English met with were very unpleasant, on account of the hostile disposition of the inhabitants. Lieutenant Cook, having anchored, on the eighth, in a bay, at the entrance of a small river, went on shore in

(m) The latitude
of the ship was
38° 20' south,
and the longi-
tude, by log,
147° 6' west.

[E] Ulitea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua.] These Islands are situated between the latitude of 16° 10' and 16° 55' south, and between the longitude of 150° 57' and 152° West from the meridian of Greenwich. The smaller Islands discovered, or seen, in the neighbourhood of Otaheite and the Society Isles, were Tethuroa, Eimeo, Tapoamanoa, Oatara, Opururu, Tamou, Toahoutu, and Whennuaia.

[F] Having no motive that could justify the risk of life.] Oheteroa is situated in the latitude of 22° 27' South, and in the longitude of 150° 47' West from the meridian of Greenwich. It is thirteen miles in circuit, and rather high than low; but it did not appear to be equal, either in populousness or fertility, to the other islands which had been seen in these seas.

the evening, with the pinnace and yawl, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and attended with a party of men. Being desirous of conversing with some natives whom he had observed on the opposite side of the river from that on which he had landed, he ordered the yawl in, to carry himself and his companions over, and left the pinnace at the entrance. When they came near the place where the Indians were assembled, the latter all ran away; and the Gentlemen, having left four boys to take care of the yawl, walked up to several huts which were about two or three hundred yards from the water-side. They had not gone very far, when four men, armed with long lances, rushed out of the woods, and running up to attack the boat would certainly have cut her off, if they had not been discovered by the people in the pinnace, who called to the boys to drop down the stream. The boys instantly obeyed; but being closely pursued by the natives, the cockswain of the pinnace, to whom the charge of the boat was committed, fired a musquet over their heads. At this they stopped and looked around them; but their alarm speedily subsiding, they brandished their lances in a threatening manner, and in a few minutes renewed the pursuit. The firing of a second musquet over their heads did not draw from them any kind of notice. At last, one of them having lifted up his spear to dart it at the boat, another piece was fired, by which he was shot dead. At the fall of their associate, the three remaining Indians stood for a while motionless, and seemed petrified with astonishment. No sooner had they recovered themselves, than they went back, dragging after them the dead body, which, however, they were obliged to leave, that it might not retard their flight. Lieutenant Cook and his friends, who had straggled to a little distance from each other, were drawn together upon the report of the first musquet, and returned speedily to the boat, in which having crossed the river, they soon beheld the Indian lying dead upon the ground. After their return to the ship, they could hear the people on shore talking with great earnestness, and in a very loud tone of voice (n). Notwithstanding this disaster, the Lieutenant, being desirous of establishing an intercourse with the natives, ordered, on the following day, three boats to be manned with seamen and marines, and proceeded towards the shore, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other Gentlemen, and Tupia. About fifty of the inhabitants seemed to wait for their landing, having seated themselves upon the ground, on the opposite side of the river. This being regarded as a sign of fear, Mr. Cook, with only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, advanced towards them; but they had not gone many paces before all the Indians started up, and every man produced either a long pike, or a small weapon of green talk. Though Tupia called to them in the language of Otaheite, they only answered by flourishing their weapons, and making signs for the Gentlemen to depart. On a musquet's being fired wide of them, they desisted from their threats, and our Commander, who had prudently retreated till the marines could be landed, again advanced towards them, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, to whom were now added Mr. Green and Mr. Monkhouse. Tupia was a second time directed to speak to them, and it was perceived with great pleasure that he was perfectly understood, his and their language being the same, excepting only in a diversity of dialect. He informed them that our Voyagers only wanted provision and water, in exchange for iron, the properties of which he explained as far as he was able. Though the natives seemed willing to trade, Tupia was sensible, during the course of his conversation with them, that their intentions were unfriendly; and of this he repeatedly warned the English Gentlemen. At length, twenty or thirty of the Indians were induced to cross the river, upon which presents were made them of iron and beads. On these they appeared to set little value, and particularly on the iron, not having the least conception of its use, so that nothing was obtained in return excepting a few feathers. Their arms, indeed, they offered to exchange for those of our Voyagers, and this being refused, they made various attempts to snatch them out of their hands. Tupia was now instructed to acquaint the Indians, that our Gentlemen would be obliged to kill them, if they proceeded to any farther violence; notwithstanding which, one of them, while Mr. Green happened to turn about, seized his hanger, and retired to a little distance, with a shout of exultation. The others, at the same time, began to be extremely insolent, and more of the natives were seen coming to join them from the opposite side of the river. It being, therefore, necessary to repress them, Mr. Banks fired, with small shot, at the distance of about fifteen yards, upon the man who had taken the hanger. Though he was struck, he did not return the hanger, but continued to wave it round his head, while he slowly made his retreat. Mr. Monkhouse then fired at him with ball, and he instantly dropped. So far, however, were the Indians from being sufficiently terrified, that the main body of them, who, upon the first discharge, had retired to a rock in the middle of the river, began to return, and it was with no small difficulty that Mr. Monkhouse secured the hanger. The whole number of them continuing to advance, three of the English party discharged their pieces at them, loaded only with small shot, upon which they swam back for the shore, and it appeared, upon their landing, that two or three of them were wounded. While they retired slowly up the country, Lieutenant Cook and his companions reembarked in their boats. As the Lieutenant had unhappily experienced that nothing, at this place, could be done with these people, and found that the water in the

(n) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 280—286.

river was salt, he proceeded in the boats, round the head of the bay, in search of fresh water. Beside this, he had formed a design of surprizing some of the natives, and taking them on board, that, by kind treatment and presents, he might obtain their friendship, and render them the instruments of establishing for him an amicable intercourse with their countrymen. While, upon account of a dangerous surf which every where beat upon the shore, the boats were prevented from landing, our Commander saw two canoes coming in from the sea, one under sail, and the other worked with paddles. This he thought to be a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose. Accordingly, the boats were disposed in such a manner as appeared most likely to be successful in intercepting the canoes. Notwithstanding this, the Indians, in the canoe which was paddled, exerted themselves with so much vigour, at the first apprehension of danger, that they escaped to the nearest land. The other canoe sailed on without discerning the English, till she was in the midst of them; but no sooner had she discovered them than the people on board struck their sail, and plied their paddles so briskly as to outrun the boat by which they were pursued. Being within hearing, Tupia called to them to come alongside, with assurances that they should not in any degree be hurt or injured. They trusted, however, more to their own paddles, than to Tupia's promises, and continued to flee from our Navigators with all their power. Mr. Cook, as the least exceptionable expedient of accomplishing his design, ordered a musquet to be fired over their heads. This, he hoped, would either make them surrender or leap into the water, but it produced a contrary effect. The Indians, who were seven in number, immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight. When, therefore, the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons; and they carried it on with so much vigour and violence, that the English thought themselves obliged to fire upon them in their own defence; the consequence of which was, that four were unhappily killed. The other three, who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water, and endeavoured to make their escape; but being with some difficulty overpowered by our people, they were brought into the boat (o). It is impossible to reflect upon this part of Lieutenant Cook's conduct with any degree of satisfaction. He, himself, upon a calm review, did not approve of it; and he was sensible that it would be censured by the feelings of every reader of humanity. It is probable that his mind was so far irritated by the disagreeable preceding events of this unfortunate day, and by the unexpected violence of the Indians in the canoe, as to lose somewhat of that self-possession by which his character in general was eminently distinguished. Candour, however, requires that I should relate what he hath offered in extenuation, not in defence, of the transaction; and this shall be done in his own words, as they are given us by Dr. Hawkesworth. "These people certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger. But the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid farther hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expence of life; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect (p)."

(o) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 286—290.

(p) *Ibid.*

Our Voyagers were successful in conciliating the minds of the three boys; to which Tupia particularly contributed. When their fears were allayed, and their cheerfulness returned, they sang a song with a degree of taste that surprized the English Gentlemen. The tune, like those of our psalms, was solemn and slow, containing many notes and semitones. Some farther attempts were made to establish an intercourse with the natives, and Mr. Cook and his friends, on the tenth, went on shore for this purpose; but being unsuccessful in their endeavours, they resolved to re-embark, lest their stay should embroil them in another quarrel, and cost more of the Indians their lives. On the next day, the Lieutenant weighed anchor, and stood away from this unfortunate and inhospitable place. As it had not afforded a single article that was wanted, excepting wood, he gave it the name of POVERTY BAY. By the inhabitants it is called TAONEROA, or Long Sand (q). I shall not regularly pursue the course of our Commander round New Zealand. In this course he spent nearly six months, and made large additions to the knowledge of navigation and geography. By making almost the whole circuit of New Zealand, he ascertained it to be two islands, with a strength of evidence which no prejudice could gainsay or resist. He obtained, likewise, a full acquaintance with the inhabitants of the different parts of the country, with regard to whom it was clearly proved, that they are eaters of human flesh. Referring to the voyage at large for a more particular display of a great number of circumstances, I shall only select a few things which mark Mr. Cook's personal conduct, and

(q) *Ibid.* p. 290, 291, 293, 296. Taoneroa lies in latitude 38° 42' south, and longitude 181° 36' west.

(r) The natives
call it TEAHOW
RAY.

relate to his intercourse with the natives. The good usage the three boys had met with, and the friendly and generous manner in which they were dismissed to their own homes, had some effect in softening the dispositions of the neighbouring Indians. Several of them, who had come on board while the ship lay becalmed in the afternoon, manifested every sign of friendship, and cordially invited the English to go back to their old bay, or to a cove which was not quite so far off. But Lieutenant Cook chose rather to prosecute his discoveries, having reason to hope that he should find a better harbour than any he had yet seen. While the ship was hauling round to the South end of a small Island, which the Lieutenant had named Portland (r), from its very great resemblance to Portland in the British Channel, she suddenly fell into shoal water and broken ground. The soundings were never twice the same, jumping at once from seven fathom to eleven. However, they were always seven fathom or more; and in a short time the Endeavour got clear of danger, and again sailed in deep water. While the ship was in apparent distress, the inhabitants of the Island, who, in vast numbers, sat on its white cliffs, and could not avoid perceiving some appearance of confusion on board, and some irregularity in the working of the vessel, were desirous of taking advantage of her critical situation. Accordingly, five canoes, full of men, and well armed, were put off with the utmost expedition; and they came so near, and shewed so hostile a disposition, by shouting, brandishing their lances, and using threatening gestures, that the Lieutenant was in pain for his small boat, which was still employed in sounding. By a musquet, which he ordered to be fired over them, they were rather provoked than intimidated. The firing of a four-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, though purposely discharged wide of them, produced a better effect. Upon the report of the piece, the Indians all rose up and shouted; but, instead of continuing the chase, they collected themselves together, and, after a short consultation, went quietly away. On the fourteenth of October, Lieutenant Cook having hoisted out his pinnace and long-boat to search for water, just as they were about to set off, several boats, full of the New Zealand people, were seen coming from the shore. After some time, five of these boats, having on board between eighty and ninety men, made towards the ship; and four more followed at no great distance, as if to sustain the attack. When the first five had gotten within about a hundred yards of the Endeavour, they began to sing their war song, and brandishing their pikes, prepared for an engagement. As the Lieutenant was extremely desirous of avoiding the unhappy necessity of using fire-arms against the natives, Tupia was ordered to acquaint them, that our Voyagers had weapons which, like thunder, would destroy them in a moment; that they would immediately convince them of their power by directing their effect so that they should not be hurt; but that if they persisted in any hostile attempt, they would be exposed to the direct attack of these formidable weapons. A four-pounder, loaded with grape-shot, was then fired wide of them; and this expedient was fortunately attended with success. The report, the flash, and, above all, the shot, which spread very far in the water, terrified the Indians to such a degree, that they began to paddle away with all their might. At the instance, however, of Tupia, the people of one of the boats were induced to lay aside their arms, and to come under the stern of the Endeavour; in consequence of which they received a variety of presents. On the next day a circumstance occurred, which shewed how ready one of the inhabitants of New Zealand was to take an advantage of our Navigators. In a large armed canoe, which came boldly alongside of the ship, was a man who had a black skin thrown over him, somewhat like that of a bear. Mr. Cook being desirous of knowing to what animal it originally belonged, offered the Indian for it a piece of red baize. With this bargain he seemed to be greatly pleased, immediately pulling off the skin, and holding it up in the boat. He would not, however, part with it till he had the cloth in his possession; and as there could be no transfer of property, if equal caution should be exercised on both sides, the Lieutenant ordered the baize to be delivered into his hands. Upon this, instead of sending up the skin, he began, with amazing coolness, to pack up both that and the cloth, which he had received as the purchase of it, in a basket: nor did he pay the least regard to Mr. Cook's demand or remonstrances, but soon after put off from the English vessel. Our Commander was too generous to revenge this insult by any act of severity. During the course of a traffic which was carrying on for some fish, little Tayeto, Tupia's boy, was placed among others over the ship's side, to hand up what was purchased. While he was thus employed, one of the New Zealanders, watching his opportunity, suddenly seized him, and dragged him into a canoe. Two of the natives then held him down in the fore part of it, and the others, with great activity, paddled her off with all possible celerity. An action so violent rendered it indispensably necessary that the marines, who were in arms upon the deck, should be ordered to fire. Though the shot was directed to that part of the canoe which was farthest from the boy, and somewhat wide of her, it being thought preferable rather to miss the rowers than to run the hazard of hurting Tayeto, it happened that one man dropped. This occasioned the Indians to quit their hold of the youth, who instantly leaped into the water, and swam towards the ship. In the mean while, the largest of the canoes pulled round and followed him; and till some musquets and a great gun were fired at her, did not desist from the pursuit. The ship being brought to, a boat was lowered, and the poor boy was taken

taken up unhurt. Some of the Gentlemen, who with their glasses traced the canoes to shore, agreed in asserting, that they saw three men carried up the beach, who appeared to be either dead or wholly disabled by their wounds [G]. While, on the eighteenth, the Endeavour lay a-breast of a peninsula within Portland Island, called TERAKAKO, two of the natives, who were judged to be Chiefs, placed an extraordinary degree of confidence in Mr. Cook. They were so well pleased with the kindness which had been shewn them in a visit to the ship, that they determined not to go on shore till the next morning. This was a circumstance by no means agreeable to the Lieutenant, and he remonstrated against it; but as they persisted in their resolution, he agreed to comply with it, provided their servants also were taken on board, and their canoe hoisted into the ship. The countenance of one of these two Chiefs was the most open and ingenuous that our Commander had ever seen, so that he soon gave up every suspicion of his entertaining any sinister design. When the guests were put on shore the next morning, they expressed some surprize at seeing themselves so far from their habitations. On Monday the twenty-third, while the ship was in Tegadoo Bay, Lieutenant Cook went on shore to examine the watering-place, and found every thing agreeable to his wishes. The boat landed in the cove, without the least surf; the water was excellent, and conveniently situated; there was plenty of wood close to the high water mark; and the disposition of the people was as favourable in all respects as could be desired [H]. Early the next morning, our Commander sent Lieutenant Gore to superintend the cutting of wood and filling of water, with a sufficient number of men for both purposes, and all the marines as a guard. Soon after, he went on shore himself, and continued there during the whole day. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, who had landed on the same day, found in their walks several things worthy of notice. As they were advancing in one of the valleys, the hills on each side of which were very steep, they were suddenly struck with the sight of an extraordinary natural curiosity. "It was a rock, perforated through its whole substance, so as to form a rude but stupendous arch or cavern, opening directly to the sea. This aperture was seventy-five feet long, twenty-seven broad, and five and forty feet high, commanding a view of the bay and the hills on the other side, which were seen through it; and, opening at once upon the view, produced an effect far superior to any of the contrivances of art (s)." When, on the twenty-eighth, the Gentlemen of the Endeavour went on shore upon an Island which lies to the left hand of the entrance of Tolaga Bay, they saw there the largest canoe they had yet met with; her length being sixty-eight feet and a half, her breadth five feet, and her height three feet six inches. In the same Island was a larger house than any they had hitherto seen; but it was in an unfinished state, and full of chips [I]. While the ship was in Hicks's Bay, the inhabitants of the adjoining coast were found to be very hostile. This gave much uneasiness to our Navigators, and was, indeed, contrary to their expectation; for they had hoped, that the report of their power and clemency had spread to a greater extent. At day-break, on the first of November, they counted no less than five and forty canoes that were coming from the shore towards the Endeavour; and these were followed by several more from another place. Some of the Indians traded fairly; but others of them took what was handed down to them without making any return, and added derision to fraud. The insolence of one of them was very remarkable. Some linen hanging over the ship's side to dry, this man, without any ceremony, untied it, and put it up in his bundle. Being immediately called to, and required to return it, instead of doing so, he let his canoe drop a-stern, and laughed at the English. A musquet which was fired over his head did not put a stop to his mirth. From a second musquet, which was loaded with small shot, he shrunk a little, when the shot struck him upon his back; but he regarded it no more than one of our men would have done the stroke of a rattan, and continued with great composure to pack up the linen which he had stolen. All the canoes now dropped a-stern, and set up their song of defiance, which lasted till they were at about four hundred yards distance from the ship. As they did not appear to have a design of attacking our Voyagers, Lieutenant Cook was unwilling to do them any hurt; and yet he thought that their going off in a bravado might have a bad effect when it should be reported on shore. To convince them, therefore, that they were still in his power, though far beyond the reach of any missile weapon with which they were acquainted, he

(s) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 308, 309, 317, 318.

[G] *Who appeared to be either dead or wholly disabled by their wounds.* To the cape off which this unhappy transaction happened, Mr. Cook gave the name of CAPE KIDNAPPERS. It lies in latitude $39^{\circ} 43'$, and longitude $182^{\circ} 24'$ west. Its distance from the Isle of Portland is thirteen leagues south west and west. Between them is the bay of which it is the south point, and which, in honour of Sir Edward Hawke, the Lieutenant called Hawke's Bay (4).

[H] *And the disposition of the people was as favourable in all respects as could be desired.* Mr. Cook, with Mr. Green, having taken several observations of the sun and moon, the mean result of them gave

$180^{\circ} 47'$ west longitude; but, as all the observations made before exceeded these, the Lieutenant laid down the coast from the mean of the whole. At noon, this day, he took the sun's meridian altitude with an astronomical quadrant which was set up at the watering-place, and found the latitude to be $38^{\circ} 22' 24''$.

[I] *But it was in an unfinished state, and full of chips.* Among other trifling curiosities, which Dr. Solander purchased of the Indians, was a boy's top, shaped exactly like those which children play with in England; and the natives shewed, by signs, that it was to be whipped in order to make it spin (5).

(5) *Ibid.* p. 118 — 120.

(4) Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 298—306.

ordered a four-pounder to be fired in such a manner as to pass near them. As the shot happened to strike the water, and to rise several times at a great distance beyond the canoes, the Indians were so much terrified, that, without once looking behind them, they paddled away as fast as they were able. In standing westward from a small Island called Mowtohora, the Endeavour suddenly shoaled her water from seventeen to ten fathom. As the Lieutenant knew that she was not far from some small islands and rocks which had been seen before it was dark, and which he had intended to have passed that evening, he thought it more prudent to tack, and to spend the night under Mowtohora, where he was certain that there was no danger. It was happy for himself and for all our Voyagers that he formed this resolution. In the morning they discovered, a-head of them, several rocks, some of which were level with the surface of the water, and some below it; and the striking against which could not in the hour of darkness have been avoided. In passing between these rocks and the main, the ship had only from ten to seven fathom water (*t*). While Mr. Cook was near an Island which he called the MAYOR, the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast displayed many instances of hostility, and, in their traffic with our Navigators, committed various acts of fraud and robbery. As the Lieutenant intended to continue in the place five or six days, in order to make an observation of the transit of Mercury, it was absolutely necessary, for the prevention of future mischief, to convince these people that the English were not to be ill-treated with impunity. Accordingly, some small shot were fired at a thief of uncommon insolence, and a musquet-ball was discharged through the bottom of his boat. Upon this it was paddled to about a hundred yards distance; and, to the surprise of Mr. Cook and his friends, the Indians in the other canoes took not the least notice of their wounded companion, though he bled very much, but returned to the ship, and continued to trade with the most perfect indifference and unconcern. For a considerable time they dealt fairly. At last, however, one of them thought fit to move off with two different pieces of cloth which had been given for the same weapon. When he had gotten to such a distance that he thought himself secure of his prizes, a musquet was fired after him, which fortunately struck the boat just at the water's edge, and made two holes in her side. This excited such an alarm, that not only the people who were shot at, but all the rest of the canoes, made off with the utmost expedition. As the last proof of superiority, our Commander ordered a round shot to be fired over them, and not a boat stopped till they got to land. After an early breakfast on the ninth of November, Lieutenant Cook went on shore, with Mr. Green, and proper instruments, to observe the transit of Mercury. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were of the party. The weather had for some time been very thick, with much rain; but this day proved so favourable, that not a cloud intervened during the whole transit. The observation of the ingress was made by Mr. Green alone, Mr. Cook being employed in taking the sun's altitude to ascertain the time [K]. While the Gentlemen were thus engaged on shore, they were alarmed by the firing of a great gun from the ship; and on their return received the following account of the transaction from Mr. Gore, the second Lieutenant, who had been left commanding officer on board. During the carrying on of a trade with some small canoes, two very large ones came up, full of men. In one of the canoes were forty-seven persons, all of whom were armed with pikes, stones, and darts, and assumed the appearance of a hostile intention. However, after a little time, they began to traffic, some of them offering their arms, and one of them a square piece of cloth, which makes a part of their dress, called a *Haahow*. Mr. Gore having agreed for it, sent down the price, which was a piece of British cloth, and expected his purchase. But as soon as the Indian had gotten Mr. Gore's cloth in his possession, he refused to part with his own, and put off his canoe. Upon being threatened for his fraud, he and his companions began to sing their war song in defiance, and shook their paddles. Though their insolence did not proceed to an attack, and only defied Mr. Gore to take any remedy in his power, he was so provoked, that he levelled a musquet loaded with ball at the offender, while he was holding the cloth in his hand, and shot him dead. When the Indian fell, all the canoes put off to some distance, but continued to keep together in such a manner that it was apprehended they might still meditate an attack. To secure, therefore, a safe passage for the boat of the Endeavour, which was wanted on shore, a round shot was fired with so much effect over their heads, as to make them all flee with the utmost precipitation. It was matter of regret to Lieutenant Cook that Mr. Gore had not, in the case of the offending Indian, tried the experiment of a few small shot, which had been successful in former instances of robbery.

(*t*) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 325—327.

[K] Mr. Cook being employed in taking the sun's altitude to ascertain the time.] The transit came on at 7h. 20' 58" apparent time. According to Mr. Green's observations, the internal contact was at 12h. 8' 58", the external at 12h. 9' 55" P. M. According to Mr. Cook's, the internal contact was at 12h. 8' 54", and the external 12h. 9' 48". The latitude of the place of observation was 36° 48' 5½". The latitude ob-

served at noon was 36° 48' 28". The mean of this and of an observation made the day before gave 36° 48' 28" south, the latitude of the place of observation. The variation of the compass was 11° 9' east. On the preceding day, the Lieutenant had observed the sun's meridional zenith distance by an astronomical quadrant, which gave the latitude 36° 47' 43" within the south entrance of Mercury Bay.

On Friday the tenth, our Commander, accompanied by Mr. Banks and the other Gentlemen, went with two boats, to examine a large river that empties itself into the head of Mercury Bay. As the situation they were now in abounded with conveniencies, the Lieutenant has taken care to point them out for the benefit of future navigators. If any occasion should ever render it necessary for a ship either to winter here, or to stay for a considerable length of time, tents might be built on a high point or peninsula in this place, upon ground sufficiently spacious for the purpose; and they might easily be made impregnable to the whole force of the country. Indeed, the most skilful engineer in Europe could not choose a situation better adapted to enable a small number to defend themselves against a greater. Among other accommodations which the Endeavour's company met with in Mercury Bay, they derived an agreeable refreshment from some oyster beds, which they had fortunately discovered. The oysters, which were as good as ever came from Colchester, and about the same size, were so plentiful, that not the boat only, but the ship itself, might have been loaded in one tide (t). On Wednesday, the fifteenth, Lieutenant Cook sailed out of MERCURY BAY. This name had been given to it on account of the observation which had there been made of the transit of that planet over the sun (u). The river where oysters had been so plentifully found, he called OYSTER RIVER. There is another river, at the head of the bay, which is the best and safest place for a ship that wants to stay any length of time. From the number of mangroves about it, the Lieutenant named it MANGROVE RIVER. In several parts of Mercury Bay, our Voyagers saw, thrown upon the shore, great quantities of iron sand, which is brought down by every little rivulet of fresh water that finds its way from the country. This is a demonstration that there is ore of that metal not far inland; and yet none of the inhabitants of New Zealand who had yet been seen knew the use of iron, or set upon it the least degree of value. They had all of them preferred the most worthless and useless trifle, not only to a nail, but to any tool of that metal. Before the Endeavour left the bay, the ship's name and that of the Commander were cut upon one of the trees near the watering place, together with the date of the year and month when our Navigators were there. Besides this, Mr. Cook, after displaying the English colours, took formal possession of the place in the name of his Britannic Majesty, King George the Third (w). In the range from Mercury Bay, several canoes, on the eighteenth, put off from different places, and advanced towards the Endeavour. When two of them, in which there might be about sixty men, came within reach of the human voice, the Indians sang their war song; but seeing that little notice was taken of them, they threw a few stones at the English, and then rowed off towards the shore. In a short time, however, they returned, as if with a fixed resolution to provoke our Voyagers to a battle, animating themselves by their song as they had done before. Tupia, without any directions from the Gentlemen of the Endeavour, began to expostulate with the natives, and told them that our people had weapons which could destroy them in a moment. Their answer to this expostulation was, in their own language, "come on shore, and we will kill you all." "Well, replied Tupia, but why should you molest us while we are at sea? As we do not wish to fight, we shall not accept your challenge to come on shore; and here there is no pretence for a quarrel, the sea being no more your property than the ship." This eloquence, which greatly surprized Lieutenant Cook and his friends, as they had not suggested to Tupia any of the arguments he made use of, produced no effect upon the minds of the Indians, who soon renewed their attack. The oratory of a musquet, which was fired through one of their boats, quelled their courage, and sent them instantly away. While our Commander was in the Bay of Islands, he had a favourable opportunity of examining the interior part of the country and its produce. At day break, therefore, on the twentieth of the month, he set out in the pinnace and long-boat, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia, and found the inlet at which they entered end in a river, about nine miles above the ship. Up this river, to which was given the name of the Thames, they proceeded till near noon, when they were fourteen miles within its entrance. As the Gentlemen then found the face of the country to continue nearly the same, without any alteration in the course of the stream, and had no hope of tracing it to its source, they landed on the West side, to take a view of the lofty trees which every where adorned its banks. The trees were of a kind which they had seen before, both in Poverty Bay and Hawke's Bay, though only at a distance. They had not walked a hundred yards into the woods, when they met with one of the trees, which, at the height of six feet above the ground, was nineteen feet eight inches in the girth. Lieutenant Cook, having a quadrant with him, measured its height from the root to the first branch, and found it to be eighty-nine feet. It was as strait as an arrow, and tapered but very little in proportion to its height; so that, in the Lieutenant's judgment, there must have been three hundred and fifty-six feet of solid timber in it, exclusive of the branches. As the party advanced, they saw many other trees, which were still larger. A young one they cut down, the wood of which was heavy and solid, not fit for masts, but such as would make the finest plank in the world. The Carpenter of the ship, who was with the party, said that the timber resembled that of the pitch-pine, which is lightened by tapping. If it should appear that some such method would be suc-

(t) Hawke's worth, *ubi supra*, p. 331—341.

(u) Mercury Bay lies in latitude 36° 47' South; and in the longitude of 184° 4' West.

(w) Hawke's worth, *ubi supra*, p. 346—348.

(u) Hawke's
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 349—
355.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 361
—365.

cessful in lightening these trees, they would then furnish masts superior to those of any country in Europe. As the wood was swampy, the Gentlemen could not range far; but they found many stout trees of other kinds, with which they were totally unacquainted, and specimens of which they brought away. On the twenty-second, another instance occurred, in which the commanding officer left on board did not know how to exercise his power with the good sense and moderation of Mr. Cook. While some of the natives were in the ship below with Mr. Banks, a young man who was upon the deck stole a half-minute glass, and was detected just as he was carrying it off. Mr. Hicks, in his indignation against the offender, was pleased to order that he should be punished, by giving him twelve lashes with a cat-o-nine tails. When the other Indians who were on board saw him seized for this purpose, they attempted to rescue him; and being resisted, they called for their arms, which were handed from the canoes. At the same time, the people of one of the canoes attempted to come up the side of the Endeavour. The tumult having called up Mr. Banks and Tupia, the natives ran to the latter, and solicited his interposition. All, however, which he could do, as Mr. Hicks continued inexorable, was to assure them that nothing was intended against the life of their companion, and that it was necessary that he should suffer some punishment for his offence. With this explanation they appeared to be satisfied; and when the punishment had been inflicted, an old man among the spectators, who was supposed to be the criminal's father, gave him a severe beating, and sent him down into his canoe. Notwithstanding this, the Indians were far from being reconciled to the treatment which their countryman had received. Their cheerful confidence was gone; and though they promised, at their departure, to return with some fish, the English saw them no more (x). On the twenty-ninth of November, Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and others with them, were in a situation somewhat critical and alarming. Having landed upon an Island in the neighbourhood of Cape Bret, they were in a few minutes surrounded by two or three hundred people. Though the Indians were all armed, they came on in so confused and straggling a manner, that it did not appear that any injury was intended by them; and the English Gentlemen were determined that hostilities should not begin on their part. At first the natives continued quiet; but their weapons were held ready to strike, and they seemed to be rather irresolute than peaceable. While the Lieutenant and his friends remained in this state of suspense, another party of Indians came up; and the boldness of the whole body being increased by the augmentation of their numbers, they began the dance and song, which are their preludes to a battle. An attempt that was made by a number of them, to seize the two boats which had brought our Voyagers to land, appeared to be the signal for a general attack. It now became necessary for Mr. Cook to exert himself with vigour. Accordingly, he discharged his musquet, which was loaded with small shot, at one of the forward-est of the assailants, and Mr. Banks and two of our men fired immediately afterwards. Though this made the natives fall back in some confusion, nevertheless, one of the Chiefs, who was at the distance of about twenty yards, had the courage to rally them, and, calling loudly to his companions, led them on to the charge. Dr. Solander instantly discharged his piece at this champion, who, upon feeling the shot, stopped short, and then ran away with the rest of his countrymen. Still, however, they did not disperse, but got upon rising ground, and seemed only to want some leader of resolution to renew their assault. As they were now gotten beyond the reach of small shot, the English fired with ball, none of which taking place, the Indians continued together in a body. While our people were in this doubtful situation, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, the ship, from which a much greater number of natives were seen than could be discovered on shore, brought her broadside to bear, and entirely dispersed them, by firing a few shot over their heads. In this skirmish, only two of them were hurt with the small shot, and not a single life was lost; a case which would not have happened if Lieutenant Cook had not restrained his men, who, either from fear or the love of mischief, shewed as much impatience to destroy the Indians as a sportsman to kill his game. Such was the difference between the disposition of the common seamen and marines, and that of their humane and judicious Commander (y). On the same day Mr. Cook displayed a very exemplary act of discipline. Some of the ship's people, who, when the natives were to be punished for a fraud, assumed the inexorable justice of a Lycurgus, thought fit to break into one of their plantations, and to dig up a quantity of potatoes. For this the Lieutenant ordered each of them to receive twelve lashes, after which two of them were discharged. But the third, in a singular strain of morality, insisted upon it that it was no crime in an Englishman to plunder an Indian plantation. The method taken by our Commander to refute his casuistry, was to send him back to his confinement, and not to permit him to be released till he had been punished with six lashes more. The Endeavour, on the fifth of December, was in the most imminent hazard of being wrecked. At four o'clock in the morning of that day, our Voyagers weighed, with a light breeze; but it being variable with frequent calms, they made little way. From that time till the afternoon, they kept turning out of the bay, and about ten at night were suddenly becalmed, so that the ship could neither wear nor exactly keep her station. The tide or current setting strong, she drove toward

land so fast, that before any measures could be taken for her security, she was within a cable's length of the breakers. Though our people had thirteen fathom water, the ground was so foul, that they did not dare to drop their anchor. In this crisis, the pinnace being immediately hoisted out to take the ship in tow, and the men, sensible of their danger, exerting themselves to the utmost, a faint breeze sprang up off the land, and our Navigators perceived with unspeakable joy that the vessel made headway. So near was she to the shore, that Tupia, who was ignorant of the hair's breadth escape the company had experienced, was at this very time conversing with the Indians upon the beach, whose voices were distinctly heard, notwithstanding the roar of the breakers. Mr. Cook and his friends now thought that all danger was over; but about an hour afterwards, just as the man in the chains had cried "seventeen fathom," the ship struck. The shock threw them into the utmost consternation; and almost instantly the man in the chain cried out "five fathom." By this time, the rock on which the ship had struck being to the windward, she went off without having received the least damage; and the water very soon deepening to twenty fathom, she again sailed in security. The inhabitants in the Bay of Islands were found to be far more numerous than in any other part of New Zealand which Lieutenant Cook had hitherto visited. It did not appear that they were united under one head; and, though their towns were fortified, they seemed to live together in perfect amity. The Endeavour, on the ninth of December, lying becalmed in DOUBTLESS BAY, an opportunity was taken to enquire of the natives concerning their country; and our Navigators learned from them, by the help of Tupia, that at the distance of three days rowing in their canoes, at a place called MOORE-WHENNUA, the land would take a short turn to the southward, and thence extend no more to the West. This place the English Gentlemen concluded to be the land discovered by Tasman, and which had been named by him CAPE MARIA VAN DIEMEN. The Lieutenant, finding the inhabitants so intelligent, enquired farther, if they knew of any country besides their own. To this they answered, that they had never visited any other; but that their ancestors had told them that there was a country of great extent, to the North-west by North, or North North West, called ULIMAROA, to which some people had sailed in a very large canoe; and that only a part of them had returned, who reported, that after a passage of a month, they had seen a country where the people eat hogs. On the thirtieth of December, our Navigators saw the land, which they judged to be Cape Maria van Diemen, and which corresponded with the account that had been given of it by the Indians. The next day, from the appearance of Mount Camel, they had a demonstration that, where they now were, the breadth of New Zealand could not be more than two or three miles from sea to sea. During this part of the navigation, two particulars occurred which are very remarkable. In latitude 35° South, and in the midst of summer, Lieutenant Cook met with a gale of wind, which, from its strength and continuance, was such as he had scarcely ever been in before; and he was three weeks in getting ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in getting fifty leagues; for at this time, being the first of January, 1770, it was so long since he had passed Cape Bret. While the gale lasted, our Voyagers were happily at a considerable distance from the land; since otherwise it was highly probable that they would never have returned to relate their adventures (z). The shore at Queen Charlotte's Sound, where the English had arrived on the fourteenth of January, seemed to form several bays, into one of which the Lieutenant proposed to carry the ship, which was now become very foul, in order to careen her, to repair some defects, and to obtain a recruit of wood and water. At day-break the next morning, he stood in for an inlet, and at eight got within the entrance. At nine o'clock, there being little wind, and what there was being variable, the Endeavour was carried by the tide or current within two cables' length of the North-west shore, where she had fifty-four fathom water. By the help of the boats she was gotten clear; and about two our people anchored in a very safe and convenient cove. Soon after, Mr. Cook, with most of the Gentlemen, landed upon the coast, where they found a fine stream of excellent water, and wood in the greatest plenty. Indeed the land, in this part of the country, was one forest, of vast extent. As the Gentlemen had brought the seine with them, it was hauled once or twice; and with such success, that different sorts of fish were caught, amounting nearly to three hundred weight. The equal distribution of these among the ship's company, furnished them with a very agreeable refreshment. When Lieutenant Cook, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Tupia, and some others, landed on the sixteenth, they met with an Indian family, among whom they found horrid and indisputable proofs of the custom of eating human flesh. Not to resume so disagreeable a subject, it may here be observed once for all, that evidences of the same custom appeared on various occasions. On the next day a delightful object engaged the attention of our Voyagers. The ship lying at the distance of somewhat less than a quarter of a mile from the shore, they were awakened by the singing of an incredible number of birds, who seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other. This wild melody was infinitely superior to any they had ever heard of the same kind, and seemed to be like small bells, most exquisitely tuned. It is probable that the distance, and the water between, might be of no small advantage to the sound. Upon enquiry, the Gentlemen were informed that the birds here always began to sing

(z) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 366. 368, 369, 370. 372. 378, 379.

about two hours after midnight; and that, continuing their music till sun-rise, they were silent the rest of the day. In this last respect, they resemble the nightingales of our own country. On the eighteenth, Lieutenant Cook went out in the pinnace to take a view of the bay in which the ship was now at anchor; and found it to be of great extent, consisting of numberless small harbours and coves, in every direction. The Lieutenant confined his excursion to the western side, and the coast where he landed being an impenetrable forest, nothing could be seen worthy of notice. As our Commander and his friends were returning, they saw a single man in a canoe fishing: rowing up to him, to their great surprize he took not the least notice of them; and even when they were alongside of him, continued to follow his occupation, without adverting to them any more than if they had been invisible. This behaviour was not, however, the result either of fullness or stupidity; for upon being requested to draw up his net, that it might be examined, he readily complied. He shewed, likewise, to our people his mode of fishing, which was simple and ingenious. When, on the nineteenth, the armourer's forge was set up, and all hands on board were busy in careening, and in other necessary operations about the vessel, some Indians, who had brought plenty of fish, exchanged them for nails, of which they had now begun to perceive the use and value. This may be considered as one instance in which they were enlightened and benefited by their intercourse with our Navigators. While, on the twenty-second, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander employed themselves in botanizing near the beach, our Commander, taking a seaman with him, ascended one of the hills of the country. Upon reaching its summit, he found the view of the inlet, the head of which he had a little before in vain attempted to discover in the pinnace, intercepted by hills still higher than that on which he stood, and which were rendered inaccessible by impenetrable woods. He was, however, amply rewarded for his labour; for he saw the sea on the eastern side of the country, and a passage leading from it to that on the West, a little to the eastward of the entrance of the inlet where the ship lay. The main land, which was on the South-east side of this inlet, appeared to be a narrow ridge of very high hills, and to form part of the South-west side of the strait. On the opposite side, the land trended away East as far as the eye could reach; and to the South-east there was discerned an opening to the sea, which washed the eastern coast. The Lieutenant saw, also, on the East side of the inlet, some Islands which he had before taken to be part of the main land. In returning to the ship, he examined the harbours and coves that lie behind the Islands which he had seen from the hills. The next day was employed by him in farther surveys and discoveries. During a visit to the Indians, on the twenty-fourth, Tupia being of the party, they were observed to be continually talking of guns and shooting people. For this subject of their conversation, the English Gentlemen could not at all account. But, after perplexing themselves with various conjectures, they at length learned, that, on the twenty-first, one of our officers, under the pretence of going out to fish, had rowed up to a hippah, or village, on the coast. When he had done so, two or three canoes coming off towards his boat, his fears suggested that an attack was intended, in consequence of which three musquets were fired, one with small shot, and two with ball, at the Indians, who retired with the utmost precipitation. It is highly probable that they had come out with friendly intentions; for such intentions were expressed by their behaviour, both before and afterwards. This action of the officer exhibited a fresh instance how little some of the people under Lieutenant Cook had imbibed of the wise, discreet, and humane spirit of their Commander. On the morning of the twenty-sixth, the Lieutenant went again out in the boat, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, and entered one of the bays, which lie on the East side of the inlet, in order to obtain another sight of the strait which passed between the eastern and western seas. Having landed, for this purpose, at a convenient place, they climbed a hill of very considerable height, from which they had a full view of the strait, with the land on the opposite shore, which they judged to be about four leagues distant. As it was hazy in the horizon, they could not see far to the South-east; but Mr. Cook saw enough to determine him to search the passage with the ship, as soon as he should put to sea. The Gentlemen found, on the top of the hill, a parcel of loose stones, with which they erected a pyramid, and left in it some musquet balls, small shot, beads, and such other things, which they happened to have about them, as were likely to stand the test of time. These, not being of Indian workmanship, would convince any European who should come to the place and pull it down, that natives of Europe had been there before. After this, the Lieutenant and his friends went to a town of which the Indians had informed them, and which, like one they had already seen, was built upon a small Island or rock, so difficult of access, that they gratified their curiosity at the risk of their lives. Here, as had been the case in former visits to the inhabitants of that part of the country near which the ship now lay, they were received with open arms, carried through the whole of the place, and shewn all that it contained. The town consisted of between eighty and a hundred houses, and had only one fighting-stage. Mr. Cook, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, happened to have with them a few nails and ribbands, and some paper, with which the people were so highly gratified, that when the Gentlemen went away, they filled the English boat with dried fish, of which it appeared that

that they had laid up large quantities. A report was spread that one of the men that had been so rashly fired upon by the officer who had visited the hippah, under the pretence of fishing, was dead of his wounds. But, on the twenty-ninth, the Lieutenant had the great consolation of discovering that this report was groundless. On the same day he went again on shore, upon the western point of the inlet, and, from a hill of considerable height, had a view of the coast to the North-west. The farthest land he could see in that quarter, was an Island at the distance of about ten leagues, lying not far from the main. Between this Island and the place where he stood, he discovered, close under the shore, several other Islands, forming many bays, in which there appeared to be good anchorage for shipping. After he had set off the different points for his survey, he erected another pile of stones, in which he left a piece of silver coin, with some musquet-balls and beads, and a fragment of an old pendant lying at the top. On the thirtieth of January, the ceremony was performed of giving name to the inlet where our Voyagers now lay, and of erecting a memorial of the visit which they had made to this place. The carpenter having prepared two posts for the purpose, our Commander ordered them to be inscribed with the ship's name, and the dates of the year and the month. One of these he set up at the watering-place, hoisting the union-flag upon the top of it; and the other he carried over to the Island that lies nearest the sea, and which is called by the natives MOTUARA. He went first, accompanied by Mr. Monkhouse and Tupia, to the neighbouring village or hippah, where he met with an old man, who had maintained a friendly intercourse with the English. To this old man, and several Indians besides, the Lieutenant, by means of Tupia, explained his design, which he informed them was to erect a mark upon the Island, in order to shew to any other ship which should happen to come thither, that our Navigators had been there before. To this the inhabitants readily consented, and promised that they would never pull it down. He then gave something to every one present, and to the old man a silver three-pence, and some spike-nails, with the King's broad arrow cut deep upon them. These were things which Mr. Cook thought were the most likely to be long preserved. After this he conveyed the post to the highest part of the Island; and, having fixed it firmly in the ground, hoisted upon it the union-flag, and honoured the inlet with the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND. At the same time, he took formal possession of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the use of his Majesty King George the Third. The ceremony was concluded by the Gentlemen drinking a bottle of wine to her Majesty's health; and the bottle being given to the old man who had attended them up the hill, he was highly delighted with his present (a). A philosopher, perhaps, might enquire, on what ground Lieutenant Cook could take formal possession of this part of New Zealand, in the name and *for the use* of the King of Great Britain, when the country was already inhabited, and of course belonged to those by whom it was occupied, and whose ancestors might have resided in it for many preceding ages. To this the best answer seems to be, that the Lieutenant, in the ceremony performed by him, had no reference to the original inhabitants, or any intention to deprive them of their natural rights, but only to preclude the claims of future European Navigators, who, under the auspices, and for the benefit of, their respective states or kingdoms, might form pretensions to which they were not entitled by prior discovery.

On the thirty-first, our Voyagers having compleated their wooding, and filled their water-casks, Mr. Cook sent out two parties, one to cut and make brooms, and another to catch fish. In the evening there was a strong gale from the North-west, with such a heavy rain that the little wild musicians on shore suspended their song, which till now had been constantly heard during the night, with a pleasure that it was impossible to lose without regret. The gale, on the first of February, encreased to a storm, with heavy gusts from the high land, one of which broke the hawser that had been fastened to the shore, and induced the necessity of letting go another anchor. Though, towards midnight, the gale became more moderate, the rain continued with so much violence that the brook which supplied the ship with water overflowed its banks; in consequence of which ten small casks, that had been filled the day before, were carried away, and notwithstanding the most diligent search for them, could not be recovered. The Endeavour, on Monday the fifth, got under sail; but the wind soon failing, our Commander was obliged again to come to an anchor, a little above Motuara. As he was desirous of making still farther enquiries whether any memory of Tasman had been preserved in New Zealand, he directed Tupia to ask of the old man before mentioned, who had come on board to take his leave of the English Gentlemen, whether he had ever heard that such a vessel as theirs had before visited the country. To this he replied in the negative; but said that his ancestors had told him that there once had arrived a small vessel from a distant land, called ULIMAROA, in which were four men, who upon their reaching the shore were all killed. On being asked where this country lay, he pointed to the northward. Of Ulimaroa Lieutenant Cook had heard something before, from the people about the Bay of Islands, who said that it had been visited by their ancestors. Tupia had also some confused traditionary notions concerning it; but no certain conclusion could be drawn either from his account or that of the old Indian. Soon after the ship came to anchor the second time, Mr. Banks,

and Dr. Solander, who had gone on shore to see if any gleanings of natural knowledge remained, fell in, by accident, with the most agreeable Indian family they had yet seen, and which afforded them a better opportunity of remarking the personal subordination among the natives than had before offered. The whole behaviour of this family was affable, obliging, and unsuspicious. It was matter of sincere regret to the two Gentlemen that they had not sooner met with these people, as a better acquaintance with the manners and disposition of the inhabitants of the country might hence have been obtained in a day, than had been acquired during the whole stay of the English upon the coast. When, on the sixth of February, Lieutenant Cook had gotten out of the sound, he stood over to the eastward, in order to get the streight well open before the tide of ebb approached. At seven in the evening, two small Islands which lie off Cape Koamaroo, at the South-east head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, bore East, at the distance of about four miles. It was nearly calm, and the tide of ebb setting out, the Endeavour, in a very short time, was carried by the rapidity of the stream close upon one of the Islands, which was a rock rising almost perpendicularly out of the sea. The danger encreased every moment, and there was but one expedient to prevent the ship's being dashed to pieces, the success of which a few moments would determine. She was now within little more than a cable's length of the rock, and had above seventy-five fathom water. But, upon dropping an anchor, and veering about one hundred and fifty fathom of cable, she was happily brought up. This, however, would not have saved our Navigators, if the tide, which set South by East, had not, upon meeting with the Island, changed its direction to South-east, and carried them beyond the first point. In this situation they were not above two cable's length from the rocks; and here they remained in the strength of the tide, which set to the South-east after the rate of at least five miles an hour, from a little after seven till midnight, when the tide abated, and the vessel began to heave. By three in the morning, a light breeze at north-west having sprung up, our Voyagers sailed for the eastern shore; though they made but little way, in consequence of the tide being against them. The wind, however, having afterwards freshened, and come to North and North-east, with this, and the tide of ebb, they were in a short time hurried through the narrowest part of the streight, and then stood away for the southernmost land they had in prospect. There appeared over this land a mountain of stupendous height, which was covered with snow. The narrowest part of the streight, through which the Endeavour had been driven with such rapidity, lies between Cape Tierawitte, on the coast of Eaheinomauwe, and Cape Koamaroo; the distance between which our Commander judged to be four or five leagues. Notwithstanding the difficulties arising from this tide, now its strength is known, the streight may be passed without danger. Some of the officers started a notion that Eaheinomauwe was not an Island, and that the land might stretch away to the South-east, from between Cape Turnagain and Cape Palliser, there being a space of between twelve and fifteen leagues which had not yet been seen. Though Lieutenant Cook, from what he had observed the first time he discovered the streight, and from many other concurrent circumstances, had the strongest conviction that they were mistaken, he, nevertheless, resolved to leave no possibility of doubt with respect to an object of so much importance. For this purpose he gave such a direction to the navigation of the ship as would most effectually tend to determine the matter. After a course of two days, he called the officers upon deck, and asked them, whether they were not now satisfied that Eaheinomauwe was an Island? To this question they readily answered in the affirmative; and all doubts being removed, the Lieutenant proceeded to farther researches (b). During Mr. Cook's long and minute examination of the coast of New Zealand, he gave names to the bays, capes, promontories, islands, and rivers, and other places which were seen or visited by him; excepting in those cases where their original appellations were learned from the natives. The names he fixed upon were either derived from certain characteristic or adventitious circumstances, or were conferred in honour of his friends and acquaintance, chiefly those of the naval line. Such of the readers of the present work as desire to be particularly informed concerning them, will naturally have recourse to the history of the Voyage at large, or, at least, to the indications of them in the several maps on which they are described. The ascertaining of New Zealand to be an island did not conclude Lieutenant Cook's examination of the nature, situation, and extent of the country. After this, he completed his circumnavigation, by ranging from Cape Turnagain southward along the eastern coast of Poenammoo, round Cape South, and back to the western entrance of the streight he had passed, and which was very properly named Cook's Streight. This range, which commenced on the ninth of February, I shall not minutely and regularly pursue; but content myself, as in the former course, with mentioning such circumstances as are more directly adapted to my immediate design. In the afternoon of the fourteenth, when Mr. Banks was out in the boat a-shooting, our Voyagers saw, with their glasses, four double canoes put off from the shore towards him, having on board fifty-seven men. The Lieutenant, being alarmed for the safety of his friend, immediately ordered signals to be made for his return; but he was prevented from seeing them by the situation of the sun with regard to the ship. However, it was soon with pleasure observed that his boat was in motion; and he was taken on

(b) Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 401—410.

on board before the Indians, who perhaps had not discerned him, came up. Their attention seemed to be wholly fixed upon the ship. They came within about a stone's cast of her, and then stopped, gazing at the English with a look of vacant astonishment. Tupia in vain exerted his eloquence to prevail upon them to make a nearer approach. After surveying our Navigators some time, they left them, and made towards the shore. The Gentlemen could not help remarking, on this occasion, the different dispositions and behaviour of the different inhabitants of the country, at the first sight of the Endeavour. The people now seen kept aloof with a mixture of timidity and wonder; others had immediately commenced hostilities; the man who was found fishing alone in his canoe appeared to regard our Voyagers as totally unworthy of notice; and some had come on board almost without invitation, and with an air of perfect confidence and good-will. From the conduct of the last visitors, Lieutenant Cook gave the land from which they had put off, and which had the appearance of an Island, the name of LOOKERS-ON. When an Island, which lies about five leagues from the coast of Tovy-Poenammoo, and which was named Banks's Island, was first discovered in the direction of South by West, some persons on board were of opinion that they saw land bearing South-south-east, and South-east by East. Our Commander, who was himself upon the deck at the time, told them, that in his judgment it was no more than a cloud, which as the sun rose would dissipate and vanish. Being however determined to leave no subject for disputation which experiment could remove, he ordered the ship to steer in the direction which the supposed country was said to bear. Having gone in this direction eight and twenty miles, without discovering any signs of land, the Endeavour resumed her intended course to the southward, it being the particular view of the Lieutenant to ascertain whether Poenammoo was an Island or a continent (c). In passing some rocks on the ninth of March, in the night, it appeared in the morning that the ship had been in the most imminent danger. Her escape was indeed critical in the highest degree. To these rocks, therefore, which, from their situation, are so well adapted to catch unwary strangers, Mr. Cook gave the name of the TRAPS. On the same day he reached a point of land which he called the SOUTH CAPE, and which he supposed, as proved in fact to be the case, the southern extremity of the country (d). In sailing, on Wednesday the fourteenth, the Endeavour passed a small narrow opening in the land, where there seemed to be a very safe and convenient harbour, formed by an Island, which lay eastward in the middle of the opening. On the land behind the opening are mountains, the summits of which were covered with snow, that appeared to have recently fallen. Indeed our Voyagers, for two days past, had found the weather extremely cold. On each side the entrance of the opening, the land rises almost perpendicularly from the sea to a stupendous height. For this reason Lieutenant Cook did not choose to carry the ship into the harbour. He was sensible that no wind could blow there but right in or right out; and he did not think it by any means advisable to put into a place whence he could not have gotten out but with a wind which experience had taught him did not blow more than one day in a month. Sagacious as this determination of our Commander was, it did not give universal satisfaction. He acted in it contrary to the opinion of some persons on board, who expressed in strong terms their desire of coming to harbour; not sufficiently considering, that present convenience ought not to be purchased at the expence of incurring great future disadvantages (e). By the twenty-seventh of March, Mr. Cook had circumnavigated the whole country of Tovy-Poenammoo, and arrived within sight of the Island formerly mentioned, which lies at the distance of nine leagues from the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Having at this time thirty tons of empty water-casks on board, it was necessary to fill them before he finally proceeded on his voyage. For this purpose he hauled round the Island and entered a bay, situated between that and Queen Charlotte's Sound, and to which the name was given of ADMIRALTY BAY. The business of wooding and watering having been completed on the thirtieth, and the ship being ready for the sea, the point now to be determined was, what route should be pursued in returning home that would be of most advantage to the public service. Upon this subject the Lieutenant thought proper to take the opinion of his officers. He had himself a strong desire to return by Cape Horn, because that would have enabled him to determine, whether there is or is not a southern continent. But against this scheme it was a sufficient objection, that our Navigators must have kept in a high southern latitude, in the very depth of winter, and in a vessel which was not thought to be in a condition fit for the undertaking. The same reason was urged, with still greater force, against their proceeding directly for the Cape of Good Hope, because no discovery of moment could be expected in that route. It was, therefore, resolved that they should return by the East Indies; and that with this view they should steer westward, till they should fall in with the East coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward, till they should arrive at its northern extremity. If that should be found impracticable, it was farther resolved that they should endeavour to fall in with the land, or Islands, said to have been discovered by Quiros (f). In the six months which Lieutenant Cook had spent in the examination of New Zealand, he made very large additions to the knowledge of geography and navigation. That country was first discovered in the year 1642, by

(c) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 413, 414, 415, 416—419.

(d) South Cape lies in latitude 47° 19' South, and in longitude 192° 12' West.

(e) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 422, 423, 426.

(f) *Ibid* p. 431—433.

Abel Jansen Tasman, a Dutch navigator. He traversed the eastern coast from latitude $34^{\circ} 43'$, and entered the streight now called Cook's Streight; but being attacked by the natives soon after he came to an anchor, in the place which he named Murderer's Bay, he never went on shore. Nevertheless, he assumed a kind of claim to the country, by calling it STAATEN LAND, or the Land of the States, in honour of the States-General. It is now usually distinguished in maps and charts by the name of NEW ZEALAND. The whole of the country, excepting that part of the coast which was seen by Tasman from on board his ship, continued from his time, to the voyage of the Endeavour, altogether unknown. By many persons it has been supposed to constitute a part of a southern continent; but it was now ascertained by Mr. Cook to consist of two large Islands, divided from each other by a streight or passage, which is about four or five leagues broad. These Islands are situated between the latitudes of 34° and 48° South, and between the longitudes of 181° and 194° West; a matter which Mr. Green determined with uncommon exactness, from innumerable observations of the sun and moon, and one of the transits of Mercury. The northernmost of these Islands is called by the natives Eaheinomauwe, and the southernmost Tovy, or Tavai Poenammoo. It is not, however, certain, whether the whole southern Island, or only part of it, is comprehended under the latter name. Tovy Poenammoo is principally a mountainous, and to all appearance a barren country. The only inhabitants, and signs of inhabitants, that were discovered upon all the Island, were the people whom our Voyagers saw in Queen Charlotte's Sound, some that came off to them under the snowy mountains, and several fires which were discerned to the West of Cape Saunders. Eaheinomauwe has a much better appearance. Though it is not only hilly but mountainous, even the hills and mountains are covered with wood, and every valley has a rivulet of water. The soil in these vallies, and in the plains, many of which are not overgrown with wood, is in general light, but fertile. It was the opinion of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, as well as of the other Gentlemen on board, that all kinds of European grain, plants, and fruit, would flourish here in the utmost luxuriance. There is reason to conclude, from the vegetables which our Navigators found in Eaheinomauwe, that the winters are milder than those in England; and the summer was experienced not to be hotter, though it was more equally warm. If this country, therefore, should be settled by people from Europe, they might, with a little industry, very soon be supplied, in great abundance, not merely with the necessaries, but even with the luxuries of life. In Eaheinomauwe there are no quadrupeds but dogs and rats. At least, no other were seen by our Voyagers; and the rats are so scarce, that they wholly escaped the notice of many on board. Of birds the species are not numerous; and of these no one kind, excepting perhaps the gannet, is exactly the same with those of Europe. Insects are not in greater plenty than birds. The sea makes abundant recompence for this scarcity of animals upon the land. Every creek swarms with fish, which are not only wholesome, but equally delicious with those in our part of the world. The Endeavour seldom anchored in any station, or with a light gale passed any place, that did not afford enough, with hook and line, to serve the whole ship's company. If the seine was made use of, it seldom failed of producing a still more ample supply. The highest luxury of this kind, with which the English were gratified, was the lobster, or sea cray-fish. Among the vegetable productions of the country, the trees claim a principal place; there being forests of vast extent, full of the straightest, the cleanest, and the largest timber Mr. Cook and his friends had ever seen. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were gratified by the novelty, if not by the variety, of the plants. Out of about four hundred species, there were not many which had hitherto been described by botanists. There is one plant that serves the natives instead of hemp and flax, and which excels all that are applied to the same purposes in other countries. If the settling of New Zealand should ever be deemed an object deserving the attention of Great Britain, our Commander thought that the best place for establishing a colony would either be on the banks of the Thames, or in the territory adjoining to the Bay of Islands. Each of these places possesses the advantage of an excellent harbour. By means of the river, settlements might be extended, and a communication established with the inland parts of the country. Vessels might, likewise, be built of the fine timber which is every where to be met with, at very little trouble and expence (g). But I am in danger of forgetting myself, and of running into a detail, which may be thought rather to exceed the intentions of the present narrative. It is difficult to restrain the pen, when such a variety of curious and entertaining matter lies before it; and I must entreat the indulgence of my readers while I mention two or three farther particulars. One circumstance peculiarly worthy of notice, is the perfect and uninterrupted health of the inhabitants of New Zealand. In all the visits made to their towns, where old and young, men and women, crowded about our Voyagers, they never observed a single person who appeared to have any bodily complaint; nor among the numbers that were seen naked, was once perceived the slightest eruption upon the skin, or the least mark which indicated that such an eruption had formerly existed. Another proof of the health of these people is the facility with which the wounds they at any time receive are healed. In the man who had been shot with a musquet-ball through the fleshy part of his arm, the wound seemed to be

(g) Hawke-
worth, *ubi supra*,
p. 435—444.

so well digested, and in so fair a way of being perfectly healed, that if Mr. Cook had not known that no application had been made to it, he declared that he should certainly have enquired, with a very interested curiosity, after the vulnerary herbs and surgical art of the country. An additional evidence of human nature's being untainted with disease in New Zealand, is the great number of old men with whom it abounds. Many of them, by the loss of their hair and teeth, appeared to be very ancient, and yet none of them were decrepid. Although they were not equal to the young in muscular strength, they did not come in the least behind them with regard to cheerfulness and vivacity. Water, as far as our Navigators could discover, is the universal and only liquor of the New Zealanders (g). It is greatly to be wished, that their happiness in this respect may never be destroyed by such a connection with the European nations, as shall introduce that fondness for spirituous liquors which hath been so fatal to the Indians of North America. From the observations which Lieutenant Cook and his friends made on the people of New Zealand, and from the similitude which was discerned between them and the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, a strong proof arose that both of them had one common origin; and this proof was rendered indubitable by the conformity of their language. When Tupia addressed himself to the natives of Eaheinomomauwe and Poenammoo, he was perfectly understood. Indeed, it did not appear that the language of Otaheite differed more from that of New Zealand, than the language of the two Islands, into which it is divided, did from each other (h). Hitherto the navigation of Lieutenant Cook had been unfavourable to the notion of a southern continent; having swept away at least three-fourths of the positions upon which that notion had been founded. The track of the Endeavour had demonstrated that the land seen by Tasman, Juan Fernandes, Hermite, the commander of a Dutch Squadron, Quiros, and Roggewein, was not, as they had supposed, part of such a continent. It had also totally destroyed the theoretical arguments in favour of a southern continent, which had been drawn from the necessity of it to preserve an equilibrium between the two hemispheres. As, however, Mr. Cook's discoveries, so far as he had already proceeded, extended only to the northward of forty degrees, South latitude, he could not, therefore, give an opinion concerning what land might lie farther to the southward. This was a matter, therefore, which he earnestly wished to be examined (i); and to him was, at length, reserved the honour, as we shall hereafter see, of putting a final end to the question.

(g) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 460,
461.

(h) Ibid. p. 473
—476.

(i) Ibid. p. 477
—479.

(k) Cape Farewell
lies in latitude
40° 33' South,
and longitude
186° West.

On Saturday the thirty-first of March, our Commander sailed from Cape Farewell in New Zealand (k) and pursued his voyage to the westward. New Holland, or as it is now called, New South Wales, came in sight on the nineteenth of April; and on the twenty-eighth of that month the ship anchored in BOTANY BAY. On the preceding day, in consequence of its falling calm when the vessel was not more than a mile and a half from the shore, and within some breakers, our Navigators had been in a very disagreeable situation; but happily a light breeze had sprang from the land, and carried them out of danger. In the afternoon the boats were manned; and Lieutenant Cook and his friends, having Tupia of their party, set out from the Endeavour. They intended to land where they had seen some Indians, and began to hope, that as these Indians had paid no regard to the ship when she came into the bay, they would be as inattentive to the advances of the English towards the shore. In this, however, the Gentlemen were disappointed; for as soon as they approached the rocks, two of the men came down upon them to dispute their landing, and the rest ran away. These champions, who were armed with lances about ten feet long, called to our Navigators, in a very loud tone, and in a harsh dissonant language, of which even Tupia did not understand a single word. At the same time, they brandished their weapons, and seemed resolved to defend their coast to the uttermost, though they were but two to forty. The Lieutenant, who could not but admire their courage, and who was unwilling that hostilities should commence with such inequality of force on their side, ordered his boat to lie upon her oars. He and the other Gentlemen then parlied with them by signs; and, to obtain their good-will, he threw them nails, beads, and several trifles besides, with which they appeared to be well pleased. After this our Commander endeavoured to make them understand that he wanted water, and attempted to convince them, by all the methods in his power, that he had no injurious design against them. Being willing to interpret the waving of their hands as an invitation to proceed, the boat put in to the shore; but no sooner was this perceived, than it was opposed by the two Indians, one of whom seemed to be a youth about nineteen or twenty years old, and the other a man of middle age. The only resource now left for Mr. Cook was to fire a musquet between them, which being done, the youngest of them dropped a bundle of lances on the rock, but recollecting himself in an instant, he snatched them up again in great haste. A stone was then thrown at the English, upon which the Lieutenant ordered a musquet to be fired with small-shot. This struck the eldest upon the legs, and he immediately ran to one of the houses, which was about a hundred yards distance. Mr. Cook, who now hoped that the contest was over, instantly landed with his party; but they had scarcely quitted the boat when the Indian returned, having only left the rock to fetch a shield or target for his defence. As soon as he came up, he and his comrade

threw each of them a lance in the midst of our people, but happily without hurting a single person. At the firing of a third musquet, one of the two men darted another lance, and then both of them ran away. After this the Gentlemen repaired to the huts, and threw into the house where the children were, some beads, ribbons, pieces of cloth, and other presents. These they hoped would procure them the good will of the inhabitants. When, however, the Lieutenant and his companions returned the next day, they had the mortification of finding that the beads and ribbons which they had left the night before, had not been removed from their places, and that not an Indian was to be seen (1). Several of the natives of the country came in sight on the thirtieth, but they could not be engaged to begin an intercourse with our people. They approached within a certain distance of them, and after shouting several times went back into the woods. Having done this once more, Mr. Cook followed them himself, alone and unarmed, a considerable way along the shore, but without prevailing upon them to stop [L]. On the first of May, he resolved to make an excursion into the country. Accordingly, our Commander, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and seven others, all of them properly accoutred for the expedition, set out, and repaired first to the huts near the watering-place, whither some of the Indians continued every day to resort. Though the little presents which had been left there before had not yet been taken away, our Gentlemen added others of still greater value, consisting of cloth, beads, combs, and looking glasses. After this they went up into the country, the face of which is finely diversified by wood and lawn. The soil they found to be either swamp or light sand [M]. In cultivating the ground there would be no obstruction from the trees, which are tall, strait, and without underwood, and stand at a sufficient distance from each other. Between the trees, the land is abundantly covered with grass. Our Voyagers saw many houses of the inhabitants, but met with only one of the people, who ran away as soon as he discovered the English. At every place where they went they left presents, hoping that at length they might procure the confidence and good will of the Indians. They perceived some traces of animals; and the trees over their heads abounded with birds of various kinds, among which were many of exquisite beauty. Loriquets and cockatoos, in particular, were so numerous, that they flew in flocks of several scores together. While the Lieutenant and his friends were upon this excursion, Mr. Gore, who had been sent out in the morning to dredge for oysters, having performed that service, dismissed his boat, and taking a midshipman with him, set out to join the waterers by land. In his way he fell in with a body of two and twenty Indians, who followed him, and were often at no greater distance than that of twenty yards. When he perceived them so near, he stopped, and faced about, upon which they likewise stopped; and when he went on again, they continued their pursuit. But though they were all armed with lances, they did not attack Mr. Gore; so that he and the midshipman got in safety to the watering-place. When the natives came in sight of the main body of the English, they halted at about the distance of a quarter of a mile, and stood still. By this Mr. Monkhouse and two or three of the waterers were encouraged to march up to them; but seeing the Indians keep their ground, they were seized with a sudden fear, which is not uncommon to the rash and fool-hardy, and made a hasty retreat. This step increased the danger which it was intended to avoid. Four of the Indians immediately ran forward, and discharged their lances at the fugitives, with such force that they went beyond them. Our people, recovering their spirits, stopped to collect the lances, upon which the natives, in their turn, began to retire. At this time Mr. Cook came up, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia; and being desirous of convincing the Indians that they were neither afraid of them, nor designed to do them any injury, they advanced towards them, endeavouring, by signs of expostulation and entreaty, to engage them to an intercourse, but without effect. From the boldness which the natives discovered on the first landing of our Voyagers, and the terror that afterwards seized them at the sight of the English, it appears that they were sufficiently intimidated by our fire-arms. There was not, indeed, the least reason to believe that any of them had been much hurt by the small shot which had been fired at them when they attacked our people on their coming out of the boat. Nevertheless, they had probably seen, from their lurking places, the effects which the musquets had upon birds. Tupia, who was become a good marksman, frequently strayed abroad to shoot parrots; and while he was thus employed, he once met with nine Indians, who, as soon as they perceived that he saw them, ran from him, in great alarm and confusion. While, on the third of May, Mr. Banks was gathering plants near the watering-place, Lieutenant Cook went with Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse to the head of the bay, for the purpose of examining that part of the country, and of making farther attempts to form some connections with the natives. In this excursion they acquired additional knowledge concerning the nature of the soil, and its capacities for cultivation, but had no success in their endeavours to en-

(1) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 481. 483. 490. 495.

[L] But without prevailing upon them to stop.] This day Mr. Green took the sun's meridian altitude a little within the South entrance of the bay, which gave the latitude 34° South.

[M] The soil they found to be either swamp or light

sand.] In a part of the country that was afterwards examined, the soil was found to be much richer; being a deep black mold, which the Lieutenant thought very fit for the production of grain of any kind.

gage the inhabitants in coming to a friendly intercourse. Several parties that were sent into the country, on the next day, with the same view, were equally unsuccessful. In the afternoon our Commander himself, with a number of attendants, made an excursion to the north shore, which he found to be without wood, and to resemble, in some degree, our moors in England. The surface of the ground was, however, covered with a thin brush of plants, rising to about the height of the knee. Near the coast the hills are low, but there are others behind them, which gradually ascend to a considerable distance, and are intersected with marshes and morasses. Among the articles of fish which, at different times, were caught, were large stingrays. One of them, when his entrails were taken out, weighed three hundred and thirty-six pounds. It was upon account of the great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place, that Lieutenant Cook was induced to give it the name of BOTANY BAY. It is situated in the latitude of 34° South, and in the longitude of $208^{\circ} 37'$ West; and affords a capacious, safe, and convenient shelter for shipping. The Endeavour anchored near the South shore, about a mile within the entrance, for the convenience of sailing with a southerly wind, and because the Lieutenant thought it the best situation for watering. But afterwards he found a very fine stream on the North shore, where was a sandy cove, in which a ship might lie almost land-locked, and procure wood and water in the greatest abundance. Though wood is every where plentiful, our Commander saw only two species of it that could be considered as timber. Not only the inhabitants who were first discovered, but all who afterwards came in sight, were entirely naked. Of their mode of life our Voyagers could know but little, as not the least connection could be formed with them; but it did not appear that they were numerous, or that they lived in societies. They seemed, like other animals, to be scattered about along the coast, and in the woods. Not a single article was touched by them of all that were left at their huts, or at the places which they frequented; so little sense had they of those small conveniencies and ornaments which are generally very alluring to the uncivilized tribes of the globe. During Mr. Cook's stay at this place, he caused the English colours to be displayed every day on shore, and took care that the ship's name, and the date of the year, should be inscribed upon one of the trees near the watering-place (m). At day-break, on Sunday the sixth of May, our Navigators sailed from Botany Bay; and as they proceeded on their voyage the Lieutenant gave the names that are indicated upon the map to the bays, capes, points, and remarkable hills which successively appeared in sight. On the fourteenth, as the Endeavour advanced to the northward, being then in latitude $30^{\circ} 22'$ South, and longitude $206^{\circ} 39'$ West, the land gradually increased in height, so that it may be called a hilly country. Between this latitude and Botany Bay, it exhibits a pleasing variety of ridges, hills, valleys, and plains, all clothed with wood, of the same appearance with that which has been mentioned before. The land near the shore is in general low and sandy, excepting the points, which are rocky, and over many of which are high hills, that, at their first rising out of the water, have the semblance of Islands. On the next day, the vessel being about a league from the shore, our Voyagers discovered smoke in many places, and having recourse to their glasses, they saw about twenty of the natives, who had each of them a large bundle upon his back. The bundles our people conjectured to be palm leaves for covering the houses of the Indians, and continued to observe them above an hour, during which they walked upon the beach, and up a path that led over a hill of gentle ascent. It was remarkable, that not one of them was seen to stop and look towards the Endeavour. They marched along without the least apparent emotion either of curiosity or surprize, though it was impossible that they should not have discerned the ship by some casual glance as they went along the shore, and though she must have been the most stupendous and unaccountable object they had ever beheld (n). While, on the seventeenth, our Navigators were in a bay, to which Lieutenant Cook had given the name of Moreton's Bay (o), and at a place where the land was not at that time visible, some on board, having observed that the sea looked paler than usual, were of opinion that the bottom of the bay opened into a river. The Lieutenant was sensible that there was no real ground for this supposition. As the Endeavour had here thirty-four fathom water, and a fine sandy bottom, these circumstances alone were sufficient to produce the change which had been noticed in the colour of the sea. Nor was it by any means necessary to suppose a river, in order to account for the land at the bottom of the bay not being visible. If the land there was as low as it had been experienced to be in a hundred other parts of the coast, it would be impossible to see it from the station of the ship. Our Commander would, however, have brought the matter to the test of experiment, if the wind had been favourable to such a purpose. Should any future Navigator be disposed to determine the question, whether there is or is not a river in this place, Mr. Cook has taken care to leave the best directions for finding its situation. On the twenty-second, as our Voyagers were pursuing their course from HARVEY'S BAY, they discovered with their glasses that the land was covered with palm-nut trees, which they had not seen from the time of their leaving the Islands within the tropic. They saw also two men walking along the shore, who paid them as little attention as they had met with on former occasions. At eight o'clock in the evening of this day, the ship came to

(m) Hawkefworth, *ubi supra*, p. 496—506.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 507—511, 512.

(o) The latitude of Moreton's Bay is $26^{\circ} 56'$ South, and its longitude $206^{\circ} 28'$ West.

an anchor in five fathom, with a fine sandy bottom. Early in the morning of the next day, the Lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, the other Gentlemen, Tupia, and a party of men, went on shore, in order to examine the country. The wind blew fresh, and the weather was so cold, that, being at a considerable distance from land, they took their cloaks as a necessary equipment for the voyage. When they landed, they found a channel leading into a large lagoon. Both the channel and the lagoon were examined by our Commander with his usual accuracy. There is in the place a small river of fresh water, and room for a few ships to lie in great security. Near the lagoon grows the true mangrove, such as exists in the West India Islands, and the first of the kind that had been yet met with by our Navigators. Among the shoals and sand banks of the coast, they saw many large birds, and some in particular of the same kind which they had seen in Botany Bay. These they judged to be pelicans, but they were so shy as never to come within reach of a musquet. On the shore was found a species of the bustard, one of which was shot that was equal in size to a turkey, weighing seventeen pounds and a half. All the Gentlemen agreed that this was the best bird they had eaten since they left England; and in honour of it they called the inlet **BUSTARD BAY** (p). Upon the mud banks, and under the mangroves, were innumerable oysters of various kinds, and among others the hammer oyster, with a large proportion of small pearl oysters. If in deeper water there should be equal plenty of such oysters at their full growth, Mr. Cook was of opinion that a pearl fishery might be established here to very great advantage (q). The people who were left on board the ship asserted, that, while the Gentlemen were in the woods, about twenty of the natives came down to the beach, a-breast of the Endeavour, and after having looked at her for some time, went away. Not a single Indian was seen by the Gentlemen themselves, though they found various proofs, in smook, fires, and the fragments of recent meals, that the country was inhabited. The place seemed to be much trodden, and yet not a house, or the remains of a house, could be discerned. Hence the Lieutenant and his friends were disposed to believe that the people were destitute of dwellings, as well as of clothes; and that, like the other commoners of nature, they spent their nights in the open air. Tupia himself was struck with their apparently unhappy condition; and shaking his head, with an air of superiority and compassion, said that they were *Taata Enos*, "poor wretches [N]." On the twenty-fifth, our Voyagers, at the distance of one mile from the land, were a-breast of a point which Mr. Cook found to lie directly under the tropic of Capricorn; and for this reason he called it **CAPE CAPRICORN** (r). In the night of the next day, when the ship had anchored at a place which was distant four leagues from Cape Capricorn, the tide rose and fell near seven feet; and the flood set to the westward, and the ebb to the eastward. This circumstance was just the reverse of what had been experienced when the Endeavour was at anchor to the eastward of Bustard Bay. While our people were under sail, on the twenty-sixth, and were surrounded with Islands, which lay at different distances from the main land, they suddenly fell into three fathom of water. Upon this the Lieutenant anchored, and sent away the Master to found a channel which lay between the northernmost Island and the main. Though the channel appeared to have a considerable breadth, our Commander suspected it to be shallow, and such was in fact the case. The Master reported, at his return, that he had only two fathom and a half in many places; and where the vessel lay at anchor she had only sixteen feet, which was not two feet more than she drew. Mr. Banks, who, while the Master was founding the channel, tried to fish from the cabin window with hook and line, was successful in catching two sorts of crabs, both of them such as our Navigators had not seen before. One of them was adorned with a most beautiful blue, in every respect equal to the ultramarine. With this blue all his claws and joints were deeply tinged; while the under part of him was white, and so exquisitely polished, that in colour and brightness it bore an exact resemblance to the white of old china. The other crab was also marked, though somewhat more sparingly, with the ultramarine on his joints and his toes; and on his back were three brown spots of a singular appearance. Early the next morning, Lieutenant Cook, having found a passage between the Islands, sailed to the northward, and on the evening of the succeeding day anchored at about two miles distance from the main. At this time a great number of Islands, lying a long way without the ship, were in sight. On the twenty-ninth, the Lieutenant sent away the Master with two boats to found the entrance of an inlet which lay to the West, and into which he intended to go with the vessel, that he might wait a few days for the moon's encrease, and have an opportunity of examining the country. As the tide was observed to ebb and flow considerably, when the Endeavour had anchored within the inlet, our Commander judged it to be a river that might run pretty far up into land. Thinking that this might afford a commodious situation for laying the ship ashore, and cleaning her bottom, he landed with the Master, in search of a proper place for the purpose. He was accompanied in the excursion by Mr.

(p) Bustard Bay lies in latitude $24^{\circ} 4'$ South, and longitude $208^{\circ} 18'$ West.

(q) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 514. 516. 519—521.

(r) Its latitude is $208^{\circ} 58'$ West.

[N] *Poor wretches.* From measuring the perpendicular height of the last tide, and ascertaining the time of low-water this day, the Lieutenant found

that it must be high-water, at the full and change of the moon, at eight o'clock.

Banks

Banks and Dr. Solander; and they found walking exceedingly troublesome, in consequence of the ground's being covered with a kind of grass, the seeds of which were very sharp and bearded. Whenever these seeds stuck into their clothes, which happened at every step, they worked forwards by means of the beard, till they got at the flesh. Another disagreeable circumstance was, that the Gentlemen were incessantly tormented with the stings of a cloud of musquitos. They soon met with several places where the ship might conveniently be laid ashore; but were much disappointed in not being able to find any fresh water. In proceeding up the country, they found gum trees, the gum upon which existed only in very small quantities. Gum trees of a similar kind, and as little productive, had occurred in other parts of the Coast of New South Wales. Upon the branches of the trees were ants nests, made of clay, as big as a bushel. The ants themselves, by which the nests were inhabited, were small, and their bodies white. Upon another species of the gum tree, was found a small black ant, which perforated all the twigs, and, having worked out the pith, occupied the pipe in which it had been contained. Notwithstanding this, the parts in which these insects, to an amazing number, had formed a lodgment, bore leaves and flowers, and appeared to be entirely in a flourishing state. Butterflies were found in such multitudes that the account of them seems almost to be incredible. The air was so crowded with them, for the space of three or four acres, that millions might be seen in every direction; and the branches and twigs of the trees were at the same time covered with others that were not upon the wing. A small fish of a singular kind was likewise met with in this place. Its size was about that of a minnow, and it had two very strong breast-fins. It was found in places which were quite dry, and where it might be supposed that it had been left by the tide; and yet it did not appear to have become languid from that circumstance: for when it was approached, it leaped away as nimbly as a frog. Indeed it did not seem to prefer water to land. Though the curiosity of Mr. Cook and his friends were gratified by the sight of these various objects, they were disappointed in the attainment of their main purpose, the discovery of fresh water; and a second excursion, which was made by them on the afternoon of the same day, was equally unsuccessful. This failure of the Lieutenant's hopes determined him to make but a short stay in the place. Having, however, observed from an eminence that the inlet penetrated a considerable way into the country, he formed a resolution of tracing it in the morning. Accordingly, at sun-rise, on Wednesday the thirtieth of May, he went on shore, and took a view of the coast and the Islands that lie off it, with their bearings. For this purpose he had with him an azimuth compass; but he found that the needle differed very considerably in its position, even to thirty degrees; the variation being in some places more, in others less. Once the needle varied from itself no less than two points in the distance of fourteen feet. Mr. Cook having taken up some of the loose stones which lay upon the ground, applied them to the needle, but they produced no effect; whence he concluded that in the hills there was iron ore, traces of which he had remarked both here and in the neighbouring parts. After he had made his observations upon the hill, he proceeded with Dr. Solander up the inlet. He set out with the first of the flood, and had advanced above eight leagues long before it was high water. The breadth of the inlet thus far was from two to five miles, upon a direction South-west by South; but here it opened every way, and formed a large lake, which to the North-west communicated with the sea. Our Commander not only saw the sea in this direction, but found the tide of flood coming strongly in from that point. He observed, also, an arm of this lake extending to the eastward. Hence he thought it not improbable that it might communicate with the sea in the bottom of the bay, which lies to the westward of the cape that on the Chart is designated by the name of CAPE TOWNSHEND. On the South side of the lake is a ridge of hills which the Lieutenant was very desirous of climbing. As, however, it was high-water, and the day was far spent; and as the weather, in particular, was dark and rainy, he was afraid of being bewildered among the shoals in the night, and therefore was obliged to give up his inclination, and to make the best of his way to the ship. Two people only were seen by him, who followed the boat along the shore a good way at some distance; but he could not prudently wait for them, as the tide ran strongly in his favour. Several fires in one direction, and smoke in another, exhibited farther proofs of the country's being in a certain degree inhabited. While Mr. Cook, with Dr. Solander, was tracing the inlet, Mr. Banks and a party with him engaged in a separate excursion, in which they had not proceeded far within land, before their course was obstructed by a swamp, covered with mangroves. This, however, they determined to pass; and having done it with great difficulty, they came up to a place where there had been four small fires, near to which lay some shells and bones of fish that had been roasted. Heaps of grass were also found lying together, on which four or five people appeared to have slept. Mr. Gore, in another place, observed the track of a large animal. Some bustards were likewise seen, but not any other bird, excepting a few beautiful loriquets, of the same kind with those which had been noticed in Botany Bay. The country in general, in this part of New South Wales, appeared sandy and barren, and destitute of the accommodations which could fit it for being possessed by settled inhabitants. From the ill success that attended the searching for fresh water,

Lieutenant Cook called the inlet in which the ship lay THIRSTY SOUND (s). No refreshment of any other sort was here procured by our Voyagers (t). Our Commander, not having a single inducement to stay longer in this place, weighed anchor in the morning of the thirty-first, and put to sea. In the prosecution of the voyage, when the Endeavour was close under CAPE UPSTART, the variation of the needle, at sun-set, on the fourth of June, was 9° East, and at sun-rise the next day, it was no more than 5° 35'. Hence the Lieutenant concluded that it had been influenced by iron ore, or by some other magnetical matter contained under the surface of the earth. In the afternoon of the seventh, our Navigators saw upon one of the Islands what had the appearance of cocoa-nut trees; and as a few nuts would at this time have been very acceptable, Mr. Cook sent Lieutenant Hicks ashore, to see if he could procure any refreshment. He was accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander; and in the evening the Gentlemen returned, with an account that what had been taken for cocoa-nut trees were a small kind of cabbage palm, and that, excepting about fourteen or fifteen plants, nothing could be obtained which was worth bringing away. On the eighth, when the Endeavour was in the midst of a cluster of small Islands our Voyagers discerned, with their glasses, upon one of the nearest of these Islands, about thirty of the natives, men, women, and children, all standing together, and looking with great attention at the ship. This was the first instance of curiosity that had been observed among the people of the country. The present Indian spectators were entirely naked. Their hair was short, and their complexion the same with that of such of the inhabitants as had been seen before (u).

(u) *Ibid.* p. 532.
538. 541.

In navigating the coast of New South Wales, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals which suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom, our Commander had hitherto conducted his vessel in safety, for an extent of two and twenty degrees of latitude, being more than one thousand three hundred miles. But, on the tenth of June, as he was pursuing his course from a bay to which he had given the name of TRINITY BAY, the Endeavour fell into a situation as critical and dangerous as any that is recorded in the history of navigation; a history which abounds with perilous adventures, and almost miraculous escapes. Our Voyagers were now near the latitude assigned to the Islands that were discovered by Quiros, and which, without sufficient reason, some geographers have thought proper to join to this land. The ship had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night; and in standing off from six till near nine o'clock, she had deepened her water from fourteen to twenty-one fathom. But while our Navigators were at supper it suddenly shoaled, and they fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, within the compass of a few minutes. Mr. Cook immediately ordered every man to his station, and all was ready to put about and come to an anchor; when deep water being met with again at the next cast of the lead, it was concluded that the vessel had gone over the tail of the shoals which had been seen at sun-set, and that the danger was now over. This idea of security was confirmed by the water's continuing to deepen to twenty and twenty-one fathom, so that the Gentlemen left the deck in great tranquillity, and went to bed. However, a little before eleven, the water shoaled at once from twenty to seventeen fathom, and before the lead could be cast again, the ship struck, and remained immoveable, excepting so far as she was influenced by the heaving of the surge, that beat her against the crags of the rock upon which she lay. A few moments brought every person upon deck, with countenances suited to the horrors of the situation. As our people knew, from the breeze which they had in the evening, that they could not be very near the shore, there was too much reason to conclude that they were upon a rock of coral, which, on account of the sharpness of its points, and the roughness of its surface, is more fatal than any other. On examining the depth of water round the ship, it was speedily discovered that the misfortune of our Voyagers was equal to their apprehensions. The vessel had been lifted over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it, in some places of which hollow there were from three to four fathom, and in others not so many feet of water. To complete the scene of distress, it appeared, from the light of the moon, that the sheathing boards from the bottom of the ship were floating away all round her, and at last her false keel; so that every moment was making way for the whole company's being swallowed up by the rushing in of the sea. There was now no chance but to lighten her, and the opportunity had unhappily been lost of doing it to the best advantage, for as the Endeavour had gone ashore just at high-water, and by this time it had considerably fallen, she would, when lightened, be but in the same situation as at first. The only alleviation of this circumstance was, that as the tide ebbed, the vessel settled to the rocks, and was not beaten against them with so much violence. Our people had, indeed, some hope from the next tide, though it was doubtful whether the ship would hold together so long, especially as the rock kept grating part of her bottom with such force as to be heard in the fore store-room. No effort, however, was remitted from despair of success. That no time might be lost, the water was immediately started in the hold, and pumped up: six guns, being all that were upon the deck, a quantity of iron and stone ballast, casks, hoop staves, oil jars, decayed stores, and a variety of things besides, were thrown overboard with the utmost expedition. Every one exerted himself, not only

(s) Thirsty Sound lies in latitude 22° 10' South, and longitude 210° 18' West.
(t) Hawke's worth, *ubi supra*, p. 521—532.

without

without murmuring and discontent, but even with an alacrity which almost approached to cheerfulness. So sensible, at the same time, were the men of the awfulness of their situation, that not an oath was heard among them, the detestable habit of profane swearing being instantly subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when a speedy death was in view. While Lieutenant Cook and all the people about him were thus employed, the opening of the morning of the eleventh of June presented them with a fuller prospect of their danger. The land was seen by them at about eight leagues distance, without any Island in the intermediate space, upon which, if the ship had gone to pieces, they might have been set ashore by the boats, and carried thence by different turns to the main. Gradually, however, the wind died away, and early in the forenoon it became a dead calm; a circumstance this, peculiarly happy in the order of Divine Providence; for if it had blown hard, the vessel must inevitably have been destroyed. High-water being expected at eleven in the morning, and every thing being made ready to heave her off if she should float; to the inexpressible surprize and concern of our Navigators, so much did the day-tide fall short of that of the night, that though they had lightened the ship nearly fifty ton, she did not float by a foot and a half. Hence it became necessary to lighten her still more, and every thing was thrown overboard that could possibly be spared. Hitherto the Endeavour had not admitted much water; but as the tide fell, it rushed in so fast, that she could scarcely be kept free, though two pumps were incessantly worked. There were now no hopes but from the tide at midnight; to prepare for taking the advantage of which the most vigorous efforts were exerted. About five o'clock in the afternoon the tide began to rise, but, at the same time, the leak increased to a most alarming degree. Two more pumps, therefore, were manned, one of which unhappily would not work. Three pumps, however, were kept going, and at nine o'clock the ship righted. Nevertheless, the leak had gained so considerably upon her, that it was imagined that she must go to the bottom as soon as she ceased to be supported by the rock. It was, indeed, a dreadful circumstance to our Commander and his people, that they were obliged to anticipate the floating of the vessel not as an earnest of their deliverance, but as an event which probably would precipitate their destruction. They knew that their boats were not capable of carrying the whole of them on shore, and that when the dreadful crisis should arrive, all command and subordination being at an end, a contest for preference might be expected, which would increase even the horrors of shipwreck, and turn their rage against each other. Some of them were sensible that if they should escape to the main land, they were likely to suffer more upon the whole than those who would be left on board to perish in the waves. The latter would only be exposed to instant death; whereas the former, when they got on shore, would have no lasting or effectual defence against the natives, in a part of the country where even nets and fire-arms could scarcely furnish them with food. But supposing that they should find the means of subsistence; how horrible must be their state, to be condemned to languish out the remainder of their lives in a desolate wilderness, without the possession or hope of domestic comfort; and to be cut off from all commerce with mankind, excepting that of the naked savages who prowl the desert, and who perhaps are some of the most rude and uncivilized inhabitants of the earth! The dreadful moment which was to determine the fate of our Voyagers now drew on; and every one saw, in the countenances of his companions, the picture of his own sensations. Not, however, giving way to despair, the Lieutenant ordered the capstan and windlace to be manned with as many hands as could be spared from the pumps; and the ship having floated about twenty minutes after ten o'clock, the grand effort was made, and she was heaved into deep water. It was no small consolation to find that she did not now admit of more water than she had done when upon the rock. By the gaining, indeed, of the leak upon the pumps, three feet and nine inches of water were in the hold; notwithstanding which, the men did not relinquish their labour. Thus they held the water as it were at bay: but having endured excessive fatigue of body, and agitation of mind, for more than twenty-four hours, and all this being attended with little hope of final success, they began, at length, to flag. None of them could work at the pump above five or six minutes together, after which, being totally exhausted, they threw themselves down upon the deck, though a stream of water, between three or four inches deep, was running over it from the pumps. When those who succeeded them had worked their time, and in their turn were exhausted, they threw themselves down in the same manner, and the others started up again, to renew their labour. While thus they were employed in relieving each other, an accident was very nearly putting an immediate end to all their efforts. The planking which lines the ship's bottom is called the cieling, between which and the outside planking there is a space of about eighteen inches. From this cieling only, the man who had hitherto attended the well had taken the depth of the water, and had given the measure accordingly. But, upon his being relieved, the person who came in his room reckoned the depth to the outside planking, which had the appearance of the leak's having gained upon the pumps eighteen inches in a few minutes. The mistake, however, was soon detected; and the accident, which in its commencement was very formidable to them, became, in fact, highly advantageous. Such was the joy which every man felt at finding his situation better

better than his fears had suggested, that it operated with wonderful energy, and seemed to possess him with a strong persuasion that scarcely any real danger remained. New confidence and new hope inspired fresh vigour; and the efforts of the men were exerted with so much alacrity and spirit, that before eight o'clock in the morning the pumps had gained considerably upon the leak. All the conversation now turned upon carrying the ship into some harbour, as a thing not to be doubted; and as hands could be spared from the pumps, they were employed in getting up the anchors. It being found impossible to save the little bower anchor, it was cut away at a whole cable, and the cable of the stream anchor was lost among the rocks; but in the situation of our people these were trifles which scarcely attracted their notice. The fore-topmast and fore-yard were next erected, and there being a breeze from the sea, the Endeavour, at eleven o'clock, got once more under sail, and stood for the land. Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, our Voyagers were still very far from being in a state of safety. It was not possible long to continue the labour by which the pumps had been made to gain upon the leak; and as the exact place of it could not be discovered, there was no hope of stopping it within. At this crisis, Mr. Monkhouse, one of the midshipmen, came to Lieutenant Cook, and proposed an expedient he had once seen used on board a merchant ship which had sprung a leak that admitted more than four feet water in an hour, and which by this means had been safely brought from Virginia to London. To Mr. Monkhouse, therefore, the care of the expedient, which is called fothering the ship, was, with proper assistance, committed; and his method of proceeding was as follows. He took a lower studding sail, and having mixed together a large quantity of oakham and wool, he stitched it down, as lightly as possible, in handfals upon the sail, and spread over it the dung of the sheep of the vessel, and other filth. The sail being thus prepared, it was hauled under the ship's bottom by ropes, which kept it extended. When it came under the leak, the suction that carried in the water, carried in with it the oakham and wool from the surface of the sail. In other parts the water was not sufficiently agitated to wash off the oakham and the wool. The success of the expedient was answerable to the warmest expectations; for hereby the leak was so far reduced, that, instead of gaining upon three pumps, it was easily kept under with one. Here was such a new source of confidence and comfort, that our people could scarcely have expressed more joy if they had been already in port. It had lately been the utmost object of their hope, to run the ship a-shore in some harbour, either of an Island or the main, and to build a vessel out of her materials, to carry them to the East Indies. Nothing, however, was now thought of but to range along the coast in search of a convenient place to repair the damage the Endeavour had sustained, and then to prosecute the voyage upon the same plan, as if no impediment happened. In justice and gratitude to the ship's company, and the Gentlemen on board, Mr. Cook has recorded, that although in the midst of their distress all of them seemed to have a just sense of their danger, no man gave way to passionate exclamations, or frantic gestures. "Every one appeared to have the perfect possession of his mind, and every one exerted himself to the uttermost, with a quiet and patient perseverance, equally distant from the tumultuous violence of terror, and the gloomy inactivity of despair (w)." Though the Lieutenant hath said nothing of himself, it is well known that his own composure, fortitude, and activity were equal to the greatness of the occasion. To complete the history of this wonderful preservation, it is necessary to bring forward a circumstance, which could not be discovered till the ship was laid down to be repaired. It was then found that one of her holes, which was large enough to have sunk our Navigators, if they had had eight pumps instead of four, and had been able to keep them incessantly going, was in a great measure filled up by a fragment of the rock, upon which the Endeavour had struck. To this singular event, therefore, it was owing, that the water did not pour in with a violence which must speedily have involved the Endeavour and all her company in inevitable destruction (x). Hitherto (x) *Ibid.* p. 559. none of the names, by which our Commander had distinguished the several parts of the country seen by him, were memorials of distress. But the anxiety and danger which he and his people had now experienced, induced him to call a point in sight, which lay to the Northward, CAPE TRIBULATION (y). The next object after this event was to look out for a harbour where the defects of the ship might be repaired, and the vessel put into proper order for future navigation. On the fourteenth, a small harbour was happily discovered, which was excellently adapted to the purpose. It was, indeed, remarkable, that, during the whole course of the voyage, our people had seen no place which, in their present circumstances, could have afforded them the same relief. They could not, however, immediately get into it; and in the midst of all their joy for their unexpected deliverance, they had not forgotten that there was nothing but a lock of wool between them and destruction.

(w) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 544—552.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 544. Cape Tribulation lies in latitude 16° 6' South; and longitude 114° 39' West.

At this time, the scurvy, with many formidable symptoms, began to make its appearance among our Navigators. Tupia, in particular, was so grievously affected with the disease, that all the remedies prescribed by the Surgeon could not retard its progress. Mr. Green, the Astronomer, was also upon the decline. These and other circumstances embittered the delay which prevented our Commander and his companions from getting on shore.

shore. In the morning of the seventeenth, though the wind was still fresh, the Lieutenant ventured to weigh, and to put in for the harbour, the entrance into which was by a very narrow channel. In making the attempt the ship was twice run aground. At the first time she went off without any trouble, but the second time she stuck fast. Nevertheless, by proper exertions, in conjunction with the rising of the tide, she floated about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was soon warped into the harbour. The succeeding day was employed in erecting two tents, in landing the provisions and stores, and in making every preparation for repairing the damages which the Endeavour had sustained. In the mean while, Mr. Cook, who had ascended one of the highest hills that overlooked the harbour, was by no means entertained with a comfortable prospect; the low land near the river being wholly over-run with mangroves, among which the salt-water flows at every tide, and the high land appearing to be altogether stoney and barren. Mr. Banks also took a walk up the country, and met with the frames of several old Indian houses, and places where the natives, though not recently, had dressed shell-fish. The boat, which had this day been dispatched to haul the seine, with a view of procuring some fish for the refreshment of the sick, returned without success. Tupia was more fortunate. Having employed himself in angling, and lived entirely upon what he caught, he recovered in a surprising degree. Mr. Green, to the regret of his friends, exhibited no symptoms of returning health. On the nineteenth, Mr. Banks crossed the river to take a farther view of the country; which he found to consist principally of sand-hills. Some Indian houses were seen by him, that appeared to have been very lately inhabited; and in his walk he met with large flocks of pigeons and crows. The pigeons were exceedingly beautiful. Of these he shot several; but the crows, which were exactly like those in England, were so shy that they never came within the reach of his gun. It was not till the twenty-second that the tide so far left the Endeavour, as to give our people an opportunity of examining her leak. In the place where it was found, the rocks had made their way through four planks, and even into the timbers. Three more planks were greatly damaged, and there was something very extraordinary in the appearances of the breaches. Not a splinter was to be seen, but all was as smooth as if the whole had been cut away by an instrument. It was a peculiarly happy circumstance that the timbers were here very close, since otherwise the ship could not possibly have been saved. Now also it was that the fragment of the rock was discovered, which, by sticking in the leak of the vessel, had been such a providential instrument of her preservation. On the same day, some of the people who had been sent to shoot pigeons for the sick, and who had discovered many Indian houses, and a fine stream of fresh water, reported at their return, that they had seen an animal as large as a greyhound, of a slender make, of a mouse colour, and extremely swift. As the Lieutenant was walking, on the morning of the twenty-fourth, at a little distance from the ship, he had an opportunity of seeing an animal of the same kind. From the description he gave of it, and from an imperfect view which occurred to Mr. Banks, the latter Gentleman was of opinion that its species was hitherto unknown. The position of the vessel, while she was refitting for sea, was very near depriving the world of that botanical knowledge, which Mr. Banks had procured at the expence of so much labour, and such various perils. For the greater security of the curious collection of plants which he had made during the whole voyage, he had removed them into the bread room. This room is in the after part of the ship, the head of which, for the purpose of repairing her, was laid much higher than the stern. No one having thought of the danger to which this circumstance might expose the plants, they were found to be under water. However, by the exercise of unremitting care and attention, the larger part of them were restored to a state of preservation. On the twenty-ninth of June, at two o'clock in the morning Mr. Cook, in conjunction with Mr. Green, observed an emersion of Jupiter's first satellite. The time here was $2^h 18' 53''$, which gave the longitude of the place at $214^\circ 43' 30''$ West: its latitude is $15^\circ 26'$ South. The next morning the Lieutenant sent some of the young Gentlemen to take a plan of the harbour, whilst he himself ascended a hill, that he might gain a full prospect of the sea: and it was a prospect which presented him with a lively view of the difficulties of his situation. To his great concern he saw innumerable sand banks and shoals, lying in every direction of the coast. Some of them extended as far as he could discern with his glass, and many of them did but just rise above water. To the northward there was an appearance of a passage, and this was the only direction in which our Commander could hope to get clear, in the prosecution of his voyage; for as the wind blew constantly from the South-east, to return by the southward would have been extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible. On this, and the preceding day, our people had been very successful in hauling the seine. The supply of fish was so great, that the Lieutenant was now able to distribute two pounds and a half to each man. A quantity of greens having likewise been gathered, he ordered them to be boiled with the peas. Hence an excellent mess was produced, which, in conjunction with the fish, afforded an unspeakable refreshment to the whole of the ship's company [O]. Early in the morning of the

[O] Afforded an unspeakable refreshment to the whole of the ship's company.] On the first of July, the thermometer, in the shade, rose to 87° , which was higher than it had been on any day since our Navigators had come upon the coast of New South Wales.

second of July, Lieutenant Cook sent the Master out of the harbour, in the pinnace, to sound about the shoals, and to search for a channel to the northward. A second attempt, which was made this day to heave off the ship, was as unsuccessful as a former one had been. The next day the Master returned, and reported that he had found a passage out to sea, between the shoals. On one of these shoals, which consisted of coral rocks, many of which were dry at low water, he had landed, and found there cockles of so enormous a size, that a single cockle was more than two men could eat. At the same place, he met with a great variety of other shell-fish, and brought back with him a plentiful supply for the use of his fellow Voyagers. At high-water, this day, another effort was made to float the ship, which happily succeeded; but it being found that she had sprung a plank between decks, it became necessary to lay her a-shore a second time. The Lieutenant being anxious to attain a perfect knowledge of the state of the vessel, got one of the Carpenter's crew, a man in whom he could confide, to dive, on the fifth, to her bottom, that he might examine the place where the sheathing had been rubbed off. His report, which was, that three streaks of the sheathing, about eight feet long, were wanting, and that the main plank had been a little rubbed, was perfectly agreeable to the account that had been given before by the Master and others, who had made the same examination; and our Commander had the consolation of finding that, in the opinion of the Carpenter, this matter would be of little consequence. The other damage, therefore, being repaired, the ship was again floated at high water, and all hands were employed in taking the stores on board, and in putting her into a condition for proceeding on her voyage (z). To the harbour in which she was refitted for the sea, Mr. Cook gave the name of the ENDEAVOUR RIVER. On the morning of the sixth, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Lieutenant Gore, and three men, set out in a small boat up the river, with a view of spending a few days in examining the country. In this expedition nothing escaped his notice which related either to the natural history or the inhabitants of the places he visited. Though he met with undoubted proofs that several of the natives were at no great distance, none of them came within sight. Having found, upon the whole, that the country did not promise much advantage from a farther search, he and his party reembarked in their boat, and returned, on the eighth, to the ship. During their excursion, they had slept upon the ground in perfect security, and without once reflecting upon the danger they would have incurred, if in that situation they had been discovered by the Indians. Lieutenant Cook had not been satisfied with the account which the Master had given of his having traced a passage, between the shoals, into the sea. He sent him out, therefore, a second time, upon the same business; and, on his return, he made a different report. Having been seven leagues out to sea, the Master was now of opinion that there was no such passage as he had before imagined. His expedition, however, though in this respect unsuccessful, was not wholly without its advantage. On the very rock where he had seen the large cockles, he met with a great number of turtle; and though he had no better an instrument than a boat-hook, three of them were caught, which together weighed seven hundred and ninety-one pounds. An attempt, which, by order of the Lieutenant, was made the next morning to obtain some more turtle, failed through the misconduct of the same officer, who had been so fortunate on the preceding day. Hitherto the natives of this part of the country had eagerly avoided holding any intercourse with our people: but at length their minds, through the good management of Mr. Cook, became more favourably disposed. Four of them having appeared, on the tenth, in a small canoe, and seeming to be busily employed in striking fish, some of the ship's company were for going over to them in a boat. This, however, the Lieutenant would not permit, repeated experience having convinced him that it was more likely to prevent than to procure an interview. He determined to pursue a contrary method, and to try what could be done by letting them alone, and not appearing to make them, in the least degree, the objects of his notice. So successful was this plan, that, after some preparatory intercourse, they came along-side the ship, without expressing any fear or distrust. The conference was carried on, by signs, with the utmost cordiality till dinner-time, when, being invited by our people to go with them and partake of their provision, they declined it, and went away in their canoe. One of these Indians was somewhat above the middle age; the three others were young. Their stature was of the common size, but their limbs were remarkably small. The colour of their skin was a dark chocolate. Their hair was black, but not woolly; and their features were far from being disagreeable. They had lively eyes, and their teeth were even and white. The tones of their voices were soft and musical, and there was a flexibility in their organs of speech, which enabled them to repeat, with great facility, many of the words pronounced by the English. On the next morning, our Voyagers had another visit from four of the natives. Three of them were the same who had appeared the day before, but the fourth was a stranger, to whom his companions gave the name of YAPARICO. He was distinguished by a very peculiar ornament. This was the bone of a bird, nearly as thick as a man's finger, and five or six inches long, which he had thrust into a hole, made in the gristle that divides the nostrils. An instance of the like kind, and only one, had been seen in New Zealand. It was found, however, that among all these people the same part of the

(z) Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—568.

nose

nose was perforated; that they had holes in their ears; and that they had bracelets, made of plaited hair, upon the upper part of their arms. Thus the love of ornament takes place among them, though they are absolutely destitute of apparel. Three Indians, on the twelfth, ventured down to Tupia's tent, and were so well pleased with their reception, that one of them went with his canoe to fetch two others, who had never been seen by the English. On his return, he introduced the strangers by name, a ceremony which was never omitted upon such occasions. From a farther acquaintance with the natives, it was found that the colour of their skins was not so dark as had at first been apprehended, and that all of them were remarkably clean limbed, and extremely active and nimble. Their language appeared to be more harsh than that of the Islanders in the South sea. On the fourteenth, Mr. Gore had the good fortune to kill one of the animals before-mentioned, and which had been the subject of much speculation. It is called by the natives *Kangaroo*; and when dressed proved most excellent meat. Indeed, our Navigators might now be said to fare sumptuously every day; for they had turtle in great plenty, and it was agreed that these were far superior to any which our people had ever tasted in England. This the Gentlemen justly imputed to their being eaten fresh from the sea, before their natural fat had been wasted, or their juices changed, by the situation and diet they are exposed to when kept in tubs. Most of the turtle here caught were of the kind called green turtle, and their weight was from two to three hundred pounds. In the morning of the sixteenth, while the men were engaged in their usual employment of getting the ship ready for the sea, our Commander climbed one of the heights on the North side of the river, and obtained from it an extensive view of the inland country, which he found agreeably diversified by hills, valleys, and large plains, that in many places were richly covered with wood. This evening, the Lieutenant and Mr. Green observed an emerfion of the first satellite of Jupiter, which gave $214^{\circ} 53' 45''$ of longitude. The observation taken on the twenty-ninth of June had given $214^{\circ} 48' 30''$; and the mean was $214^{\circ} 48' 7\frac{1}{2}''$, being the longitude of the place West of Greenwich. On the seventeenth, Mr. Cook sent the Master and one of the Mates in the pinnace, to search for a channel to the northward; after which, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, he went into the woods on the other side of the water. In this excursion the Gentlemen had a farther opportunity of improving their acquaintance with the Indians, who by degrees became so familiar, that several of them the next day ventured on board the ship. There the Lieutenant left them, apparently much entertained, that he might go with Mr. Banks to take a farther survey of the country, and especially to indulge an anxious curiosity they had of looking round about them upon the sea; of which they earnestly wished, but scarcely dared to hope, that they might obtain a favourable and encouraging prospect. When, after having walked along the shore seven or eight miles to the northward, they ascended a very high hill, the view which presented itself to them inspired nothing but melancholy apprehensions. In every direction, they saw rocks and shoals without number; and there appeared to be no passage out to sea, but through the winding channels between them, the navigation of which could not be accomplished without the utmost degree of difficulty and danger. The spirits of the two Gentlemen were not raised by this excursion. On the nineteenth our Voyagers were visited by ten of the natives; and six or seven more were seen at a distance, chiefly women, who were as naked as the male inhabitants of the country. There being at that time a number of turtles on the deck of the ship, the Indians who came on board were determined to get one of them; and expressed great disappointment and anger, when our people refused to comply with their wishes. Several attempts were made by them to secure what they wanted by force; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, they suddenly leaped into their canoe in a transport of rage, and paddled towards the shore. The Lieutenant, with Mr. Banks, and five or six of the ship's crew, immediately went into the boat, and got a-shore, where many of the English were engaged in various employments. As soon as the natives reached the land, they seized their arms, which had been laid up in a tree, and having snatched a brand from under a pitch-kettle that was boiling, made a circuit to the windward of the few things our people had on shore, and with surprizing quickness and dexterity set fire to the grass in their way. The grass, which was as dry as stubble, and five or six feet high, burnt with surprizing fury; and a tent of Mr. Banks's would have been destroyed, if that Gentleman had not immediately got some of the men to save it, by hauling it down upon the beach. Every part of the Smith's forge that would burn was consumed. This transaction was followed by another of the same nature. In spite of threats and entreaties, the Indians went to a different place, where several of the Endeavour's crew were washing, and where the seine, the other nets, and a large quantity of linen were laid out to dry, and again set fire to the grass. The audacity of this fresh attack rendered it necessary that a musquet, loaded with small shot, should be discharged at one of them; who being wounded, at the distance of about forty yards, they all betook themselves to flight. In the last instance the fire was extinguished before it had made any considerable progress; but where it had first begun it spread far into the woods. The natives being still in sight, Mr. Cook, to convince them that they had not yet gotten out of his reach, fired a musquet, charged with ball, a-breast of them among the mangroves, upon which they quickened their

their pace, and were soon out of view. It was now expected that they would have given our Navigators no farther trouble; but in a little time their voices were heard in the woods, and it was perceived that they came nearer and nearer. The Lieutenant, therefore, together with Mr. Banks, and three or four more persons, set out to meet them; and the result of the interview, in consequence of the prudent and lenient conduct of our Commander and his friends, was a complete reconciliation. Soon after the Indians went away, the woods were seen to be on fire at the distance of about two miles. This accident, if it had happened a little sooner, might have produced dreadful effects; for the powder had been but a few days on board, and it was not many hours that the store tent, with all the valuable things contained in it, had been removed. From the fury with which the grass would burn in this hot climate, and the difficulty of extinguishing the fire, our Voyagers determined never to expose themselves to the like danger, but to clear the ground around them, if ever again they should be under a necessity of pitching their tents in such a situation. In the evening of this day, when every thing was gotten on board the ship, and she was nearly ready for sailing, the Master returned with the disagreeable account that there was no passage for her to the northward. The next morning the Lieutenant himself founded and buoyed the bar. At this time all the hills for many miles round were on fire, and the appearance they assumed at night was eminently striking and splendid. In an excursion which was made by Mr. Banks, on the twenty-third, to gather plants, he found the greatest part of the cloth that had been given to the Indians lying in a heap together. This, as well as the trinkets which were bestowed upon them, they probably regarded as useless lumber. Indeed, they seemed to set little value on any thing possessed by our people, excepting their turtle; and that was a commodity which could not be spared. As Lieutenant Cook was prevented by blowing weather from attempting to get out to sea, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander seized another opportunity, on the twenty-fourth, of pursuing their botanical researches. Having traversed the woods the greater part of the day without success, as they were returning through a deep valley, they discovered lying upon the ground several marking nuts, the *Anacardium orientale*. Animated with the hope of meeting with the tree that bore them, a tree which perhaps no European botanist had ever seen, they sought for it with great diligence and labour, but to no purpose. While Mr. Banks was again gleaning the country, on the twenty-sixth, to enlarge his treasure of natural history, he had the good fortune to take an animal of the *Opossum* tribe, together with two young ones. It was a female, and, though not exactly of the same species, much resembled the remarkable animal which Mons. de Buffon hath described by the name of *phalanger*. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, the weather becoming calm, and a light breeze having sprung up by land, Lieutenant Cook sent a boat to see what water was upon the bar, and all things were made ready for putting to sea. But, on the return of the boat, the officer reported that there were only thirteen feet of water on the bar. As the ship drew thirteen feet six inches, and the sea breeze set in again in the evening, all hope of sailing on that day was given up. The weather being more moderate on the thirty-first, the Lieutenant had thoughts of trying to warp the vessel out of the harbour; but upon going out himself in the boat, he found that the wind still blew so fresh, that it would not be proper to make the attempt. A disagreeable piece of intelligence occurred on the succeeding day. The Carpenter, who had examined the pumps, reported that they were all of them in a state of decay. One of them was so rotten, that, when hoisted up, it dropped to pieces, and the rest were not in a much better condition. The chief confidence, therefore, of our Navigators was now in the soundness of the ship; and it was a happy circumstance that she did not admit more than one inch of water in an hour. Early on the third of August, another unsuccessful attempt was made to warp the vessel out of the harbour: but in the morning of the next day the efforts of our Voyagers were more prosperous, and the Endeavour got once more under sail, with a light air from the land, which soon died away, and was followed by sea breezes from South-east by South. With these breezes the ship stood off to sea, East by North, having the pinnace a-head, which was ordered to keep sounding without intermission. A little before noon the Lieutenant anchored in fifteen fathom water, with a sandy bottom; the reason of which was, that he did not think it safe to run in among the shoals, till, by taking a view of them from the mast-head, at low-water, he might be able to form some judgment which way it would be proper for him to steer. This was a matter of nice and arduous determination. As yet Mr. Cook was in doubt whether he should beat back to the southward, round all the shoals, or seek a passage to the eastward or the northward: nor was it possible to say whether each of these courses might not be attended with equal difficulty and danger (a). The impartiality and humanity of Lieutenant Cook's conduct in the distribution of provisions ought not to pass unnoticed. Whatever turtle or other fish were caught, they were always equally divided among the whole ship's crew, the meanest person on board having the same share with the Lieutenant himself. He hath justly observed, that this is a rule which every commander will find it his interest to follow, in any voyage of a similar nature. Great difficulties occurred in the navigation from the Endeavour river. On the fifth of August, the Lieutenant had not kept his course long,

before

(a) Hawkef-
worth, *ubi supra*,
p. 568—588.

before the shoals were discovered in every quarter, which obliged him, as night approached, to come to an anchor. In the morning of the sixth, there was so strong a gale, that our Voyagers were prevented from weighing. When it was low-water, Mr. Cook, with several of his officers, kept a look-out at the mast-head, to see if any passage could be discovered between the shoals. Nothing, however, was in view excepting breakers, which extended from the South round by the East as far as to the North-west, and reached out to sea, beyond the sight of any of the Gentlemen. It did not appear that these breakers were caused by one continued shoal, but by several, which lay detached from each other. On that which was farthest to the eastward the sea broke very high, so that the Lieutenant was induced to think that it was the outermost shoal. He was now convinced that there was no passage to sea, but through the labyrinth formed by these shoals; and, at the same time, he was wholly at a loss what course to steer, when the weather should permit the vessel to sail. The Master's opinion was, that our Navigators should beat back the way they came; but, as the wind blew strongly, and almost without intermission, from that quarter, this would have been an endless labour: and yet, if a passage could not be found to the northward, there was no other alternative. Amidst these anxious deliberations, the gale increased, and continued, with little remission, till the morning of the tenth, when, the weather becoming more moderate, our Commander weighed, and stood in for the land. He had now come to a final determination of seeking a passage along the shore to the northward (b). In pursuance of this resolution, the Endeavour proceeded in her course, and at noon came between the farthest headland that lay in sight, and three Islands which were four or five leagues to the North of it, out at sea. Here our Navigators thought that they saw a clear opening before them, and began to hope that they were once more out of danger. Of this hope, however, they were soon deprived; on which account the Lieutenant gave to the headland the name of CAPE FLATTERY (c). After he had steered some time along the shore, for what was believed to be the open channel, the petty officer at the mast-head cried aloud that he saw land a-head, which extended quite round to the three Islands, and that between the ship and them there was a large reef. Mr. Cook upon this ran up the mast-head himself, and plainly discerned the reef, which was so far to the windward that it could not be weathered. As to the land which the petty officer had supposed to be the main, our Commander was of opinion that it was only a cluster of small Islands. The Master and some others, who went up the mast-head after the Lieutenant, were entirely of a different opinion. All of them were positive that the land in sight did not consist of Islands, but that it was a part of the main; and they rendered their report still more alarming, by adding, that they saw breakers around them on every side. In a situation so critical and doubtful, Mr. Cook thought proper to come to an anchor, under a high point, which he immediately ascended, that he might have a farther view of the sea and country. The prospect he had from this place, which he called POINT LOOK-OUT, clearly confirmed him in his former opinion; the justness of which displayed one of the numerous instances wherein it was manifest how much he exceeded the people about him in the sagacity of his judgment concerning matters of navigation. The Lieutenant, being anxious to discover more distinctly the situation of the shoals, and the channel between them, determined to visit the northernmost and largest of the three Islands before-mentioned; which, from its height, and its lying five leagues out to sea, was peculiarly adapted to his purpose. Accordingly, in company with Mr. Banks, whose fortitude and curiosity stimulated him to take a share in every undertaking, he set out in the pinnace, on the morning of the eleventh, upon this expedition. He sent, at the same time, the Master in the yawl, to sound between the low Islands and the main land. About one o'clock, the Gentlemen reached the place of their destination, and immediately, with a mixture of hope and fear, proportioned to the importance of the business, and the uncertainty of the event, ascended the highest hill they could find. When the Lieutenant took a survey of the prospect around him, he discovered, on the outside of the Islands, and at the distance of two or three leagues from them, a reef of rocks, upon which the sea broke in a dreadful surf, and which extended farther than his sight could reach. Hence, however, he collected that there were no shoals beyond them; and, as he perceived several breaks or openings in the reef, and deep water between that and the Islands, he entertained hopes of getting without the rocks. But though he saw reason to indulge, in some degree, this expectation, the haziness of the weather prevented him from obtaining that satisfactory intelligence which he ardently desired. He determined, therefore, by staying all night upon the Island, to try whether the next day would not afford him a more distinct and comprehensive prospect. Accordingly, the Gentlemen took up their lodging under the shelter of a bush which grew upon the beach. Not many hours were devoted by them to sleep; for at three in the morning Mr. Cook mounted the hill a second time, but had the mortification of finding the weather much more hazy than it had been on the preceding day. He had early sent the pinnace, with one of the mates, to sound between the Island and reefs, and to examine what appeared to be a channel through them. The mate, in consequence of its blowing hard, did not dare to venture into the channel, which he reported to be very narrow. Nevertheless, our Commander, who judged from the

(b) Hawke-
worth, *ubi supra*,
p. 590—594.

(c) Cape Flattery
lies in latitude
14° 56' South,
and in longitude
214° 43' West.

description of the place that it had been seen to disadvantage, was not discouraged by this account. While the Lieutenant was engaged in his survey, Mr. Banks, always attentive to the great object of natural history, collected some plants which he had never met with before. No animals were perceived upon the place excepting lizards, for which reason the Gentlemen gave it the name of LIZARD ISLAND. In their return to the ship, they landed on a low sandy Island that had trees upon it, and which abounded with an incredible number of birds, principally sea-fowl. Here they found the nest of an eagle, and the nest of some other bird, of what species they could not distinguish; but it must certainly be one of the largest kinds that exists. This was apparent from the enormous size of the nest, which was built with sticks upon the ground, and was no less than six and twenty feet in circumference, and two feet eight inches in height [P]. The spot which the Gentlemen were now upon, they called EAGLE ISLAND.

When Lieutenant Cook got on board, he entered into a very serious deliberation concerning the course he should pursue. After considering what he had seen himself, and the Master's report, he was of opinion that by keeping in with the main land, he should run the risk of being locked in by the great reef, and of being compelled at last to return back in search of another passage. By the delay that would hence be occasioned, our Navigators would almost certainly be prevented from getting in time to the East Indies, which was a matter of the utmost importance, and indeed of absolute necessity; for they had now not much more than three months provision on board, at short allowance. The judgment the Lieutenant had formed, together with the facts and appearances on which it was grounded, he stated to his officers, by whom it was unanimously agreed, that the best thing they could do would be to quit the coast entirely, till they could approach it again with less danger. In pursuance of this resolution, the Endeavour, early in the morning of the thirteenth, got under sail, and successfully passed through one of the channels or openings in the outer reef, which Mr. Cook had seen from the Island. When the ship had gotten without the breakers, there was no ground within one hundred and fifty fathom, and our people found a large sea rolling in upon them from the South-east. This was a certain sign that neither land nor shoals were near them in that direction. So happy a change in the situation of our Voyagers was sensibly felt in every breast, and was visible in every countenance. They had been little less than three months in a state that perpetually threatened them with destruction. Frequently had they passed their nights at anchor within hearing of the surge that broke over the shoals and rocks; and they knew that, if by any accident the anchors should not hold against an almost continual tempest, they must in a few minutes inevitably perish. They had sailed three hundred and sixty leagues, without once, even for a moment, having a man out of the chains heaving the lead. This was a circumstance which perhaps had never happened to any other vessel. But now, our Navigators found themselves in an open sea, with deep water; and the joy they experienced was proportioned to their late danger, and their present security. Nevertheless, the very waves, which proved by their swell that our people had no rocks or shoals to fear, convinced them, at the same time, that they could not put a confidence in the ship equal to what they had done before she struck. So far were her leaks widened by the blows she received from the waves, that she admitted no less than nine inches of water in an hour. If the company had not been lately in so much more imminent danger, this fact, considering the state of the pumps, and the navigation which was still in view, would have been a matter of very serious concern. The passage or channel, through which the Endeavour passed into the open sea beyond the reef, lies in latitude $14^{\circ} 32'$ South. It may always be known by the three high Islands within it, to which, on account of the use they may be of in guiding the way of future voyagers, our Commander gave the appellation of the ISLANDS OF DIRECTION. It was not a long time that our Navigators enjoyed the satisfaction of being free from the alarm of danger. As they were pursuing their course in the night of the fifteenth, they sounded frequently, but had no bottom with one hundred and forty fathom, nor any ground with the same length of line. Nevertheless, at four in the morning of the sixteenth, they plainly heard the roaring of the surf, and at break of day saw it foaming to a vast height, at not more than the distance of a mile. The waves which rolled in upon the reef carried the vessel towards it with great rapidity; and, at the same time, our people could reach no ground with an anchor, and had not a breath of wind for the sail. In a situation so dreadful, there was no resource but in the boats; and, most unhappily, the pinnacle was under repair. By the help, however, of the long-boat and the yawl, which were sent a-head to tow, the ship's head was got round to the northward, a circumstance which might delay, if it could not prevent destruction. This was not effected till six o'clock, and our Voyagers were not then a hundred yards from the rock, upon which the same billow that washed the side of the vessel broke to a tremendous height the very next time it rose. There was only, therefore, a dreary valley between the English

[P] *And two feet eight inches in height.* In the Holland, a bird's nest is mentioned, larger than that twentieth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, which is described above. (p. 361.) where there is a short account of New

and destruction; a valley no wider than the base of one wave, while the sea under them was unfathomable. The Carpenter, in the mean while, having hastily patched up the pinnace, she was hoisted out, and sent a-head to tow, in aid of the other boats. But all these efforts would have been ineffectual, if a light air of wind had not sprung up, just at the crisis of our people's fate. It was so light an air, that at any other time it would not have been observed: but it was sufficient to turn the scale in favour of our Navigators; and, in conjunction with the assistance which was afforded by the boats, it gave the ship a perceptible motion obliquely from the reef. The hopes of the company now revived: but in less than ten minutes a dead calm succeeded, and the vessel was again driven towards the breakers, which were not at the distance of two hundred yards. However, before the ground was lost which had already been gained, the same light breeze returned, and lasted ten minutes more. During this time, a small opening, about a quarter of a mile distant, was discovered in the reef; upon which, Mr. Cook immediately sent one of the Mates to examine it, who reported that its breadth was not more than the length of the ship, but that within it there was smooth water. This discovery presented the prospect of a possibility of escape, by pushing the vessel through the opening. Accordingly, the attempt was made, but it failed of success; for when our people, by the joint assistance of their boats and the breeze, had reached the opening, they found that it had become high-water; and, to their great surprize, they met the tide of ebb running out like a mill-stream. In direct contrariety to their expectations, some advantage was gained by this event. Though it was impossible to go through the opening, the stream which prevented the Endeavour from doing it, carried her out about a quarter of a mile; and the boats were so much assisted in towing her, by the tide of ebb, that at noon she had gained the distance of nearly two miles. However, there was yet too much reason to despair of deliverance. For even if the breeze, which had now died away, had revived, our Navigators were still embayed in the reef: and the tide of ebb being spent, the tide of flood, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, drove the ship back again into her former perilous situation. Happily, about this time, another opening was perceived, nearly a mile to the westward. Our Commander immediately sent Mr. Hicks, the first Lieutenant, to examine it; and in the mean while the Endeavour struggled hard with the flood, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing ground. During this severe service, every man did his duty with as much calmness and regularity as if no danger had been near. At length, Mr. Hicks returned with the intelligence that the opening, though narrow and hazardous, was capable of being passed. The bare possibility of passing it was encouragement sufficient to make the attempt; and indeed all danger was less to be dreaded by our people than that of continuing in their present situation. A light breeze having fortunately sprung up, this, in conjunction with the aid of the boats, and the very tide of flood that would otherwise have been their destruction, enabled them to enter the opening, through which they were hurried with amazing rapidity. Such was the force of the torrent by which they were carried along, that they were kept from driving against either side of the channel, which in breadth was not more than a quarter of a mile. While they were shooting this gulph, their soundings were remarkably irregular, varying from thirty to seven fathom, and the ground at bottom was foul. As soon as our Navigators had gotten within the reef, they came to an anchor; and their joy was exceedingly great at having regained a situation which three days before they had quitted with the utmost pleasure and transport. Rocks and shoals, which are always dangerous to the mariner even when they are previously known and marked, are peculiarly dangerous in seas which have never been navigated before; and in this part of the globe they are more perilous than in any other. Here they consist of reefs of coral rock, which rise like a wall almost perpendicularly out of the deep, and are always overflowed at high-water. Here, too, the enormous waves of the vast southern ocean, meeting with so abrupt a resistance, break, with inconceivable violence, in a surf which cannot be produced by any rocks or storms in the northern hemisphere. A crazy ship, shortness of provision, and a want of every necessary, greatly increased the danger to our present Voyagers of navigating in this ocean. Nevertheless, such is the ardour of the human mind, and so flattering is the distinction of a first discoverer, that Lieutenant Cook and his companions cheerfully encountered every peril, and submitted to every inconvenience. They chose rather to incur the charge of imprudence and temerity, than to leave a country unexplored which they had discovered, or to afford the least colour for its being said, that they were deficient in perseverance and fortitude (*d*). It scarcely needs to be added, that it was the high and magnanimous spirit of our Commander, in particular, which inspired his people with so much resolution and vigour. The Lieutenant, having now gotten within the reef, determined, whatever might be the consequence, to keep the main land on board in his future route to the northward. His reason for this determination was, that, if he had gone without the reef again, he might have been carried by it so far from the coast, as to prevent his being able to ascertain whether this country did, or did not, join to New Guinea; a question which he had fixed upon resolving, from the first moment that he had come within sight of land. To the opening through which the Endeavour had passed, our Commander, with a proper sense of

(*d*) Hawke's worth, *ubi supra*, p. 595—607.

of gratitude to the Supreme Being, gave the name of PROVIDENTIAL CHANNEL. In the morning of the seventeenth, the boats had been sent out, to see what refreshments could be procured; and returned in the afternoon with two hundred and forty pounds of the meat of shell-fish, chiefly of cockles. Some of the cockles were as much as two men could move, and contained twenty pounds of good meat. Mr. Banks, who had gone out in his little boat, accompanied by Dr. Solander, brought back a variety of curious shells, and many species of corals. In the prosecution of the voyage, our people, on the nineteenth, were encompassed on every side with rocks and shoals: but, as they had lately been exposed to much greater danger, and these objects were now become familiar, they began to regard them comparatively with little concern. On the twenty-first, there being two points in view, between which our Navigators could see no land, they conceived hopes of having at last found a passage into the Indian sea. Mr. Cook, however, that he might be able to determine the matter with greater certainty, resolved to land upon an Island which lies at the South-east point of the passage. Accordingly, he went into the boat, with a party of men, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. As they were getting to shore, some of the natives seemed inclined to oppose their landing, but soon walked leisurely away. The Gentlemen immediately climbed the highest hill, from which no land could be seen between the South-west and West-south-west; so that the Lieutenant had not the least doubt of finding a channel through which he could pass to New Guinea. As he was now about to quit the coast of New Holland, which he had traced from latitude thirty-eight to this place, and which he was certain no European had ever seen before, he once more hoisted English colours. He had, indeed, already taken possession of several particular parts of the country, but he now took possession of the whole eastern coast, with all the bays harbours, rivers, and Islands situated upon it, from latitude 38° to latitude $10^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}'$ South, in right of His Majesty King George the Third, and by the name of NEW SOUTH WALES. The party then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. When the Gentlemen had performed this ceremony upon the Island, which they called POSSESSION ISLAND, they reembarked in their boat, and, in consequence of a rapid ebb tide, had a very difficult and tedious return to the vessel. On the twenty-third, the wind had come round to the South-west; and though it was but a gentle breeze, yet it was accompanied by a swell from the same quarter, which, in conjunction with other circumstances, confirmed Mr. Cook in his opinion that he had arrived to the northern extremity of New Holland, and that he had now an open sea to the westward. These circumstances afforded him peculiar satisfaction, not only because the dangers and fatigues of the voyage were drawing to a conclusion, but because it could no longer be doubted whether New Holland and New Guinea were two separate Islands. The North-east entrance of the strait lies in the latitude of $10^{\circ} 39'$ South, and in the longitude of $218^{\circ} 36'$ West; and the passage is formed by the main land, and by a congeries of Islands, to the North-west, called by the Lieutenant the PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLANDS, and which may probably extend as far as to New Guinea. Their difference is very great both in height and circuit, and many seemed to be well covered with herbage and wood: nor was there any doubt of their being inhabited. Our Commander was persuaded, that among these Islands as good passages might be found as that through which the vessel came, and the access to which might be less perilous. The determination of this matter he would not have left to future navigators, if he had been less harrassed by danger and fatigue, and had possessed a ship in better condition for the purpose. To the channel through which he passed, he gave the name of ENDEAVOUR STRAIGHTS (e).

(e) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 607—619.

New Holland, or, as the eastern part of it was called by Lieutenant Cook, New South Wales, is the largest country in the known world which does not bear the name of a continent. The length of coast along which our people sailed, when reduced to a strait line, was no less than twenty-seven degrees of latitude, amounting nearly to two thousand miles. In fact, the square surface of the Island is much more than equal to the whole of Europe. For a particular account of the natural and animal productions of the country, and a minute description of its inhabitants, we must refer to the voyage at large. In general, we may observe, with regard to the natives, that their number bears no proportion to the extent of their territory. So many as thirty of them had never been seen together but once, and that was at Botany Bay. Even when they appeared determined to engage the English, they could not muster above fourteen or fifteen fighting men; and it was manifest that their sheds and houses did not lie so close together, as to be capable of accommodating a larger party. Indeed our Navigators saw only the sea-coast on the eastern side; between which and the western shore there is an immense tract of land that is wholly unexplored. But it is evident, from the totally uncultivated state of the country which was seen by our people, that this immense tract must either be altogether desolate, or at least more thinly inhabited than the parts which were visited. Of traffic the natives had no idea, nor could any be communicated to them. The things which were given them they received, but did not appear to understand the signs of the English requiring a return. There was no reason to believe that they eat animal food raw. As they have no vessel in which water can be boiled, they either broil their meat upon the coals, or bake it in a hole by the help

of hot stones, agreeably to the custom of the inhabitants of the South-Sea Islands. Fire is produced by them with great facility, and they spread it in a surprizing manner. For producing it they take two pieces of soft wood, one of which is a stick about eight or nine inches long, while the other piece is flat. The stick they shape into an obtuse point at one end, and pressing it upon the flat wood, turn it nimbly by holding it between both their hands. In doing this, they often shift their hands up, and then move them down, with a view of increasing the pressure as much as possible. By this process they obtain fire in less than two minutes, and from the smallest spark they carry it to any height or extent with great speed and dexterity. It was not possible, considering the limited intercourse which our Navigators had with the natives of New South Wales, that much could be learned with regard to their language. Nevertheless, as this is an object of no small curiosity to the learned, and is, indeed, of peculiar importance in searching into the origin of the various nations that have been discovered, Mr. Cook and his friends took some pains to collect such a specimen of it as might, in a certain degree, answer the purpose. Our Commander did not quit the country without making such observations, relative to the currents and tides upon the coast, as, while they increase the general knowledge of navigation, may be of service to future voyagers. The irregularity of the tides is an object worthy of notice (f).

(f) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 622. 631. 634. 638. 645. 647, 648.

From the coast of New South Wales the Lieutenant steered, on the twenty-third of August, for the coast of New Guinea, and on the twenty-fifth fell upon a dangerous shoal. The ship was in six fathom, but scarcely two were found, upon sounding round her, at the distance of half a cable's length. This shoal was of such an extent, reaching from the East round by the North and West to the South-west, that there was no method for the vessel to get clear of it, but by her going back the way in which she came. Here was another hair's-breadth escape; for it was nearly high-water, and there ran a short cockling sea, which if the ship had struck must very soon have bulged her. So dangerous was her situation, that if her direction had been half a cable's length more either to the right or left, she must have struck before the signal for the shoal could have been made. It had been Lieutenant Cook's intention to steer North-west till he had made the South coast of New Guinea, and it was his purpose to touch upon it, if that could be found practicable. But in consequence of the shoals he met with, he altered his course, in the hope of finding a clearer channel, and deeper water. His hope was agreeably verified; for by noon, on the twenty-sixth, the depth of water was gradually increased to seventeen fathom (g). On the twenty-eighth, our Voyagers found the sea to be in many places covered with a brown scum, such as the sailors usually call spawn. When the Lieutenant first saw it he was alarmed, fearing that the ship was again among shoals; but the depth of water, upon sounding, was discovered to be equal to what it was in other places. The same appearance had been observed upon the coasts of Brazil and New Holland, in which cases it was at no great distance from the shore. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander examined the scum, but could not determine what it was, any farther than as they saw reason to suppose that it belonged to the vegetable kingdom. The sailors, upon meeting with more of it, gave up the notion of its being spawn, and finding a new name for it, called it sea-saw-dust. At day-break, on the third of September, our Navigators came in sight of New Guinea, and stood in for it, with a fresh gale, till nine o'clock, when they brought to, being in three fathom water, and within about three or four miles of land. Upon this the pinnace was hoisted, and the Lieutenant set off from the ship with the boat's crew, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Mr. Banks's servants, being in all twelve persons well armed. As soon as they came a-shore, they discovered the prints of human feet, which could not long have been impressed upon the sand. Concluding, therefore, that the natives were at no great distance, and there being a thick wood which reached to within a hundred yards of the water, the Gentlemen thought it necessary to proceed with caution, lest their retreat to the boat should be cut off. When they had walked some way along the skirts of the wood, they came to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, at the fruit of which they looked very wishfully; but not thinking it safe to climb, they were obliged to leave it without tasting a single nut. After they had advanced about a quarter of a mile from the boat, three Indians rushed out of the wood with a hideous shout, and as they ran towards the English, the foremost threw something out of his hand, which flew on one side of him, and burned exactly like gunpowder, though without making any report. The two other natives having at the same instant discharged their arrows, the Lieutenant and his party were under a necessity of firing, first with small shot, and a second time with ball. Upon this, the three Indians ran away with great agility. As Mr. Cook had no disposition forcibly to invade this country, either to gratify the appetites or the curiosity of his people, and was convinced that nothing was to be done upon friendly terms, he and his companions returned with all expedition towards their boat. When they were aboard, they rowed abreast of the natives, who had come down to the shore in aid of their countrymen, and whose number now amounted to between sixty and a hundred. Their appearance was much the same as that of the New Hollanders: they nearly resembled them in stature, and in having their hair short and cropped. Like them, also, they were absolutely

(g) The latitude was now 10° 10' South, and the longitude 220° 12' West.

naked; but the colour of their skin did not seem quite so dark, which, however, might be owing to their being less dirty. While the English Gentlemen were viewing them, they were shouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. Our people could not imagine what these fires were, or what purposes they were intended to answer. Those who discharged them had in their hands a short piece of stick, which they swung sideways from them, and immediately there issued fire and smoke, exactly resembling those of a musquet, and of as short a duration. The men on board the ship who observed this surprizing phænomenon, were so far deceived by it as to believe that the Indians had fire-arms. To the persons in the boat it had the appearance of the firing of volleys, without a report. The place where this transaction happened lies in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 15'$ South, and is about sixty-five leagues to the North-east of Port Saint Augustine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. In every part of the coast, the land is covered with a vast luxuriance of wood and herbage. The cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, flourish here in the highest perfection; besides which the country abounds with most of the trees, shrubs, and plants, that are common to the South Sea Islands, New Zealand, and New Holland (b).

(b) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 650—
658.

Soon after Mr. Cook and his party had returned to the ship, our Voyagers made sail to the westward, the Lieutenant having resolved to spend no more time upon this coast; a resolution which was greatly to the satisfaction of a very considerable majority of his people. Some of the officers indeed were particularly urgent that a number of men might be sent ashore, to cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of their fruit. This, however, our Commander absolutely refused, as equally unjust and cruel. It was morally certain, from the preceding behaviour of the natives, that if their property had been invaded they would have made a vigorous effort to defend it; in which case the lives of many of them must have been sacrificed; and perhaps, too, several of the English would have fallen in the contest. The necessity of a quarrel with the Indians would have been regretted by the Lieutenant, even if he had been impelled to it by a want of the necessaries of life; but to engage in it for the transient gratification that would arise from obtaining two or three hundred green cocoa-nuts, appeared in his view highly criminal. The same calamity, at least with regard to the natives, would probably have occurred, if he had sought for any other place on the coast, to the northward and westward, where the ship might have lain so near the shore as to cover his people with the guns when they had landed. Besides, there was cause to believe, that, before such a place could have been found, our Navigators would have been carried so far to the Westward as to be obliged to go to Batavia, on the North side of Java. This, in Mr. Cook's opinion, would not have been so safe a passage as that to the South of Java, through the straits of Sunda. Another reason for his making the best of his way to Batavia, was the leakiness of the vessel, which rendered it doubtful whether it would not be necessary to heave her down when she arrived at that port. Our Commander's resolution was farther confirmed by the consideration, that no discovery could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where the coast had been sufficiently described both by Spanish and Dutch geographers, and especially by the latter. The only merit claimed by the Lieutenant, in this part of his voyage, was the having established it as a fact beyond all controversy, that New Holland and New Guinea are two distinct countries. Without staying, therefore, on the coast of New Guinea, the Endeavour, on the same day, directed her course to the westward, in pursuing which Mr. Cook had an opportunity of rectifying the errors of former navigators. Very early in the morning of the sixth of September, our Voyagers passed a small Island which lay to the North-north-west; and at day-break they discovered another low Island, extending from that quarter to North-north-east. Upon the last Island, which appeared to be of considerable extent, the Lieutenant would have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown so fresh as to render his design impracticable. Unless these two Islands belong to the Arrou Islands, they have no place in the charts; and if they do belong to the Arrou Islands, they are laid down at too great a distance from New Guinea (i). Some other land which was seen this day ought, by its distance from New Guinea, to have been part of the Arrou Islands; but if any dependence can be placed on former charts, it lies a degree farther to the South. On the seventh, when the ship was in latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ South, and longitude $229^{\circ} 34'$ West, our people ought to have been in sight of the Weasel Isles, which in the charts are laid down at the distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coast of New Holland. But as our Commander saw nothing of them, he concluded that they must have been placed erroneously. Nor will this be deemed surprizing, when it is considered that not only these Islands, but the coast which bounds this sea, have been explored at different times, and by different persons, who had not all the requisites for keeping accurate journals which are now possessed; and whose various discoveries have been delineated upon charts by others, perhaps at the distance of more than a century after such discoveries had been made. In pursuing their course, our Navigators passed the Islands of Timor, Timor-lavet, Rotte, and Seman. While they were near the two latter Islands, they observed about ten o'clock at night, on the sixteenth of the month, a phænomenon in the heavens, which in many particulars re-

(i) Mr. Cook found the South part of them in latitude $7^{\circ} 6'$ South, and in longitude 225° West.

sembled

sembled the Aurora Borealis, though in others it was very different. It consisted of a dull reddish light, which reached about twenty degrees above the horizon; and though its extent, at times, varied much, it never comprehended less than eight or ten points of the compass. Through, and out of the general appearance, there passed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vanished, and were renewed nearly in the same manner as those of the Aurora Borealis, but entirely without the tremulous or vibratory motion which is seen in that phenomenon. The body of this light bore South-south-east from the ship, and continued, without any diminution of its brightness, till twelve o'clock, and probably a longer time, as the Gentlemen were prevented from observing it farther, by their retiring to sleep. By the sixteenth, Lieutenant Cook had gotten clear of all the Islands which had then been laid down in the maps as situated between Timor and Java, and did not expect to meet with any other in that quarter. But the next morning an Island was seen bearing West-south-west, and at first he believed that he had made a new discovery. As soon as our Voyagers had come close in with the North side of it, they had the pleasing prospect of houses and cocoa-nut trees, and of what still more agreeably surprized them, numerous flocks of sheep. Many of the people on board were at this time in a bad state of health, and no small number of them had been dissatisfied with the Lieutenant for not having touched at Timor. He readily embraced, therefore, the opportunity of landing at a place which appeared so well calculated to supply the necessities of the company, and to remove both the sickness and the discontent which had spread among them (k). This place proved to be the Island of Savu, where a settlement had lately been made by the Dutch. The great design of our Commander was to obtain provisions, which, after some difficulty, and some jealousy on the part of Mr. Lange, the Dutch Resident, were procured. These provisions were nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, many dozens of eggs, some cocoa nuts, a few limes, a little garlic, and several hundred gallons of palm-syrup. In obtaining these refreshments at a reasonable price, the English were not a little assisted by an old Indian, who appeared to be a person of considerable authority under the King of the country. The Lieutenant and his friends were one day very hospitably entertained by the King himself, though the royal etiquette did not permit his Majesty to partake of the banquet (l). So little, in general, had the Island of Savu been known, that Mr. Cook had never seen a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. The middle of it lies in about the latitude of $10^{\circ} 35'$ South, and longitude $237^{\circ} 30'$ West; and from the ship it presented a prospect than which nothing can be more beautiful. This prospect, from the verdure and culture of the country, from the hills, richly clothed, which rise in a gentle and regular ascent, and from the stateliness and beauty of the trees, is delightful to a degree that can scarcely be conceived by the most lively imagination. With regard to the productions and natives of the Island, the account which our Navigators were enabled to give of them, and which is copious and entertaining, was, in a great measure, derived from the information of Mr. Lange. An extraordinary relation is given of the morals of the people of this Island, and which, if true, must fill every virtuous mind with pleasure. Their characters and conduct are represented as irreproachable, even upon the principles of Christianity. Though no man is permitted to have more than one wife, an illicit commerce between the sexes is scarcely known among them. Instances of theft are very rare; and so far are they from revenging a supposed injury by murder, that when any differences arise between them, they immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their King. They will not so much as make it the subject of private debate, lest they should hence be provoked to resentment and ill-will. Their delicacy and cleanliness are suited to the purity of their morals. From the specimen which is given of the language of Savu, it appears to have some affinity with that of the South Sea Islands. Many of the words are exactly the same, and the terms of numbers are derived from the same origin (m).

(k) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 659—669.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 675—680.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 687, 688, 694, 695, 697, 702, 703—Parkinson's Journal of a voyage to the South Seas, p. 163—169.

On the twenty-first of September, our Navigators got under sail, and having pursued their voyage till the first of October, on that day they came within sight of the Island of Java. During their course from Savu, Lieutenant Cook allowed twenty minutes a day for the westerly current, which he concluded must run strong at this time, especially on the coast of Java; and accordingly, he found that this allowance was exactly equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ship. Such was the sagacity of our Commander's judgment in whatever related to navigation. On the second, two Dutch ships being seen to lie off Anger Point, the Lieutenant sent Mr. Hicks on board one of them, to enquire news concerning England, from which our people had so long been absent. Mr. Hicks brought back the agreeable intelligence, that the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret, had been at Batavia two years before. In the morning of the fifth, a prow came alongside of the Endeavour, with a Dutch officer, who sent down to Mr. Cook a printed paper in English, duplicates of which he had in other languages. This paper was regularly signed, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their Secretary, and contained nine questions, very ill expressed, two of which only the Lieutenant thought proper to answer. These were what regarded the nation and name of his vessel, and whither

naked; but the colour of their skin did not seem quite so dark, which, however, might be owing to their being less dirty. While the English Gentlemen were viewing them, they were shouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. Our people could not imagine what these fires were, or what purposes they were intended to answer. Those who discharged them had in their hands a short piece of stick, which they swung sideways from them, and immediately there issued fire and smoke, exactly resembling those of a musquet, and of as short a duration. The men on board the ship who observed this surprizing phænomenon, were so far deceived by it as to believe that the Indians had fire-arms. To the persons in the boat it had the appearance of the firing of vollies, without a report. The place where this transaction happened lies in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 15'$ South, and is about sixty-five leagues to the North-east of Port Saint Augustine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. In every part of the coast, the land is covered with a vast luxuriance of wood and herbage. The cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, flourish here in the highest perfection; besides which the country abounds with most of the trees, shrubs, and plants, that are common to the South Sea Islands, New Zealand, and New Holland (b).

(b) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 650—
658.

Soon after Mr. Cook and his party had returned to the ship, our Voyagers made sail to the westward, the Lieutenant having resolved to spend no more time upon this coast; a resolution which was greatly to the satisfaction of a very considerable majority of his people. Some of the officers indeed were particularly urgent that a number of men might be sent ashore, to cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of their fruit. This, however, our Commander absolutely refused, as equally unjust and cruel. It was morally certain, from the preceding behaviour of the natives, that if their property had been invaded they would have made a vigorous effort to defend it; in which case the lives of many of them must have been sacrificed; and perhaps, too, several of the English would have fallen in the contest. The necessity of a quarrel with the Indians would have been regretted by the Lieutenant, even if he had been impelled to it by a want of the necessaries of life; but to engage in it for the transient gratification that would arise from obtaining two or three hundred green cocoa-nuts, appeared in his view highly criminal. The same calamity, at least with regard to the natives, would probably have occurred, if he had sought for any other place on the coast, to the northward and westward, where the ship might have lain so near the shore as to cover his people with the guns when they had landed. Besides, there was cause to believe, that, before such a place could have been found, our Navigators would have been carried so far to the Westward as to be obliged to go to Batavia, on the North side of Java. This, in Mr. Cook's opinion, would not have been so safe a passage as that to the South of Java, through the streights of Sunda. Another reason for his making the best of his way to Batavia, was the leakiness of the vessel, which rendered it doubtful whether it would not be necessary to heave her down when she arrived at that port. Our Commander's resolution was farther confirmed by the consideration, that no discovery could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where the coast had been sufficiently described both by Spanish and Dutch geographers, and especially by the latter. The only merit claimed by the Lieutenant, in this part of his voyage, was the having established it as a fact beyond all controversy, that New Holland and New Guinea are two distinct countries. Without staying, therefore, on the coast of New Guinea, the Endeavour, on the same day, directed her course to the westward, in pursuing which Mr. Cook had an opportunity of rectifying the errors of former navigators. Very early in the morning of the sixth of September, our Voyagers passed a small Island which lay to the North-north-west; and at day-break they discovered another low Island, extending from that quarter to North-north-east. Upon the last Island, which appeared to be of considerable extent, the Lieutenant would have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown so fresh as to render his design impracticable. Unless these two Islands belong to the Arrou Islands, they have no place in the charts; and if they do belong to the Arrou Islands, they are laid down at too great a distance from New Guinea (i). Some other land which was seen this day ought, by its distance from New Guinea, to have been part of the Arrou Islands; but if any dependence can be placed on former charts, it lies a degree farther to the South. On the seventh, when the ship was in latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ South, and longitude $229^{\circ} 34'$ West, our people ought to have been in sight of the Weasel Isles, which in the charts are laid down at the distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coast of New Holland. But as our Commander saw nothing of them, he concluded that they must have been placed erroneously. Nor will this be deemed surprizing, when it is considered that not only these Islands, but the coast which bounds this sea, have been explored at different times, and by different persons, who had not all the requisites for keeping accurate journals which are now possessed; and whose various discoveries have been delineated upon charts by others, perhaps at the distance of more than a century after such discoveries had been made. In pursuing their course, our Navigators passed the Islands of Timor, Timor-lavet, Rotte, and Seman. While they were near the two latter Islands, they observed about ten o'clock at night, on the sixteenth of the month, a phænomenon in the heavens, which in many particulars re-

(i) Mr. Cook found the South part of them in latitude $7^{\circ} 6'$ South, and in longitude 225° West.

sembled

sembled the Aurora Borealis, though in others it was very different. It consisted of a dull reddish light, which reached about twenty degrees above the horizon; and though its extent, at times, varied much, it never comprehended less than eight or ten points of the compass. Through, and out of the general appearance, there passed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vanished, and were renewed nearly in the same manner as those of the Aurora Borealis, but entirely without the tremulous or vibratory motion which is seen in that phenomenon. The body of this light bore South-south-east from the ship, and continued, without any diminution of its brightness, till twelve o'clock, and probably a longer time, as the Gentlemen were prevented from observing it farther, by their retiring to sleep. By the sixteenth, Lieutenant Cook had gotten clear of all the Islands which had then been laid down in the maps as situated between Timor and Java, and did not expect to meet with any other in that quarter. But the next morning an Island was seen bearing West-south-west, and at first he believed that he had made a new discovery. As soon as our Voyagers had come close in with the North side of it, they had the pleasing prospect of houses and cocoa-nut trees, and of what still more agreeably surprized them, numerous flocks of sheep. Many of the people on board were at this time in a bad state of health, and no small number of them had been dissatisfied with the Lieutenant for not having touched at Timor. He readily embraced, therefore, the opportunity of landing at a place which appeared so well calculated to supply the necessities of the company, and to remove both the sickness and the discontent which had spread among them (k). This place proved to be the Island of SAVU, where a settlement had lately been made by the Dutch. The great design of our Commander was to obtain provisions, which, after some difficulty, and some jealousy on the part of Mr. Lange, the Dutch Resident, were procured. These provisions were nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, many dozens of eggs, some cocoa nuts, a few limes, a little garlic, and several hundred gallons of palm-syrup. In obtaining these refreshments at a reasonable price, the English were not a little assisted by an old Indian, who appeared to be a person of considerable authority under the King of the country. The Lieutenant and his friends were one day very hospitably entertained by the King himself, though the royal etiquette did not permit his Majesty to partake of the banquet (l). So little, in general, had the Island of Savu been known, that Mr. Cook had never seen a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. The middle of it lies in about the latitude of $10^{\circ} 35'$ South, and longitude $237^{\circ} 30'$ West; and from the ship it presented a prospect than which nothing can be more beautiful. This prospect, from the verdure and culture of the country, from the hills, richly clothed, which rise in a gentle and regular ascent, and from the stateliness and beauty of the trees, is delightful to a degree that can scarcely be conceived by the most lively imagination. With regard to the productions and natives of the Island, the account which our Navigators were enabled to give of them, and which is copious and entertaining, was, in a great measure, derived from the information of Mr. Lange. An extraordinary relation is given of the morals of the people of this Island, and which, if true, must fill every virtuous mind with pleasure. Their characters and conduct are represented as irreproachable, even upon the principles of Christianity. Though no man is permitted to have more than one wife, an illicit commerce between the sexes is scarcely known among them. Instances of theft are very rare; and so far are they from revenging a supposed injury by murder, that when any differences arise between them, they immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their King. They will not so much as make it the subject of private debate, lest they should hence be provoked to resentment and ill-will. Their delicacy and cleanliness are suited to the purity of their morals. From the specimen which is given of the language of Savu, it appears to have some affinity with that of the South Sea Islands. Many of the words are exactly the same, and the terms of numbers are derived from the same origin (m).

(k) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 659—669.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 675—680.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 687, 688, 694, 695, 697, 702, 703—Parkinson's *Journal of a voyage to the South Seas*, p. 163—169.

On the twenty-first of September, our Navigators got under sail, and having pursued their voyage till the first of October, on that day they came within sight of the Island of Java. During their course from Savu, Lieutenant Cook allowed twenty minutes a day for the westerly current, which he concluded must run strong at this time, especially on the coast of Java; and accordingly, he found that this allowance was exactly equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ship. Such was the sagacity of our Commander's judgment in whatever related to navigation. On the second, two Dutch ships being seen to lie off Anger Point, the Lieutenant sent Mr. Hicks on board one of them, to enquire news concerning England, from which our people had so long been absent. Mr. Hicks brought back the agreeable intelligence, that the *Swallow*, commanded by Captain Carteret, had been at Batavia two years before. In the morning of the fifth, a prow came alongside of the *Endeavour*, with a Dutch officer, who sent down to Mr. Cook a printed paper in English, duplicates of which he had in other languages. This paper was regularly signed, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their Secretary, and contained nine questions, very ill expressed, two of which only the Lieutenant thought proper to answer. These were what regarded the nation and name of his vessel, and whither

naked; but the colour of their skin did not seem quite so dark, which, however, might be owing to their being less dirty. While the English Gentlemen were viewing them, they were shouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. Our people could not imagine what these fires were, or what purposes they were intended to answer. Those who discharged them had in their hands a short piece of stick, which they swung sideways from them, and immediately there issued fire and smoke, exactly resembling those of a musquet, and of as short a duration. The men on board the ship who observed this surprizing phænomenon, were so far deceived by it as to believe that the Indians had fire-arms. To the persons in the boat it had the appearance of the firing of vollies, without a report. The place where this transaction happened lies in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 15'$ South, and is about sixty-five leagues to the North-east of Port Saint Augustine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. In every part of the coast, the land is covered with a vast luxuriance of wood and herbage. The cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, flourish here in the highest perfection; besides which the country abounds with most of the trees, shrubs, and plants, that are common to the South Sea Islands, New Zealand, and New Holland (b).

(b) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 650—
658.

Soon after Mr. Cook and his party had returned to the ship, our Voyagers made sail to the westward, the Lieutenant having resolved to spend no more time upon this coast; a resolution which was greatly to the satisfaction of a very considerable majority of his people. Some of the officers indeed were particularly urgent that a number of men might be sent ashore, to cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of their fruit. This, however, our Commander absolutely refused, as equally unjust and cruel. It was morally certain, from the preceding behaviour of the natives, that if their property had been invaded they would have made a vigorous effort to defend it; in which case the lives of many of them must have been sacrificed; and perhaps, too, several of the English would have fallen in the contest. The necessity of a quarrel with the Indians would have been regretted by the Lieutenant, even if he had been impelled to it by a want of the necessaries of life; but to engage in it for the transient gratification that would arise from obtaining two or three hundred green cocoa-nuts, appeared in his view highly criminal. The same calamity, at least with regard to the natives, would probably have occurred, if he had sought for any other place on the coast, to the northward and westward, where the ship might have lain so near the shore as to cover his people with the guns when they had landed. Besides, there was cause to believe, that, before such a place could have been found, our Navigators would have been carried so far to the Westward as to be obliged to go to Batavia, on the North side of Java. This, in Mr. Cook's opinion, would not have been so safe a passage as that to the South of Java, through the streights of Sunda. Another reason for his making the best of his way to Batavia, was the leakiness of the vessel, which rendered it doubtful whether it would not be necessary to heave her down when she arrived at that port. Our Commander's resolution was farther confirmed by the consideration, that no discovery could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where the coast had been sufficiently described both by Spanish and Dutch geographers, and especially by the latter. The only merit claimed by the Lieutenant, in this part of his voyage, was the having established it as a fact beyond all controversy, that New Holland and New Guinea are two distinct countries. Without staying, therefore, on the coast of New Guinea, the Endeavour, on the same day, directed her course to the westward, in pursuing which Mr. Cook had an opportunity of rectifying the errors of former navigators. Very early in the morning of the sixth of September, our Voyagers passed a small Island which lay to the North-north-west; and at day-break they discovered another low Island, extending from that quarter to North-north-east. Upon the last Island, which appeared to be of considerable extent, the Lieutenant would have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown so fresh as to render his design impracticable. Unless these two Islands belong to the Arrou Islands, they have no place in the charts; and if they do belong to the Arrou Islands, they are laid down at too great a distance from New Guinea (i). Some other land which was seen this day ought, by its distance from New Guinea, to have been part of the Arrou Islands; but if any dependence can be placed on former charts, it lies a degree farther to the South. On the seventh, when the ship was in latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ South, and longitude $229^{\circ} 34'$ West, our people ought to have been in sight of the Weasel Isles, which in the charts are laid down at the distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coast of New Holland. But as our Commander saw nothing of them, he concluded that they must have been placed erroneously. Nor will this be deemed surprizing, when it is considered that not only these Islands, but the coast which bounds this sea, have been explored at different times, and by different persons, who had not all the requisites for keeping accurate journals which are now possessed; and whose various discoveries have been delineated upon charts by others, perhaps at the distance of more than a century after such discoveries had been made. In pursuing their course, our Navigators passed the Islands of Timor, Timor-lavet, Rotte, and Seman. While they were near the two latter Islands, they observed about ten o'clock at night, on the sixteenth of the month, a phænomenon in the heavens, which in many particulars re-

(i) Mr. Cook found the South part of them in latitude $7^{\circ} 6'$ South, and in longitude 225° West.

sembled

sembled the Aurora Borealis, though in others it was very different. It consisted of a dull reddish light, which reached about twenty degrees above the horizon; and though its extent, at times, varied much, it never comprehended less than eight or ten points of the compass. Through, and out of the general appearance, there passed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vanished, and were renewed nearly in the same manner as those of the Aurora Borealis, but entirely without the tremulous or vibratory motion which is seen in that phenomenon. The body of this light bore South-south-east from the ship, and continued, without any diminution of its brightness, till twelve o'clock, and probably a longer time, as the Gentlemen were prevented from observing it farther, by their retiring to sleep. By the sixteenth, Lieutenant Cook had gotten clear of all the Islands which had then been laid down in the maps as situated between Timor and Java, and did not expect to meet with any other in that quarter. But the next morning an Island was seen bearing West-south-west, and at first he believed that he had made a new discovery. As soon as our Voyagers had come close in with the North side of it, they had the pleasing prospect of houses and cocoa-nut trees, and of what still more agreeably surprized them, numerous flocks of sheep. Many of the people on board were at this time in a bad state of health, and no small number of them had been dissatisfied with the Lieutenant for not having touched at Timor. He readily embraced, therefore, the opportunity of landing at a place which appeared so well calculated to supply the necessities of the company, and to remove both the sickness and the discontent which had spread among them (k). This place proved to be the Island of Savu, where a settlement had lately been made by the Dutch. The great design of our Commander was to obtain provisions, which, after some difficulty, and some jealousy on the part of Mr. Lange, the Dutch Resident, were procured. These provisions were nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, many dozens of eggs, some cocoa nuts, a few limes, a little garlic, and several hundred gallons of palm-syrup. In obtaining these refreshments at a reasonable price, the English were not a little assisted by an old Indian, who appeared to be a person of considerable authority under the King of the country. The Lieutenant and his friends were one day very hospitably entertained by the King himself, though the royal etiquette did not permit his Majesty to partake of the banquet (l). So little, in general, had the Island of Savu been known, that Mr. Cook had never seen a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. The middle of it lies in about the latitude of $10^{\circ} 35'$ South, and longitude $237^{\circ} 30'$ West; and from the ship it presented a prospect than which nothing can be more beautiful. This prospect, from the verdure and culture of the country, from the hills, richly clothed, which rise in a gentle and regular ascent, and from the stateliness and beauty of the trees, is delightful to a degree that can scarcely be conceived by the most lively imagination. With regard to the productions and natives of the Island, the account which our Navigators were enabled to give of them, and which is copious and entertaining, was, in a great measure, derived from the information of Mr. Lange. An extraordinary relation is given of the morals of the people of this Island, and which, if true, must fill every virtuous mind with pleasure. Their characters and conduct are represented as irreproachable, even upon the principles of Christianity. Though no man is permitted to have more than one wife, an illicit commerce between the sexes is scarcely known among them. Instances of theft are very rare; and so far are they from revenging a supposed injury by murder, that when any differences arise between them, they immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their King. They will not so much as make it the subject of private debate, lest they should hence be provoked to resentment and ill-will. Their delicacy and cleanliness are suited to the purity of their morals. From the specimen which is given of the language of Savu, it appears to have some affinity with that of the South Sea Islands. Many of the words are exactly the same, and the terms of numbers are derived from the same origin (m).

(k) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 659—669.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 675—680.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 687, 688. 694, 695. 697. 702, 703—Parkinson's Journal of a voyage to the South Seas, p. 163—169.

On the twenty-first of September, our Navigators got under sail, and having pursued their voyage till the first of October, on that day they came within sight of the Island of Java. During their course from Savu, Lieutenant Cook allowed twenty minutes a day for the westerly current, which he concluded must run strong at this time, especially on the coast of Java; and accordingly, he found that this allowance was exactly equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ship. Such was the sagacity of our Commander's judgment in whatever related to navigation. On the second, two Dutch ships being seen to lie off Anger Point, the Lieutenant sent Mr. Hicks on board one of them, to enquire news concerning England, from which our people had so long been absent. Mr. Hicks brought back the agreeable intelligence, that the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret, had been at Batavia two years before. In the morning of the fifth, a prow came alongside of the Endeavour, with a Dutch officer, who sent down to Mr. Cook a printed paper in English, duplicates of which he had in other languages. This paper was regularly signed, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their Secretary, and contained nine questions, very ill expressed, two of which only the Lieutenant thought proper to answer. These were what regarded the nation and name of his vessel, and whither

naked; but the colour of their skin did not seem quite so dark, which, however, might be owing to their being less dirty. While the English Gentlemen were viewing them, they were shouting defiance, and letting off their fires by four or five at a time. Our people could not imagine what these fires were, or what purposes they were intended to answer. Those who discharged them had in their hands a short piece of stick, which they swung sideways from them, and immediately there issued fire and smoke, exactly resembling those of a musquet, and of as short a duration. The men on board the ship who observed this surprising phenomenon, were so far deceived by it as to believe that the Indians had fire-arms. To the persons in the boat it had the appearance of the firing of volleys, without a report. The place where this transaction happened lies in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 15'$ South, and is about sixty-five leagues to the North-east of Port Saint Augustine, or Walche Caep, and is near what is called in the charts C. de la Colta de St. Bonaventura. In every part of the coast, the land is covered with a vast luxuriance of wood and herbage. The cocoa-nut, the bread-fruit, and the plantain-tree, flourish here in the highest perfection; besides which the country abounds with most of the trees, shrubs, and plants, that are common to the South Sea Islands, New Zealand, and New Holland (b).

(b) Hawke-
worth's Voyages,
vol. ii. p. 650—
658.

Soon after Mr. Cook and his party had returned to the ship, our Voyagers made sail to the westward, the Lieutenant having resolved to spend no more time upon this coast; a resolution which was greatly to the satisfaction of a very considerable majority of his people. Some of the officers indeed were particularly urgent that a number of men might be sent ashore, to cut down the cocoa-nut trees for the sake of their fruit. This, however, our Commander absolutely refused, as equally unjust and cruel. It was morally certain, from the preceding behaviour of the natives, that if their property had been invaded they would have made a vigorous effort to defend it; in which case the lives of many of them must have been sacrificed; and perhaps, too, several of the English would have fallen in the contest. The necessity of a quarrel with the Indians would have been regretted by the Lieutenant, even if he had been impelled to it by a want of the necessaries of life; but to engage in it for the transient gratification that would arise from obtaining two or three hundred green cocoa-nuts, appeared in his view highly criminal. The same calamity, at least with regard to the natives, would probably have occurred, if he had sought for any other place on the coast, to the northward and westward, where the ship might have lain so near the shore as to cover his people with the guns when they had landed. Besides, there was cause to believe, that, before such a place could have been found, our Navigators would have been carried so far to the Westward as to be obliged to go to Batavia, on the North side of Java. This, in Mr. Cook's opinion, would not have been so safe a passage as that to the South of Java, through the straits of Sunda. Another reason for his making the best of his way to Batavia, was the leakiness of the vessel, which rendered it doubtful whether it would not be necessary to heave her down when she arrived at that port. Our Commander's resolution was farther confirmed by the consideration, that no discovery could be expected in seas which had already been navigated, and where the coast had been sufficiently described both by Spanish and Dutch geographers, and especially by the latter. The only merit claimed by the Lieutenant, in this part of his voyage, was the having established it as a fact beyond all controversy, that New Holland and New Guinea are two distinct countries. Without staying, therefore, on the coast of New Guinea, the Endeavour, on the same day, directed her course to the westward, in pursuing which Mr. Cook had an opportunity of rectifying the errors of former navigators. Very early in the morning of the sixth of September, our Voyagers passed a small Island which lay to the North-north-west; and at day-break they discovered another low Island, extending from that quarter to North-north-east. Upon the last Island, which appeared to be of considerable extent, the Lieutenant would have landed to examine its produce, if the wind had not blown so fresh as to render his design impracticable. Unless these two Islands belong to the Arrou Islands, they have no place in the charts; and if they do belong to the Arrou Islands, they are laid down at too great a distance from New Guinea (i). Some other land which was seen this day ought, by its distance from New Guinea, to have been part of the Arrou Islands; but if any dependence can be placed on former charts, it lies a degree farther to the South. On the seventh, when the ship was in latitude $9^{\circ} 30'$ South, and longitude $229^{\circ} 34'$ West, our people ought to have been in sight of the Weasel Isles, which in the charts are laid down at the distance of twenty or twenty-five leagues from the coast of New Holland. But as our Commander saw nothing of them, he concluded that they must have been placed erroneously. Nor will this be deemed surprising, when it is considered that not only these Islands, but the coast which bounds this sea, have been explored at different times, and by different persons, who had not all the requisites for keeping accurate journals which are now possessed; and whose various discoveries have been delineated upon charts by others, perhaps at the distance of more than a century after such discoveries had been made. In pursuing their course, our Navigators passed the Islands of Timor, Timor-lavet, Rotte, and Seman. While they were near the two latter Islands, they observed about ten o'clock at night, on the sixteenth of the month, a phenomenon in the heavens, which in many particulars resembled

(i) Mr. Cook found the South part of them in latitude $7^{\circ} 6'$ South, and in longitude 225° West.

sembled the Aurora Borealis, though in others it was very different. It consisted of a dull reddish light, which reached about twenty degrees above the horizon; and though its extent, at times, varied much, it never comprehended less than eight or ten points of the compass. Through, and out of the general appearance, there passed rays of light of a brighter colour, which vanished, and were renewed nearly in the same manner as those of the Aurora Borealis, but entirely without the tremulous or vibratory motion which is seen in that phenomenon. The body of this light bore South-south-east from the ship, and continued, without any diminution of its brightness, till twelve o'clock, and probably a longer time, as the Gentlemen were prevented from observing it farther, by their retiring to sleep. By the sixteenth, Lieutenant Cook had gotten clear of all the Islands which had then been laid down in the maps as situated between Timor and Java, and did not expect to meet with any other in that quarter. But the next morning an Island was seen bearing West-south-west, and at first he believed that he had made a new discovery. As soon as our Voyagers had come close in with the North side of it, they had the pleasing prospect of houses and cocoa-nut trees, and of what still more agreeably surprized them, numerous flocks of sheep. Many of the people on board were at this time in a bad state of health, and no small number of them had been dissatisfied with the Lieutenant for not having touched at Timor. He readily embraced, therefore, the opportunity of landing at a place which appeared so well calculated to supply the necessities of the company, and to remove both the sickness and the discontent which had spread among them (k). This place proved to be the Island of Savu, where a settlement had lately been made by the Dutch. The great design of our Commander was to obtain provisions, which, after some difficulty, and some jealousy on the part of Mr. Lange, the Dutch Resident, were procured. These provisions were nine buffaloes, six sheep, three hogs, thirty dozen of fowls, many dozens of eggs, some cocoa nuts, a few limes, a little garlic, and several hundred gallons of palm-syrup. In obtaining these refreshments at a reasonable price, the English were not a little assisted by an old Indian, who appeared to be a person of considerable authority under the King of the country. The Lieutenant and his friends were one day very hospitably entertained by the King himself, though the royal etiquette did not permit his Majesty to partake of the banquet (l). So little, in general, had the Island of Savu been known, that Mr. Cook had never seen a map or chart in which it is clearly or accurately laid down. The middle of it lies in about the latitude of $10^{\circ} 35'$ South, and longitude $237^{\circ} 30'$ West; and from the ship it presented a prospect than which nothing can be more beautiful. This prospect, from the verdure and culture of the country, from the hills, richly clothed, which rise in a gentle and regular ascent, and from the stateliness and beauty of the trees, is delightful to a degree that can scarcely be conceived by the most lively imagination. With regard to the productions and natives of the Island, the account which our Navigators were enabled to give of them, and which is copious and entertaining, was, in a great measure, derived from the information of Mr. Lange. An extraordinary relation is given of the morals of the people of this Island, and which, if true, must fill every virtuous mind with pleasure. Their characters and conduct are represented as irreproachable, even upon the principles of Christianity. Though no man is permitted to have more than one wife, an illicit commerce between the sexes is scarcely known among them. Instances of theft are very rare; and so far are they from revenging a supposed injury by murder, that when any differences arise between them, they immediately and implicitly refer it to the determination of their King. They will not so much as make it the subject of private debate, lest they should hence be provoked to resentment and ill-will. Their delicacy and cleanliness are suited to the purity of their morals. From the specimen which is given of the language of Savu, it appears to have some affinity with that of the South Sea Islands. Many of the words are exactly the same, and the terms of numbers are derived from the same origin (m).

(k) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 659—669.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 675—680.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 687, 688, 694, 695, 697, 702, 703—Parkinson's *Journal of a voyage to the South Seas*, p. 163—169.

On the twenty-first of September, our Navigators got under sail, and having pursued their voyage till the first of October, on that day they came within sight of the Island of Java. During their course from Savu, Lieutenant Cook allowed twenty minutes a day for the westerly current, which he concluded must run strong at this time, especially on the coast of Java; and accordingly, he found that this allowance was exactly equivalent to the effect of the current upon the ship. Such was the sagacity of our Commander's judgment in whatever related to navigation. On the second, two Dutch ships being seen to lie off Anger Point, the Lieutenant sent Mr. Hicks on board one of them, to enquire news concerning England, from which our people had so long been absent. Mr. Hicks brought back the agreeable intelligence, that the Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret, had been at Batavia two years before. In the morning of the fifth, a prow came alongside of the Endeavour, with a Dutch officer, who sent down to Mr. Cook a printed paper in English, duplicates of which he had in other languages. This paper was regularly signed, in the name of the Governor and Council of the Indies, by their Secretary, and contained nine questions, very ill expressed, two of which only the Lieutenant thought proper to answer. These were what regarded the nation and name of his vessel, and whither

whither she was bound. On the ninth, our Voyagers stood in for Batavia road, where they found the Harcourt Indiaman from England, two English private traders, and a number of Dutch ships. Immediately a boat came on board the Endeavour, and the officer who commanded having enquired who our people were, and whence they came, instantly returned with such answers as were given him. In the mean time, Mr. Cook sent a Lieutenant ashore to acquaint the Governor of his arrival, and to make an apology for not having saluted; a ceremony he had judged better to omit; as he could only make use of three guns, excepting the swivels, which he was of opinion would not be heard. It being universally agreed that the ship could not safely proceed to Europe without an examination of her bottom, our Commander determined to apply for leave to heave her down at Batavia; and for this purpose he drew up a request in writing, which, after he had waited first upon the Governor-General, and then upon the Council, was readily complied with, and he was told that he should have every thing he wanted. In the evening of the tenth, there was a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, during which the main-mast of one of the Dutch East Indiamen was split, and carried away by the deck; and the main-top-mast, and top-gallant-mast were shivered to pieces. The stroke was probably directed by an iron spindle which was at the main-top-gallant-mast head. As this ship lay very near the Endeavour, she could scarcely have avoided sharing the same fate, had it not been for the conducting chain, which fortunately had been just gotten up, and which conveyed the lightning over the side of the vessel. But though she escaped the lightning, the explosion shook her like an earthquake; and the chain, at the same time, appeared like a line of fire. Mr. Cook has embraced this occasion of earnestly recommending similar chains to every ship; and hath expressed his hope that all who read his narrative will be warned against having an iron spindle at the mast-head. The English Gentlemen had taken up their lodging and boarding at a hotel, or kind of inn, kept by the order of Government. Here they met with those impositions, in point of expence and treatment, which are too common to admit of much surprize. It was not long, however, that they submitted to ill usage. By a farther acquaintance with the manner of dealing with their host, and by spirited remonstrances, they procured a better furnished table. Mr. Banks, in a few days, hired a small house for himself and his party; and as soon as he was settled in his new habitation, sent for Tupia, who had hitherto continued on board on account of sickness. When he quitted the ship, and after he came into the boat, he was exceedingly lifeless and dejected; but no sooner did he enter the town than he appeared to be inspired with another soul. A scene so entirely new and extraordinary filled him with amazement. The houses, carriages, streets, people, and a multiplicity of other objects, rushing upon him at once, produced an effect similar to what is ascribed to enchantment. His boy, Tayeto, expressed his wonder and delight in a still more rapturous manner. He danced along the streets in a kind of extacy, examining every object with a restless and eager curiosity, which was excited and gratified every moment. Tupia's attention was particularly excited by the various dresses of the passing multitude; and when he was informed that at Batavia every one wore the dress of his own country, he expressed his desire of appearing in the garb of Otaheite. Accordingly, South Sea cloth being sent for from the ship, he equipped himself with great expedition and dexterity. Lieutenant Cook imagined that at Batavia he should find it easy to take up what money he might want for repairing and refitting the Endeavour; but in this he was mistaken. No private person could be found who had ability and inclination to furnish the sum which was necessary. In this exigency, the Lieutenant had recourse, by a written request, to the Governor, from whom he obtained an order for being supplied out of the Dutch Company's treasury. When our Voyagers had been only nine days at Batavia, they began to feel the fatal effects of the climate and situation. Tupia, after his first flow of spirits had subsided, grew every day worse and worse; and Tayeto was seized with an inflammation upon his lungs. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were attacked by fevers, and, in a little time, almost every person, both on board and on shore, was sick. The distress of our people was indeed very great, and the prospect before them discouraging in the highest degree. Tupia, being desirous of breathing a freer air than among the numerous houses that obstructed it ashore, had a tent erected for him on Cooper's Island, to which he was accompanied by Mr. Banks, who attended this poor Indian with the greatest humanity, till he was rendered incapable of doing it, by the violent increase of his own disorder. On the fifth of November, Mr. Monkhouse, the Surgeon of the ship, a sensible, skilful man, whose loss was not a little aggravated by the situation of the English, fell the first sacrifice to this fatal country. Tayeto died on the ninth, and Tupia, who loved him with the tenderness of a parent, sunk at once after the loss of the boy, and survived him only a few days. The disorders of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander grew to such a height, that the Physician declared they had no chance of preserving their lives but by removing into the country. Accordingly, a house was hired for them at the distance of about two miles from the town; where, in consequence of enjoying a purer air, and being better nursed by two Malayan women, whom they had bought, they recovered by slow degrees. At length, Lieutenant Cook was himself taken ill; and out of the whole ship's company, not more than ten were able to do duty.

duty. In the midst of these distresses, our Commander was diligently and vigorously attentive to the repair of his vessel. When her bottom came to be examined, she was found to be in a worse condition than had been apprehended. Her false keel and main keel were both of them greatly injured; a large quantity of the sheathing was torn off; and among several planks which were much damaged, two of them, and the half of a third, were so worn for the length of six feet, that they were not above the eighth part of an inch in thickness: and here the worms had made way quite into the timbers. In this state the Endeavour had sailed many hundred leagues, in a quarter of the globe where navigation is dangerous in the highest degree. It was happy for our Voyagers that they were ignorant of their perilous situation; for it must have deeply affected them, to have known that a considerable part of the bottom of the vessel was thinner than the sole of a shoe, and that all their lives depended upon so slight and fragile a barrier between them and the unfathomable ocean. The repair of the Endeavour was carried on very much to Mr. Cook's satisfaction. In justice to the Dutch officers and workmen, he hath declared that, in his opinion, there is not a marine yard in the world, where a ship can be laid with more convenience, safety, and dispatch, or repaired with greater diligence and skill. He was particularly pleased with the manner of heaving down by two masts, and gives it a decided preference to the method which had hitherto been practised by the English. The Lieutenant was not one of those on whom the bigotry could be charged of adhering to old customs, in opposition to the dictates of reason and experience. By the eighth of December, the Endeavour was perfectly refitted. From that time to the twenty-fourth, our people were employed in completing her stock of water, provisions, and stores, in erecting some new pumps, and in various other necessary operations. All this business could have been effected much sooner, if it had not been retarded by the general sickness of the men. In the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, our Commander took leave of the Governor of Batavia, and of several other Gentlemen belonging to the place, with whom he had formed connections, and to whom he had been greatly obliged for their civilities and assistance. In the mean while, an accident intervened, which might have been attended with disagreeable effects. A seaman, who had run away from one of the Dutch ships in the road, entered on board the Endeavour. Upon his being reclaimed as a subject of Holland, Mr. Cook, who was on shore, declared, that, if the man appeared to be a Dutchman, he should certainly be delivered up. When, however, the order was carried to Mr. Hicks, who commanded on board, he refused to surrender the seaman, alledging, that he was a subject of Great Britain, born in Ireland. In this conduct Mr. Hicks acted in perfect conformity to the Lieutenant's intention and directions. The captain of the Dutch vessel, in the next place, by a message from the Governor General, demanded the man as a subject of Denmark. To this Mr. Cook replied, that there must be some mistake in the General's message, since he would never demand of him a Danish seaman, whose only crime was that of preferring the English to the Dutch service. At the same time the Lieutenant added, that to shew the sincerity of his desire to avoid disputes, if the man was a Dane he should be delivered up as a courtesy; but that if he appeared to be an English subject, he should be kept at all events. Soon after, a letter was brought from Mr. Hicks, containing indubitable proofs that the seaman in question was a subject of his Britannic Majesty. This letter Mr. Cook sent to the Governor, with an assurance to his Excellency that he would not part with the man on any terms. A conduct so firm and decisive produced the desired effect, no more being heard of the affair. In the evening of the twenty-fifth, our Commander went on board, together with Mr. Banks and the rest of the Gentlemen who had resided constantly on shore. The Gentlemen, though considerably better, were far from being perfectly recovered. At this time, the sick persons in the ship amounted to forty, and the rest of the company were in a very feeble condition. It was remarkable, that every individual had been ill excepting the sail-maker, who was an old man between seventy and eighty years of age, and who was drunk every day, during the residence of our people at Batavia. Three seamen, and Mr. Green's servant, died, besides the Surgeon, Tupia, and Tayeto. Tupia did not entirely fall a sacrifice to the unwholesome, stagnant, and putrid air of the country. As he had been accustomed, from his birth, to subsist chiefly upon vegetable food, and particularly on ripe fruit, he soon contracted the disorders which are incident to a sea life, and would probably have sunk under them, before the voyage of the English could have been completed, even if they had not been obliged to go to Batavia to refit their vessel (*n*). Our Navigators did not stay at this place without gaining an extensive acquaintance with the productions of the country, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. The information which was obtained on these heads is detailed at large in Dr. Hawkesworth's narrative, and will be found to constitute a very valuable addition to what was heretofore known upon the subject.

(*n*) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 704—723.

On Thursday the twenty-seventh of December, the Endeavour stood out to sea; and on the fifth of January, 1771, she came to an anchor, under the South-east side of Prince's Island. The design of this was to obtain a recruit of wood and water, and to procure some refreshments for the sick, many of whom had become much worse than they were

when they left Batavia. As soon as the vessel was secured, the Lieutenant, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander went on shore, and were conducted, by some Indians they met with, to a person who was represented to be the King of the country. After exchanging a few compliments with his Majesty, the Gentlemen proceeded to business, but could not immediately come to a settlement with him, in respect to the price of turtle. They were more successful in their search of a watering-place, having found water conveniently situated, and which they had reason to believe would prove good. As they were going off, some of the natives sold them three turtle, under a promise that the King should not be informed of the transaction. On the next day, a traffic was established with the Indians, upon such terms as were offered by the English; so that by night our people had plenty of turtle. The three which had been purchased the evening before, were in the mean time dressed for the ship's company, who, excepting on the preceding day, had not, for nearly the space of four months, been once served with salt provisions. Mr. Banks, in the evening, paid his respects to the King at his Palace, which was situated in the middle of a rice field. His Majesty was busily employed in dressing his own supper; but this did not prevent him from receiving his visitant in a very gracious manner. During the following days, the commerce with the natives for provisions was continued; in the course of which they brought down to the trading place, not only a quantity of turtle, but fowls, fish, monkeys, small deer, and some vegetables. On the evening of the eleventh, when Mr. Cook went on shore to see how those of his people conducted their business who were employed in wooding and watering, he was informed that an axe had been stolen. As it was a matter of consequence to prevent others from being encouraged to commit thefts of the like kind, he resolved not to pass over the offence, but to insist upon redress from the King. Accordingly, after some altercation, his Majesty promised that the axe should be restored in the morning, and the promise was faithfully performed. On the fifteenth, our Commander weighed, and stood out for sea (o). Prince's Island, where he lay about ten days, was formerly much frequented by the India ships of many nations, and especially those of England; but it had lately been forsaken, on account of the supposed badness of its water. This supposition, however, arose from a want of duly examining the brook by which the water is supplied. It is, indeed, brackish at the lower part of the brook, but higher up it will be found excellent. The Lieutenant, therefore, was clearly of opinion, that Prince's Island is a more eligible place for ships to touch at, than either at North Island or New Bay; from neither of which places any considerable quantity of other refreshments can be procured. As the Endeavour proceeded on her voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, the seeds of disease, which had been received at Batavia, appeared with the most threatening symptoms, and reduced our Navigators to a very melancholy situation. The ship was, in fact, nothing better than an hospital, in which those who could go about were not sufficient for a due attendance upon those who were sick. Left the water which had been taken in at Prince's Island should have had any share in adding to the disorder of the men, the Lieutenant ordered it to be purified with lime; and as a farther remedy against infection, he directed all the parts of the vessel between the decks to be washed with vinegar. The malady had taken too deep root to be speedily eradicated. Mr. Banks was reduced so low by it, that for some time there was no hope of his life; and so fatal was the disease to many others, that almost every night a dead body was committed to the sea. There were buried, in about the course of six weeks, Mr. Sporing, a Gentleman who was one of Mr. Banks's assistants, Mr. Parkinson, his Natural History Painter, Mr. Green the Astronomer [2], the Boatswain, the Carpenter and his mate, Mr. Monkhouse

(e) Java Head, from which the Lieutenant took his departure, lies in latitude $6^{\circ}49'$ South, and in longitude $253^{\circ}12'$ West.

[2] *Mr. Green the Astronomer.* Mr. Charles Green (the youngest son of Mr. Joshua Green of Swinton, near Rotherham, in Yorkshire, a considerable farmer, and a freeholder of the county) was born in the year 1735. The principal part of his education he derived from his eldest brother, the Rev. John Green, late of Denmark-street, Soho. Mr. John Green was master of a school in that place, and, after some time, took in his brother Charles, as an assistant teacher. In this situation, he made such a progress in astronomical knowledge, that, in the latter end of the year 1760, he became assistant to Dr. Bradley, at the Royal Observatory, at Greenwich. This was upon the occasion of Mr. Charles Mason's having quitted that office, to go to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, in 1761. With Dr. Bradley Mr. Green remained at the observatory, till the Doctor's death, which happened in 1762. Upon Mr. Bliss's appointment to the place of Astronomer Royal, Mr. Green continued to be assistant to that Gentleman. As Mr. Bliss's health was very precarious, and his residence chiefly at Oxford, the principal care of the observations de-

veloped on Mr. Green. Indeed, he was so useful to Mr. Bliss, that when, in 1763, in conjunction with Dr. Maskelyne, he was appointed by the Commissioners of the Board of Longitude to go to Barbadoes, to make observations for the trial of Mr. Harrison's time-keeper, it was agreed that a temporary assistant only should be provided at Greenwich, till his return. Accordingly, he remained at the Observatory till the death of Mr. Bliss, in September, 1764, and the appointment of Dr. Maskelyne, in the spring following. After this, he was employed by a number of Gentlemen, who had formed a scheme of bringing water from some part of the river Coln, below Uxbridge, to Marybone. But Mr. Green having proved, by this survey, that there would be a deficiency of fall, if the water should be taken from the tail of the lowest mill in that stream, and objections being raised, by the proprietors of those mills, to the water's being taken above them, the design dropped. Mr. Green's appointment, by the Royal Society, to observe, together with Lieutenant Cook, the transit of Venus in 1769, having already been related in the course of this work, it is sufficient to add, that he fell a martyr to the

(p) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*,
p. 767—772.
779—780.

house the Midshipman, another Midshipman, the old jolly Sail-maker and his assistant, the ship's Cook, the Corporal of the marines, two of the Carpenter's crew, and nine seamen. In all, the loss amounted to three and twenty persons, besides the seven who died at Batavia (p). It is probable that these calamitous events, which could not fail of making a powerful impression on the mind of Lieutenant Cook, might give occasion to his turning his thoughts more zealously to those methods of preserving the health of seamen, which he afterwards pursued with such remarkable success. On Friday the fifteenth of March, the Endeavour arrived off the Cape of Good Hope; and as soon as she was brought to an anchor, our Commander waited upon the Governor, from whom he received assurances that he should be furnished with every supply which the country could afford. His first care was to provide a proper place for the sick, whose number was not small; and a house was speedily found, where it was agreed that they should be lodged and boarded at the rate of two shillings a day for each person. The run from Java Head to the Cape of Good Hope did not furnish many subjects of remark that could be of any great use to future voyagers. Such observations, however, as occurred to him the Lieutenant has been careful to record, not being willing to omit the least circumstance that may contribute to the safety and facility of navigation. The Cape of Good Hope had been so often described before our people stopped there, that even if it had entered into my plan to give a particular account of the countries visited by Mr. Cook, and of the manners of their inhabitants, I should have omitted what Dr. Hawkesworth hath related concerning the place. It is sufficient, therefore, to say, that the Lieutenant, having lain at the Cape to recover the sick, to procure stores, and to refit his vessel, till the fourteenth of April, then stood out of the Bay, and proceeded in his voyage homeward. In the morning of the twenty-ninth, he crossed his first meridian, having circumnavigated the globe in the direction from East to West. The consequence of this was, that he had lost a day, an allowance for which had been made at Batavia. On the first of May he arrived at St. Helena, where he staid till the fourth to refresh; during which time Mr. Banks employed himself in making the complete circuit of the Island, and in visiting the places most worthy of observation. The manner in which slaves are described as being treated in this Island must be mentioned with indignation. According to our Commander's representation, while every kind of labour is performed by them, they are not furnished either with horses or with any of the various machines which art has invented to facilitate their task. Carts might conveniently be used in some parts, and where the ground is too steep for them, wheelbarrows might be employed to great advantage; and yet there is not a wheelbarrow in the whole Island. Though every thing which is conveyed from place to place is done by slaves alone, they have not the simple convenience of a porter's knot, but carry their burden upon their heads. They appeared to be a miserable race, worn out by the united operation of excessive labour and ill usage; and Mr. Cook was sorry to observe, and to say, that instances of wanton cruelty were much more frequent among his countrymen at St. Helena, than among the Dutch, who are generally reproached with want of humanity, both at Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope (q). It is impossible for a feeling mind to avoid being concerned that such an account should be given of the conduct of any who are entitled to the name of Britons. The Lieutenant's reproof, if just, hath, it may be hoped, long before this, reached the place, and produced some good effect [R]. If slavery, that

(q) *Ibid.* p. 781
—784-794-797.

the unwholesome air of Batavia; for though he lived to quit that place, he died twelve days afterwards, of a dysentery, on the 29th of January, 1771.

Mr. Green was tolerably well versed in most branches of the mathematics, and had a tincture of various other sciences. Metaphysical enquiries were his favourite pursuits; and he was more fond of displaying his knowledge in this respect than was conducive to his advantage. Though he loved his friend much, he sometimes shewed that he loved his jest better, by which he made himself enemies. He was a most excellent observer. Of this Dr. Maskelyne was so well convinced, that, though they had disagreed at Barbadoes, and were not afterwards on terms of friendship, the Doctor not only proposed him to the Royal Society, as the most proper person to observe the transit of Venus, but supported his interest with great earnestness, against some others of the Society, who wished to send out a different person. The observations of Mr. Green which particularly related to the transit of Venus, were printed in conjunction with those of Lieutenant Cook. His remaining ones, which are pretty numerous, are now preparing for publication, under the direction of the Commissioners of Longitude. Mr. Green was engaged for a time, in concert with Dr. Scott, the present Rector of Simonburn, Mr. Falconer, the author of the Shipwreck,

and some other persons, in writing a dictionary of arts and sciences; but he did not continue his assistance through more than half the work. Mr. Green, as a reward for his going to Barbadoes, had been appointed Purser of the Aurora frigate, which was afterwards made choice of to carry Mr. Vansittart, and the other Supervisors, out to India. As Mr. Green was then absent with Lieutenant Cook, his old colleague, Mr. Falconer, applied to the Commissioners of the Navy, for leave to exchange the Bristol, to which he belonged, for the Aurora. In consequence of this he was lost with her; and, probably, at no great distance, either of time or space, from where the body of her quondam purser, Mr. Green, was committed to the deep (6).

[R] *And produced some good effect.* Near the conclusion of Captain Cook's second voyage, there is the following short note. "In the account given of St. Helena, in the narrative of my former voyage, I find some mistakes. Its inhabitants are far from exercising a wanton cruelty over their slaves; and they have had wheel-carriages and porter's knots for many years." [vol. ii. p. 270.] This note I insert with pleasure. Nevertheless, I cannot think that the Lieutenant could have given so strong a representation of things, if, at the time in which it was written, it had been wholly without foundation.

(6) From the information of Mr. Wales.

disgrace

disgrace to religion, to humanity, and, I will add, to sound policy, must still be continued, every thing ought to be done which can tend to soften its horrors. When our Commander departed from St. Helena, on the fourth, it was in company with the Portland man of war, and twelve Indiamen. With this fleet he continued to sail till the tenth, when perceiving that the Endeavour proceeded much more heavily than any of the other vessels, and that she was not likely to get home so soon as the rest, he made a signal to speak with the Portland. Upon this Captain Elliot himself came on board, and Mr. Cook delivered to him the common log-books of his ship, and the journals of some of the officers. The Endeavour, however, kept in company with the fleet till the morning of the twenty-third, at which time there was not a single vessel in sight. On that day died Mr. Hicks, and in the evening his body was committed to the sea, with the usual ceremonies. Mr. Charles Clerke, a young man extremely well qualified for the station, and whose name will hereafter frequently occur, received an order from Mr. Cook to act as Lieutenant in Mr. Hicks's room. The rigging and sails of the ship were now become so bad, that something was continually giving way. Nevertheless, our Commander pursued his course in safety; and on the tenth of June, land, which proved to be the Lizard, was discovered by Nicholas Young, the boy who had first seen New Zealand. On the eleventh, the Lieutenant ran up the channel. At six the next morning he passed Beachy Head; and in the afternoon of the same day he came to an anchor in the Downs, and went on shore at Deal (r). Thus ended Mr. Cook's first voyage round the world, in which he had gone through so many dangers, explored so many countries, and exhibited the strongest proofs of his possessing an eminently sagacious and active mind; a mind that was equal to every perilous enterprize, and to the boldest and most successful efforts of navigation and discovery.

(r) Hawkesworth, *ubi supra*, p. 798, 799.

The manner in which Lieutenant Cook had performed his circumnavigation of the globe, justly entitled him to the protection of Government, and the favour of his Sovereign. Accordingly, he was promoted to be a Commander in his Majesty's navy, by commission bearing date on the twenty-ninth of August, 1771 (s). Mr. Cook, on this occasion, from a certain consciousness of his own merit, wished to have been appointed a Post Captain. But the Earl of Sandwich, who was now at the head of the Admiralty Board, though he had the greatest regard for our Navigator, could not concede to his request, because a compliance with it would have been inconsistent with the order of the naval service. The difference was in point of rank only, and not of advantage. A Commander has the same pay as a Post Captain, and his authority is the same when he is in actual employment. The distinction is a necessary step in the progress to the higher honours of the profession (t). It cannot be doubted, but that the President and Council of the Royal Society were highly satisfied with the manner in which the transit of Venus had been observed. The papers of Mr. Cook and Mr. Green, relative to this subject, were put into the hands of the Astronomer Royal, to be by him digested, and that he might deduce from them the important consequences to science which resulted from the observation. This was done by him with an accuracy and ability becoming his high knowledge and character. On the twenty-first of May, 1772, Captain Cook communicated to the Royal Society, in a letter addressed to Dr. Maskelyne, an "account of the flowing of the tides in the South Sea, as observed on board His Majesty's bark, the Endeavour (u)." The reputation our Navigator had acquired by his late voyage was deservedly great; and the desire of the public to be acquainted with the new scenes and new objects which were now brought to light, was ardently excited. It is not surprising, therefore, that different attempts were made to satisfy the general curiosity. There soon appeared a publication, entitled, "a Journal of a Voyage round the World." This was the production of some person who had been upon the expedition; and, though his account was dry and imperfect, it served, in a certain degree, to relieve the eagerness of enquiry. The Journal of Sydney Parkinson, draughtsman to Sir Joseph Banks, to whom it belonged by ample purchase, was likewise printed, from a copy surreptitiously obtained; but an injunction from the Court of Chancery for some time prevented its appearance. This work, though dishonestly given to the world, was recommended by its plates. But it was Dr. Hawkesworth's account of Lieutenant Cook's voyage which completely gratified the public curiosity. This account, which was written by authority, was drawn up from the journal of the Lieutenant, and the papers of Sir Joseph Banks; and, besides the merit of the composition, derived an extraordinary advantage from the number and excellence of its charts and engravings, which were furnished at the expence of Government. The large price given by the booksellers for this work, and the avidity with which it was read, displayed, in the strongest light, the anxiety of the nation to be fully informed in every thing that belonged to the late navigation and discoveries. Captain Cook, during his voyage, had sailed over the Pacific Ocean in many of those latitudes in which a southern continent had been expected to lie. He had ascertained that neither New Zealand nor New Holland were parts of such a continent. But the general question concerning its existence had not been determined by him, nor did he go out for that purpose, though some of the reasons on which the notion of it had been adopted were dispelled in the course of his navigation. It is well known

(s) From the books of the Admiralty.

(t) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.

(u) Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxii, p. 357, 358.

how fondly the idea of a *Terra Australis incognita* had for nearly two centuries been entertained. Many plausible philosophical arguments had been urged in its support, and many facts alleged in its favour. The writer of this narrative fully remembers how much his imagination was captivated, in the more early part of his life, with the hypothesis of a southern continent. He has often dwelt upon it with rapture, and been highly delighted with the authors who contended for its existence, and displayed the mighty consequences which would result from its being discovered. Though his knowledge was infinitely exceeded by that of some able men who had paid a particular attention to the subject, he did not come behind them in the sanguineness of his hopes and expectations. Every thing, however, which relates to science must be separated from fancy, and brought to the test of experiment: and here was an experiment richly deserving to be tried. The object, indeed, was of peculiar magnitude, and worthy to be pursued by a great Prince, and a great nation. Happily, the period was arrived in Britain for the execution of the most important scientific designs. As regard to matters of this kind, though so honourable to crowned heads, had heretofore been too much neglected even by some of the best of our Princes. Our present Sovereign had already distinguished his reign by his patronage of science and literature; but the beginnings which had hitherto been made were only the pledges of future munificence. With respect to the object now in view, the gracious dispositions of His Majesty were ardently seconded by the noble Lord who had been placed at the head of the Board of Admiralty. The Earl of Sandwich was possessed of a mind which was capable of comprehending and encouraging the most enlarged views and schemes with regard to navigation and discovery. Accordingly, it was by his particular recommendation that a resolution was formed for the appointment of an expedition, finally to determine the question concerning the existence of a southern continent [S]. Quiros seems to have been the first person who had any idea that such a continent existed, and he was the first that was sent out for the sole purpose of ascertaining the fact. He did not succeed in the attempt; and the attempts of various navigators, down to the present century, were equally unsuccessful (x). When the design of accomplishing this great object was resolved upon, it did not admit of any hesitation by whom it was to be carried into execution. No person was esteemed equally qualified with Captain Cook, for conducting an enterprize the view of which was to give the utmost possible extent to the geography of the globe, and the knowledge of navigation. For the greater advantage of the undertaking, it was determined that two ships should be employed; and much attention was paid to the choice of them, and to their equipment for the service. After mature deliberation by the Navy Board, during which particular regard was had to the Captain's wisdom and experience, it was agreed, that no vessels were so proper for discoveries in distant unknown parts, as those which were constructed like the Endeavour. This opinion concurring with that of the Earl of Sandwich, the Admiralty came to a resolution, that two ships should be provided of a similar construction. Accordingly, two vessels, both of which had been built at Whitby, by the same person who built the Endeavour, were purchased of Captain William Hammond, of Hull. They were about fourteen or sixteen months old at the time when they were bought, and, in Captain Cook's judgment, were as well adapted to the intended service as if they had been expressly constructed for that purpose. The largest of the two, which consisted of four hundred and sixty-two tons burthen, was named the Resolution. To the other, which was three hundred and thirty-six tons burthen, was given the name of the Adventure. On the twenty-eighth of November, 1771, Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the former; and, about the same time, Mr. Tobias Furneaux was promoted to the command of the latter. The complement of the Resolution, including officers and men, was fixed at a hundred and twelve persons; and that of the Adventure, at eighty-one. In the equipment of these ships, every circumstance was attended to that could contribute to the comfort and success of the voyage. They were fitted in the most complete manner, and supplied with every extraordinary article which was suggested to be necessary or useful. Lord Sandwich, whose zeal was indefatigable upon this occasion, visited the vessels from time to time, to be assured that the whole equipment was agreeable to his wishes, and to the satisfaction of those who were to engage in the expedition. Nor were the Navy and Victualling Boards wanting in procuring for the ships the very best of stores and provisions, with some alterations in the species of them, that were adapted to the nature of the enterprize; besides which, there was an ample supply of antiscorbutic articles, such as malt, sour krout, salted cabbage, portable broth, saloup, mustard, marmalade of carrots, and inspissated juice of wort and beer. No less attention was paid to the cause of science in general. The Admiralty engaged Mr. William Hodges, an excellent landscape painter, to embark in the voyage, in order to make drawings and paintings of such objects as could not so well be comprehended from written descriptions. Mr. John Reinhold Forster and his son were fixed

(x) Introduction to the Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, p. xi.

[S] Concerning the existence of a southern continent.] lumes, quarto, of the several voyages and discoveries Mr. Dalrymple had renewed the attention of the public in the South Pacific Ocean. The first volume appeared in 1770, and the second in 1771.

(y) General Introduction, *ubi supra*, p. xxiii—xxxv.

upon to explore and collect the natural history of the countries which might be visited, and an ample sum was granted by Parliament for the purpose. That nothing might be wanting to accomplish the scientific views of the expedition, the Board of Longitude agreed with Mr. William Wales and Mr. William Bayley, to make astronomical observations. Mr. Wales was stationed in the *Resolution*, and Mr. Bayley in the *Adventure*. By the same Board they were furnished with the best of instruments, and particularly with four time-pieces, three constructed by Mr. Arnold, and one by Mr. Kendal on Mr. Harrison's principles (y). Though Captain Cook had been appointed to the command of the *Resolution* on the twenty-eighth of November, 1771, such were the preparations necessary for so long and important a voyage, and the impediments which occasionally and unavoidably occurred, that the ship did not sail from Deptford till the ninth of April following, nor did she leave Long Reach till the tenth of May. In plying down the river, it was found necessary to put into Sheerness, in order to make some alterations in her upper works. These the officers of the yard were directed immediately to take in hand; and Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser came down to see them executed in the most effectual manner. The ship being again completed for sea by the twenty-second of June, Captain Cook on that day sailed from Sheerness, and, on the third of July, joined the *Adventure* in Plymouth Sound. Lord Sandwich, in his return from a visit to the dockyards, having met the *Resolution* on the preceding evening, his Lordship and Sir Hugh Palliser gave the last mark of their great attention to the object of the voyage, by coming on board, to assure themselves that every thing was done which was agreeable to our Commander's wishes, and that his vessel was equipped entirely to his satisfaction. At Plymouth Captain Cook received his instructions; with regard to which, without entering into a minute detail of them, it is sufficient to say, that he was sent out upon the most enlarged plan of discovery that is known in the history of navigation. He was instructed not only to circumnavigate the whole globe, but to circumnavigate it in high southern latitudes, making such traverses, from time to time, into every corner of the Pacific Ocean not before examined, as might finally and effectually resolve the much agitated question about the existence of a southern continent, in any part of the southern hemisphere to which access could be had by the efforts of the boldest and most skilful navigators (z).

(z) Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, p. 1, 2. Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xix.

On the thirteenth of July, Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month anchored in Funchiale Road, in the Island of Madeira. Having obtained a supply of water, wine, and other necessaries at that Island, he left it on the first of August, and sailed to the southward. As he proceeded in his voyage, he made three puncheons of beer of the inspissated juice of malt; and the liquor produced was very brisk and drinkable. The heat of the weather, and the agitation of the ship, had hitherto withstood all the endeavours of our people to prevent this juice from being in a high state of fermentation. If it could be kept from fermenting, it would be a most valuable article at sea. The Captain having found that his stock of water would not last to the Cape of Good Hope, without putting his men to a scanty allowance, resolved to stop at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, for a supply. At Port Praya, in this Island, he anchored on the tenth of August, and by the fourteenth had completed his water, and procured some other refreshments; upon which he set sail, and prosecuted his course. He embraced the occasion, which his touching at St. Jago afforded him, of giving such a delineation and description of Port Praya, and of the supplies there to be obtained, as might be of service to future navigators. On the twentieth of the month, the rain poured down upon our Voyagers, not in drops, but in streams; and the wind, at the same time, being variable and rough, the people were obliged to attend so constantly upon the decks, that few of them escaped being completely soaked. This circumstance is mentioned to shew the method that was taken by Captain Cook to preserve his men from the evil consequences of the wet to which they had been exposed. He had every thing to fear from the rain, which is a great promoter of sickness in hot climates. But to guard against this effect, he pursued some hints that had been suggested to him by Sir Hugh Palliser and Captain Campbell, and took care that the ship should be aired and dried with fires made between the decks, and that the damp places of the vessel should be smoked; beside which, the people were ordered to air their bedding, and to wash and dry their clothes, whenever there was an opportunity. The result of these precautions was, that there was not one sick person on board the *Resolution*. Captain Cook, on the eighth of September, crossed the line in the longitude of 8° West, and proceeded, without meeting any thing remarkable, till the eleventh of October, when at 6^h 24^m 12^s, by Mr. Kendal's watch, the moon rose about four digits eclipsed; soon after which the Gentlemen prepared to observe the end of the eclipse. The observers were, the Captain himself, and Mr. Forster, Mr. Wales, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Gilbert, and Mr. Harvey. Our Commander had been informed, before he left England, that he sailed at an improper season of the year, and that he should meet with much calm weather, near and under the line. But though such weather may happen in some years, it is not always, or even generally, to be expected. So far was it

it from being the case with Captain Cook, that he had a brisk South-west wind in those very latitudes where the calms had been predicted: nor was he exposed to any of the tornadoes, which are so much spoken of by other navigators. On the twenty-ninth of the month, between eight and nine o'clock at night, when our Voyagers were near the Cape of Good Hope, the whole sea, within the compass of their sight, became at once, as it were, illuminated. The Captain had been formerly convinced, by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, that such appearances in the ocean were occasioned by insects. Mr. Forster, however, seemed disposed to adopt a different opinion. To determine the question, our Commander ordered some buckets of water to be drawn up from along-side the ship, which were found full of an innumerable quantity of small globular insects, about the size of a common pin's head, and quite transparent. Though no life was perceived in them, there could be no doubt of their being living animals, when in their own proper element; and Mr. Forster became now well satisfied that they were the cause of the sea's illumination (a). On the thirtieth, the Resolution and Adventure anchored in Table Bay; soon after which Captain Cook went on shore, and, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, and the two Mr. Forsters, waited on Baron Plettenberg, the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, who received the Gentlemen with great politeness, and promised them every assistance the place could afford. From him our Commander learned that two French ships from the Mauritius, about eight months before, had discovered land, in the latitude of 48° South, along which they sailed forty miles, till they came to a bay, into which they were upon the point of entering, when they were driven off and separated in a hard gale of wind. Previously to this misfortune, they had lost some of their boats and people, that had been sent to sound the bay. Captain Cook was also informed by Baron Plettenberg, that in the month of March, two other French ships from the Island of Mauritius, had touched at the Cape in their way to the South Pacific Ocean; where they were going to make discoveries, under the command of M. Marion. From the healthy condition of the crews both of the Resolution and Adventure, it was imagined by the Captain that his stay at the Cape would be very short. But the necessity of waiting till the requisite provisions could be prepared and collected, kept him more than three weeks at this place; which time was improved by him in ordering both the ships to be caulked and painted, and in taking care that, in every respect, their condition should be as good as when they left England. On the twenty-second of November, our Commander sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, and proceeded on his voyage, in search of a southern continent. Having gotten clear of the land, he directed his course for Cape Circumcision; and judging that cold weather would soon approach, he ordered slops to be served to such of the people as were in want of them, and gave to each man the farnought jacket and trowsers allowed by the Admiralty. On the twenty-ninth, the wind, which was West-north-west, increased to a storm, that continued, with some few intervals of moderate weather, till the sixth of December (b). By this gale, which was attended with hail and rain, and which blew at times with such violence that the ships could carry no sails, our Voyagers were driven far to the eastward of their intended course, and no hopes were left to the Captain of reaching Cape Circumcision. A still greater misfortune was the loss of the principal part of the live stock on board, consisting of sheep, hogs, and geese. At the same time, the sudden transition from warm, mild weather, to weather which was extremely cold and wet, was so severely felt by our people, that it was necessary to make some addition to their allowance of spirits, by giving each of them a dram on particular occasions. Our Navigators, on the tenth of December, began to meet with islands of ice (c). One of these islands was so much concealed from them by the haziness of the weather, accompanied with snow and fleet, that they were steering directly towards it, and did not see it till it was at a less distance than that of a mile. Captain Cook judged it to be about fifty feet high, and half a mile in circuit. It was flat at the top, and its sides rose in a perpendicular direction, against which the sea broke to a great height. The weather continuing to be hazy, the Captain, on account of the ice islands, was obliged to proceed with the utmost caution. Six of them were passed on the twelfth, some of which were nearly two miles in circuit, and sixty feet high: nevertheless, such were the force and height of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. Hence was exhibited a view that for a few moments was pleasing to the eye; but the pleasure was soon swallowed up in the horror which seized upon the mind, from the prospect of danger. For if a ship should be so unfortunate as to get on the weather side of one of these islands, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment. The vessels, on the fourteenth, were stopped by an immense field of low ice, to which no end could be seen, either to the East, West, or South. In different parts of this field, were islands or hills of ice, like those which our Voyagers had found floating in the sea, and twenty of which had presented themselves to view the day before. Some of the people on board imagined that they saw land over the ice, and Captain Cook himself at first entertained the same sentiment. But upon more narrowly examining these ice hills, and the various appearances they made when seen through the haze, he was induced to change his opinion. On the eighteenth, though in the morning our Navigators had been quite imbayed, they were, notwithstanding, at length enabled to get clear of the field

(a) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 5—15.
Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 54—57.

(b) The ships were now in the latitude of 48° 41' South, and longitude 28° 24' East.

(c) They were then in the latitude of 50° 40' South, and longitude 2° 0' East of the Cape of Good Hope.

field of ice. They were, however, at the same time, carried in among the ice islands, which perpetually succeeded one another; which were almost equally dangerous; and the avoiding of which was a matter of the greatest difficulty. But perilous as it is to sail in a thick fog, among these floating rocks, as our Commander properly called them; this is preferable to the being entangled with immense fields of ice under the same circumstances. In this latter case the great danger to be apprehended, is the getting fast in the ice; a situation which would be alarming in the highest degree (*d*). It had been a generally received opinion, that such ice as hath now been described, is formed in bays and rivers. Agreeably to this supposition, our Voyagers were led to believe that land was not far distant, and that it lay to the southward behind the ice. As, therefore, they had sailed above thirty leagues along the edge of the ice, without finding a passage to the South, Captain Cook determined to run thirty or forty leagues to the East, and afterwards to endeavour to get to the southward. If in this attempt he met with no land or other impediment, his design was to stretch behind the ice, and thus to bring the matter to a decision. The weather, at this time, affected the senses with a feeling of cold much greater than that which was pointed out by the thermometer (*e*), so that the whole crew complained. In order the better to enable them to sustain the severity of the cold, the Captain directed the sleeves of their jackets to be lengthened with baize; and had a cap made for each man of the same stuff, strengthened with canvass. These precautions greatly contributed to their comfort and advantage. It is worthy of observation, that although the weather was as sharp, on the twenty-fifth of December, as might have been expected, in the same month of the year, in any part of England, this was the middle of summer with our Navigators. Some of the people now appearing to have symptoms of the scurvy, fresh wort was given them every day, prepared, under the direction of the Surgeons, from the malt which had been provided for the purpose. By the twenty-ninth, it became sufficiently ascertained, from the course our Commander had pursued, that the field of ice, along which the ships had sailed, did not join to any land, as had been conjectured (*f*). At this time, Captain Cook came to a resolution, provided he met with no impediment, to run as far West as the meridian of Cape Circumcision. While he was prosecuting this design, a gale arose, on the thirty-first, which brought with it such a sea as rendered it very dangerous for the vessels to remain among the ice; and the danger was increased by discovering an immense field to the North, which extended farther than the eye could reach. As our Voyagers were not above two or three miles from this field, and were surrounded by loose ice, there was no time to deliberate. They hauled to the South; and though they happily got clear, it was not till the ships had received several hard knocks from the loose pieces, which were of the largest kind. On Friday the first of January, 1773, the gale abated; and, on the next day in the afternoon, our people had the felicity of enjoying the sight of the moon, the face of which had been seen by them but once since they had departed from the Cape of Good Hope. Hence a judgment may be formed of the sort of weather they had been exposed to, from the time of their leaving that place. The present opportunity was eagerly seized, for making several observations of the sun and moon (*g*). Captain Cook was now nearly in the same longitude which is assigned to Cape Circumcision, and about ninety five leagues to the South of the latitude in which it is said to lie. At the same time, the weather was so clear, that land might have been seen at the distance of fourteen or fifteen leagues. He concluded it, therefore, to be very probable, that what Bouvet took for land was nothing but mountains of ice, surrounded by loose or field ice. Our present Navigators had naturally been led into a similar mistake. The conjecture, that such ice as had lately been seen was joined to land, was a very plausible one, though not founded on fact. Upon the whole, there was good reason to believe, that no land was to be met with, under this meridian, between the latitude of fifty-five and fifty-nine, where some had been supposed to exist. Amidst the obstructions Captain Cook was exposed to, from the ice islands which perpetually succeeded each other, he derived one advantage from them, and that was, a supply of fresh water. Though the melting and flowing away the ice takes up some time, and is, indeed, rather tedious, this method of watering is otherwise the most expeditious our Commander had ever known. The water produced was perfectly sweet and well tasted. Upon the ice islands penguins, albatrosses, and other birds were frequently seen. It had hitherto been the received opinion, that such birds never go far from land, and that the sight of them is a sure indication of its vicinity. That this opinion is not well founded, at least where ice islands exist, was now evinced by multiplied experience. By Sunday the seventeenth of January, Captain Cook reached the latitude of $67^{\circ} 15'$ South, when he could advance no farther. At this time the ice was entirely closed to the South, in the whole extent from East to West-south-west, without the least appearance of any opening. The Captain, therefore, thought it no longer prudent to persevere in sailing southward; especially as the summer was already half spent, and there was little reason to hope that it would be found practicable to get round the ice. Having taken this resolution, he determined to proceed directly in search of the land which had lately been discovered by the French; and as, in pursuing his purpose, the weather was clear at intervals, he spread the ships abreast four miles from each other,

(*d*) Cook, *ubi*
supra, p. 15—
27. Our peo-
ple were now in
latitude $55^{\circ} 8'$,
and in longitude
 $24^{\circ} 3'$.

(*e*) It was from
 30° to 34° .

(*f*) Our people
were now in the
latitude of 59°
 $12'$, and in lon-
gitude $19^{\circ} 1'$
East; which was
three more to
the West than
when they first
fell in with the
field ice.

(*g*) The longi-
tude deduced
from these ob-
servations was
 $9^{\circ} 34' 30''$ East.
The latitude was
 $58^{\circ} 53' 30''$
South.

other, in order the better to investigate any thing that might lie in their way. On the first of February, our Voyagers were in the latitude of $48^{\circ} 30'$ South, and in longitude $58^{\circ} 7'$ East, nearly in the meridian of the Island of St. Mauritius. This was the situation in which the land said to have been discovered by the French was to be expected; but as no signs of it had appeared, our Commander bore away to the East. Captain Furneaux, on the same day, informed Captain Cook that he had just seen a large float of sea or rock weed, and about it several of the birds called divers. These were certain signs of the vicinity of land, though whether it lay to the East or West could not possibly be known. Our Commander, therefore, formed the design of proceeding in his present latitude four or five degrees of longitude to the West of the meridian he was now in, and then to pursue his researches eastward. The West and North-west winds, which had continued for some days, prevented him from carrying this purpose into execution. However, he was convinced, from the perpetual high sea he had lately met with, that there could be no great extent of land to the West. While Captain Cook, on the next day, was steering eastward (b), Captain Furneaux told him that he thought the land was to the North-west of them; as he had, at one time, observed the sea to be smooth when the wind blew in that direction. This observation was by no means conformable to the remarks which had been made by our Commander himself. Nevertheless, such was his readiness to attend to every suggestion, that he resolved to clear up the point, if the wind would admit of his getting to the West in any reasonable time. The wind, by veering to the North, did admit of his pursuing the search; and the result of it was, his conviction that if any land was near, it could only be an Island of no considerable extent. Captain Cook and his philosophical friends, while they were traversing this part of the southern ocean, paid particular attention to the variation of the compass, which they found to be from $27^{\circ} 50'$, to $30^{\circ} 26'$ West. Probably the mean of the two extremes, viz. $29^{\circ} 4'$, was the nearest the truth, as it coincided with the variation observed on board the Adventure. One unaccountable circumstance is worthy of notice, though it did not now occur for the first time. It is, that when the sun was on the starboard of the ship, the variation was the least; and when on the larboard side, the greatest. On the eighth, our Commander, in consequence of no signals having been answered by the Adventure, had reason to apprehend that a separation had taken place. After waiting two days, during which guns were kept discharging, and false fires were burnt in the night, the fact was confirmed; so that the Resolution was obliged to proceed alone in her voyage. As she pursued her course, penguins and other birds, from time to time, appeared in great numbers; the meeting with which gave our Navigators some hopes of finding land, and occasioned various speculations with regard to its situation. Experience, however, convinced them that no stress was to be laid on such hopes. They were so often deceived, that they could no longer look upon any of the oceanic birds, which frequent high latitudes, as sure signs of the vicinity of land. In the morning of the seventeenth, between midnight and three o'clock, lights were seen in the heavens, similar to those which are known in the northern hemisphere, by the name of the Aurora Borealis. Captain Cook had never heard that an Aurora Australis had been seen before. The officer of the watch observed that it sometimes broke out in spiral rays, and in a circular form; at which time its light was very strong, and its appearance beautiful. It was not perceived to have any particular direction. On the contrary, at various times, it was conspicuous in different parts of the heavens, and diffused its light throughout the whole atmosphere. On the twentieth, our Navigators imagined that they saw land to the South-west. Their conviction of its real existence was so strong, that they had no doubt of the matter; and accordingly they endeavoured to work up to it, in doing which the weather was favourable to their purpose. However, what had been taken for land proved only to be clouds, that in the evening entirely disappeared, and left a clear horizon, in which nothing could be discerned but ice islands. At night the Aurora Australis was again seen, and the appearance it assumed was very brilliant and luminous. It first discovered itself in the east, and in a short time spread over the whole heavens. In the night of the twenty-third, when the ship was in latitude $61^{\circ} 52'$ South, and longitude $95^{\circ} 2'$ East, the weather being exceedingly stormy, thick, and hazy, with sleet and snow, our Voyagers were on every side surrounded with danger. In such a situation, it was natural for them to wish for day-light: but day-light, when it came, served only to increase their apprehensions, by exhibiting those huge mountains of ice to their view, which the darkness had prevented them from seeing. These unfavourable circumstances, at so advanced a season of the year, discouraged Captain Cook from putting in execution a resolution he had formed of once more crossing the antarctic circle. Accordingly, early in the morning of the twenty-fourth, he stood to the North, with a very hard gale, and a very high sea, which made great destruction among the ice islands. But so far was this incident from being of any advantage to our Navigators, that it greatly increased the number of pieces they had to avoid. The large pieces which broke from the ice islands, were found to be much more dangerous than the islands themselves. While the latter rose so high out of the water, that they could generally be seen, unless the weather was very thick and hazy, before our people nearly approached them, the others could not be discerned, in the night,

(b) He was now
in the latitude
of $49^{\circ} 33'$
South.

till they were under the ship's bows. These dangers, however, were now become so familiar to the Captain and his company, that the apprehensions they caused were never of long duration; and a compensation was, in some degree, made for them, by the seasonable supplies of fresh water which the ice islands afforded, and by their very romantic appearance. The foaming and dashing of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which were formed in many of them, greatly heightened the scene; and the whole exhibited a view that at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and could only be described by the hand of an able painter. In sailing from the twenty-fifth to the twenty-eighth, the wind was accompanied with a large hollow sea, which rendered Captain Cook certain that no land, of any considerable extent, could lie within a hundred or a hundred and fifty leagues from East to South-west. Though this was still the summer season in that part of the world, and the weather was becoming somewhat warmer than it had been before, yet such were the effects of the cold, that a sow having farrowed nine pigs in the morning, all of them, notwithstanding the utmost care to prevent it, were killed before four o'clock in the afternoon. From the same cause, the Captain himself and several of his people had their fingers and toes chilblained. For some days afterward, the cold considerably abated; but still it could not be said that there was summer weather, according to our Commander's ideas of summer in the northern hemisphere as far as sixty degrees of latitude, which was nearly as far as he had then been. As he proceeded on his voyage, from the twenty-eighth of February to the eleventh of March, he had ample reason to conclude, from the swell of the sea and other circumstances, that there could be no land to the South, but what must lie at a great distance. The weather having been clear on the thirteenth and fourteenth, Mr. Wales had an opportunity of getting some observations of the sun and moon; the results of which, reduced to noon, when the latitude was $58^{\circ} 22'$ South, gave $136^{\circ} 22'$ East longitude. Mr. Kendal's and Mr. Arnold's watches gave each of them $134^{\circ} 42'$; and this was the first and only time in which they had pointed out the same longitude since the ships had departed from England. The greatest difference, however, between them, since our Voyagers had left the Cape, had not much exceeded two degrees. From the moderate, and what might almost be called pleasant weather, which had occurred for two or three days, Captain Cook began to wish that he had been a few degrees of latitude farther South; and he was even tempted to incline his course that way. But he soon met with weather which convinced him that he had proceeded full far enough; and that the time was approaching when these seas could not be navigated without enduring intense cold. As he advanced in his course, he became perfectly assured, from repeated proofs, that he had left no land behind him in the direction of West-south-west; and that no land lay to the South on this side sixty degrees of latitude. He came, therefore, to a resolution, on the seventeenth (i), to quit the high southern latitudes, and to proceed to New Zealand, with a view of looking for the Adventure, and of refreshing his people. He had, also, some thoughts, and even a desire of visiting the East coast of Van Diemen's Land, in order to satisfy himself whether it joined the coast of New South Wales. The wind, however, not permitting him to execute this part of his design, he shaped his course for New Zealand, in sight of which he arrived on the twenty-fifth, and where he came to anchor on the day following, in Dusky Bay. He had now been a hundred and seventeen days at sea, during which time he had sailed three thousand six hundred and sixty leagues, without once coming within sight of land.

(i) The Resolution was now in latitude $59^{\circ} 7'$ South, and longitude $146^{\circ} 53'$ East.

(k) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 28—68.

After so long a voyage, in a high southern latitude, it might reasonably have been expected that many of Captain Cook's people would be ill of the scurvy. This, however, was not the case. So salutary were the effects of the sweet wort, and several articles of provision, and especially of the frequent airing and sweetening of the ship, that there was only one man on board who could be said to be much afflicted with the disease; and even in that man, it was chiefly occasioned by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other disorders (k). As our commander did not like the place in which he had anchored, he sent Lieutenant Pickersgill over to the South-east side of the bay, in search of a better; and the Lieutenant succeeded in finding a harbour that was in every respect desirable. In the mean while, the fishing-boat was very successful; returning with fish sufficient for the whole crew's supper; and in the morning of the next day, as many were caught as served for dinner. Hence were derived certain hopes of being plentifully supplied with this article. Nor did the shores and woods appear less destitute of wild-fowl; so that our people had the prospect of enjoying, with ease, what, in their situation, might be called the luxuries of life. These agreeable circumstances determined Captain Cook to stay some time in the bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before on any of the southern parts of New Zealand. On the twenty-seventh, the ship entered PICKERSGILL HARBOUR; for so it was called, from the name of the Gentleman by whom it had first been discovered. Here wood, for fuel and other purposes, was immediately at hand; and a fine stream of fresh-water was not above a hundred yards from the stern of the vessel. Our voyagers, being thus advantageously situated, began vigorously to prepare for their necessary occupations, by clearing places in the woods, in order to set up the Astronomer's observatory, and the forge for the iron work, and to erect tents for the sail-

fail-makers and coopers. They applied themselves, also, to the brewing of beer from the branches or leaves of a tree which greatly resembled the American black spruce. Captain Cook was persuaded, from the knowledge which he had of this tree, and from the similarity it bore to the spruce, that, with the addition of inspissated juice of wort and melasses, it would make a very wholesome liquor, and supply the want of vegetables, of which the country was destitute. It appeared, by the event, that he was not mistaken in his judgment. Several of the natives were seen on the twenty-eighth, who took little notice of the English, and were very shy of access; and the Captain did not choose to force an intercourse with them, as he had been instructed, by former experience, that the best method of obtaining it was to leave the time and place to themselves. While our Commander continued in his present situation, he took every opportunity of examining the bay. As he was prosecuting his survey of it, on the sixth of April, his attention was directed to the North side, where he discovered a fine capacious cove, in the bottom of which is a fresh-water river. On the West side are several beautiful cascades; and the shores are so steep, that water might directly be conveyed from them into the ship. Fourteen ducks, besides other birds, having been shot in this place, he gave it the name of **Duck Cove**. When he was returning in the evening, he met with three of the natives, one man and two women, whose fears he soon dissipated, and whom he engaged in a conversation, that was little understood on either side. The youngest of the women had a volubility of tongue that could not be exceeded; and she entertained Captain Cook, and the Gentlemen who accompanied him, with a dance. By degrees, our Commander obtained the good-will and confidence of the Indians. His presents, however, were at first received with much indifference, hatchets and spike-nails excepted. At a visit, on the twelfth, from a family of the natives, the Captain, perceiving that they approached the ship with great caution, met them in a boat, which he quitted when he came near them, and went into their canoe. After all, he could not prevail upon them to go on board the *Resolution*; but at length they put on shore in a little creek, and seating themselves abreast of the English vessel, entered into familiar conversation with several of the officers and seamen; in which they paid a much greater regard to some, whom they probably mistook for females, than to others. So well, indeed, were they now reconciled to our Voyagers, that they took up their quarters nearly within the distance of a hundred yards from the ship's watering-place. Captain Cook, in his interview with them, had caused the bag-pipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two former they heard with apparent insensibility; but the latter excited in them a certain degree of attention. On the eighteenth, a Chief, with whom some connections had already been formed, was induced, together with his daughter, to come on board the *Resolution*. Previously to his doing it, he presented the Captain with a piece of cloth and a green talk hatchet. He gave also a piece of cloth to Mr. Forster; and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. Though this custom of making presents, before any are received, is common with the natives of the South Sea Isles, our Commander had never till now seen it practised in New Zealand. Another thing performed by the Chief before he went on board, was the taking of a small green branch in his hand, with which he struck the ship's side several times, repeating a speech or prayer. This manner, as it were, of making peace, is likewise prevalent among all the nations of the South Seas. When the Chief was carried into the cabin, he viewed every part of it with some degree of surprise; but it was not possible to fix his attention to any one object for a single moment. The works of art appeared to him in the same light as those of nature, and were equally distant from his powers of comprehension. He and his daughter seemed to be the most struck with the number of the decks, and other parts of the ship. As Captain Cook proceeded in examining Dusky Bay, he occasionally met with some few more of the natives, with regard to whom he used every mode of conciliation. On the twentieth, the Chief and his family, who had been more intimate with our Navigators than any of the rest of the Indians, went away, and never returned again. This was the more extraordinary, as in all his visits he had been gratified with presents. From different persons, he had gotten nine or ten hatchets, and three or four times that number of large spike-nails, besides a variety of other articles. So far as these things might be deemed riches in New Zealand, he was undoubtedly become by far the most wealthy man in the whole country. One employment of our Voyagers, while in Dusky Bay, consisted in seal-hunting, an animal which was found serviceable for three purposes. The skins were made use of for rigging, the fat afforded oil for the lamps, and the flesh was eaten. On the twenty-fourth, the Captain, having five geese remaining of those he had brought with him from the Cape of Good Hope, went and left them at a place to which he gave the name of **Goose Cove**. This place he fixed upon for two reasons; first, because there were no inhabitants to disturb them; and secondly, because here was the greatest supply of proper food; so that he had no doubt of their breeding, and hoped that in time they might spread over the whole country, to its eminent advantage. Some days afterward, when every thing belonging to the ship had been removed from the shore, he set fire to the topwood, in order to dry a piece of ground, which he dug up, and sowed with several sorts of garden seeds. The soil, indeed, was not such as to promise much success to the planter; but it was the best that

that could be discovered. The twenty-fifth of April was the eighth fair day our people had successively enjoyed; and there was reason to believe that such a circumstance was very uncommon in the place where they now lay, and at that season of the year. This favourable weather afforded them the opportunity of more speedily completing their wood and water, and of putting the ship into a condition for sea. On the evening of the twenty-fifth, it began to rain; and the weather was afterward extremely variable, being, at times, in a high degree, wet, cold, and stormy. Nothing, however, prevented Captain Cook from prosecuting, with his usual sagacity and diligence, his search into every part of Dusky Bay; and, as there are few places in New Zealand where necessary refreshments may be so plentifully obtained as in this bay, he hath taken care to give such a description of it, and of the adjacent country, as may be of service to succeeding navigators. Although this country lies far remote from what is now the trading part of the world, yet, as he justly observes, we can by no means tell what use future ages may derive from the discoveries made in the present. The various anchoring places are delineated on our Commander's chart, and the most convenient of them he has particularly described. Not only about Dusky Bay, but through all the southern part of the western coast of Tavai-poenam-moo, the country is exceedingly mountainous. A prospect more rude and craggy is rarely to be met with; for inland there are only to be seen the summits of mountains of a tremendous height, and consisting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, excepting where they are covered with snow. But the land which borders on the sea coast is thickly clothed with wood, almost down to the water's edge; and this is the case with regard to all the adjoining Islands. The trees are of various kinds, and are fit for almost every possible use. Excepting in the river Thames, Captain Cook had not found finer timber in all New Zealand; the most considerable species of which is the spruce-tree; for that name he had given it from the similarity of its foliage to the American spruce, though the wood is more ponderous, and bears a greater resemblance to the pitch pine. Many of these trees are so large, that they would be able to furnish main-masts for fifty gun ships. Amidst the variety of aromatic trees and shrubs which this part of New Zealand produced, there were none which bore fruit fit to be eaten. But for a farther account of the soils, vegetable productions, and animals of the coast, I must refer to the Captain's own narrative; only taking notice, that the country was not found so destitute of quadrupeds as was formerly imagined. As Dusky Bay presented many advantages to our Navigators, so it was attended with some disagreeable circumstances. There were great numbers of small black sand flies, which were troublesome to a degree that our Commander had never experienced before. Another evil arose from the continual quantity of rain that occurred in the bay. This might, indeed, in part proceed from the season of the year: but it is probable that the country must at all times be subject to much wet weather, in consequence of the vast height, and vicinity of the mountains. It was remarkable that the rain, though our people were perpetually exposed to it, was not productive of any evil consequences. On the contrary, such of the men as were sick and complaining when they entered the bay, recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous. So happy a circumstance could only be attributed to the healthiness of the place, and the fresh provisions it afforded; among which, the beer was a very material article. The inhabitants of Dusky Bay are of the same race with the other natives of New Zealand, speak the same language, and adhere nearly to the same customs. Their mode of life appears to be a wandering one; and though they are few in number, no traces were remarked of their families being connected together in any close bonds of union or friendship. While the Resolution lay in the bay, Mr. Wales made a variety of scientific observations, relative to latitude and longitude^(l), the variation of the compass, and the diversities of the tides; a short account of which Captain Cook has given in his voyage, for the instruction and benefit of the public^(m).

(l) The latitude of Mr. Wales's observatory at Pickersgill harbour was $45^{\circ} 47' 26\frac{1}{2}''$ South; and its longitude $166^{\circ} 18'$ East.
(m) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 69—102.

When Captain Cook left Dusky Bay, he directed his course for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he expected to find the Adventure. This was on the eleventh of May, and nothing remarkable occurred till the seventeenth, when the wind at once flattened to a calm, the sky became suddenly obscured by dark dense clouds, and there was every prognostication of a tempest. Soon after, six water-spouts were seen, four of which rose and spent themselves between the ship and the land; the fifth was at a considerable distance on the other side of the vessel; and the sixth, the progressive motion of which was not in a straight, but in a crooked line, passed within fifty yards of the stern of the Resolution, without producing any evil effect. As the Captain had been informed that the firing of a gun would dissipate water-spouts, he was sorry that he had not tried the experiment. But, though he was near enough, and had a gun ready for the purpose, his mind was so deeply engaged in viewing these extraordinary meteors, that he forgot to give the necessary directions. On the next day, the Resolution came within sight of Queen Charlotte's Sound, where Captain Cook had the satisfaction of discovering the Adventure; and both ships felt uncommon joy at thus meeting again, after an absence of fourteen weeks. As the events which happened to Captain Furneaux, during the separation of the two vessels, do not fall within the immediate design of the present narrative, it may be sufficient to observe, that he

he had an opportunity of examining, with somewhat more accuracy than had hitherto been done, Van Diemen's land; and his opinion was, that there are no straights between this land and New Holland, but a very deep bay. He met, likewise, with farther proofs that the natives of New Zealand are eaters of human flesh (*n*). The morning after Captain Cook's arrival in Queen Charlotte's Sound, he went himself, at day-break, to look for scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables; and he had the good fortune to return with a boat-load, in a very short space of time. Having found that a sufficient quantity of these articles might be obtained for the crews of both the ships, he gave orders that they should be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every day for breakfast; and with pease and broth for dinner. Experience had taught him that the vegetables now mentioned, when thus dressed, are extremely beneficial to seamen, in removing the various scorbutic complaints to which they are subject. Our Commander had entertained a desire of visiting Van Diemen's Land, in order to inform himself whether it made a part of New Holland. But as this point had been, in a great measure, cleared up by Captain Furneaux, he came to a resolution to continue his researches to the East, between the latitudes of 41° and 46° ; and he directed accordingly, that the ships should be gotten ready for putting to sea as soon as possible. On the twentieth, he sent on shore the only ewe and ram that remained of those which, with the intention of leaving them in this country, he had brought from the Cape of Good Hope. Soon after he visited several gardens, that by order of Captain Furneaux had been made and planted with various articles; all of which were in such a flourishing state that, if duly attended to, they promised to be of great utility to the natives. The next day, Captain Cook himself set some men to work to form a garden on Long Island, which he stocked with different seeds, and particularly with the roots of turnips, carrots, parsnips, and potatoes. These were the vegetables that would be of the most real use to the Indians, and of these it was easy to give them an idea, by comparing them with such roots as they themselves knew. On the twenty-second, Captain Cook received the unpleasant intelligence that the ewe and ram, which with so much care and trouble he had brought to this place, were both of them found dead. It was supposed that they had eaten some poisonous plant; and by this accident all the Captain's hopes of stocking New Zealand with a breed of sheep were instantly blasted. The intercourse which our great Navigator had with the inhabitants of the country, during this his second visit to Queen Charlotte's Sound, was of a friendly nature. Two or three families took up their abode near the ships, and employed themselves daily in fishing, and in supplying the English with the fruits of their labour. No small advantage hence accrued to our people, who were by no means such expert fishers as the natives, nor were any of our methods of fishing equal to theirs. Thus in almost every state of society particular arts of life are carried to perfection; and there is something which the most polished nations may learn from the most barbarous. On the second of June, when the *Resolution* and *Adventure* were almost ready to put to sea, Captain Cook sent on shore, on the East side of the sound, two goats, a male and a female; and Captain Furneaux left, near Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding sows. The Gentlemen had little doubt but that the country would, in time, be stocked with these animals, provided they were not destroyed by the Indians before they became wild. Afterwards there would be no danger, and as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it was hoped that it might be some time before they would be discovered. It is remarkable that, during Captain Cook's second visit to Charlotte Sound, he was not able to recollect the face of any one person whom he had seen there three years before. Nor did it once appear, that even a single Indian had the least knowledge of our Commander, or of any of our people who had been with him in his last voyage. Hence he thought it highly probable, that the greatest part of the natives who inhabited this sound in the beginning of the year 1770, had either since been driven out of it, or had removed, of their own accord, to some other situation. Not one third of the inhabitants were there now, that had been seen at that time. Their strong hold on the Point of Motuara was deserted, and in every part of the sound many forsaken habitations were discovered. In the Captain's opinion, there was not any reason to believe that the place had ever been very populous. From comparing the two voyages together, it may be collected, that the Indians of *Eahel-nomauwe* are in somewhat of a more improved state of society than those of *Tavai-poehamido*. Part of the fourth of June was employed by Captain Cook in visiting a Chief and a whole tribe of the natives, consisting of between ninety and a hundred persons, including men, women, and children. After the Captain had distributed some presents among these people, and shewn to the Chief the gardens which had been made, he returned on board, and spent the remainder of the day in the celebration of his Royal Master's nativity. Captain Furneaux and all his officers were invited upon the occasion; and the seamen were enabled, by a double allowance, to partake of the general joy. As some might think it an extraordinary step in our Commander to proceed in discoveries so far South as forty-six degrees of latitude, in the very depth of winter, he has recorded his motives for this part of his conduct. Winter, he acknowledges, is by no means favourable for discoveries. Nevertheless, it appeared to him to be necessary that something should be done in that season, in order to lessen the work in

which he was engaged; and lest he should not be able to finish the discovery of the southern part of the South Pacific Ocean in the ensuing summer. Besides, if he should discover any land in his route to the East, he would be ready to begin to explore it, as soon as ever the season should be favourable. Independently of all these considerations, he had little to fear; having two good ships well provided, and both the crews being healthy. Where then could he better employ his time? If he did nothing more, he was at least in hopes of being enabled to point out to posterity, that these seas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to pursue discoveries, even in the depth of winter. Such was the ardour of our Navigator for prosecuting the ends of his voyage, in circumstances which would have induced most men to act a more cautious part! During Captain Cook's stay in the Sound, he had observed that the second visit to this country had not mended the morals of the natives of either sex. He had always looked upon the females of New Zealand as more chaste than the generality of Indian women. Whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the people in the Endeavour, such intercourses usually took place in a private manner, and did not appear to be encouraged by the men. But now the Captain was told that the male Indians were the chief promoters of a shameful traffic, and that, for a spikenail, or any other thing they valued, they would oblige the women to prostitute themselves, whether it were agreeable or contrary to their inclinations. At the same time, no regard was paid to the privacy which decency required. The account of this fact must be read with concern by every well wisher to the good order and happiness of society, even without advertent to considerations of a higher nature (v).

On the seventh of June, Captain Cook put to sea from Queen Charlotte's Sound, with the Adventure in company. For the nautical part of the route from New Zealand to Otaheite, which continued till the fifteenth of August, I shall refer my readers to the Captain's voyage; and shall only select such circumstances as are more immediately suitable to the design of the present narrative. It was found, on the twenty-ninth of July, that the crew of the Adventure were in a sickly state. Her Cook was dead, and about twenty of her best men were rendered incapable of duty by the scurvy and flux. At this time, no more than three men were on the sick list on board the Resolution; and only one of these was attacked with the scurvy. Some others, however, began to discover the symptoms of it; and accordingly, recourse was had to wort, marmalade of carrots, and the rob of lemons and oranges, with the usual success. Captain Cook could not account for the prevalence of the scurvy being so much greater in the Adventure than in the Resolution, unless it was owing to the crew of the former's being more scorbutic when they arrived in New Zealand than the crew of the latter, and to their eating few or no vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound. This arose partly from their want of knowing the right sorts, and partly from the dislike which seamen have to the introduction of a new diet. Their aversion to any unusual change of food is so great, that it can only be overcome by the steady and persevering example and authority of a commander. Many of Captain Cook's people, officers as well as common sailors, disliked the boiling of celery, scurvy-grass, and other greens with the peas and wheat; and by some the provision, thus prepared, was refused to be eaten. But, as this had no effect on the Captain's conduct, their prejudice gradually subsided: they began to like their diet as much as the rest of their companions; and, at length, there was hardly a man in the ship who did not attribute the freedom of the crew from the scurvy, to the beer and vegetables which had been made use of at New Zealand. Henceforward, whenever the seamen came to a place where vegetables could be obtained, our Commander seldom found it necessary to order them to be gathered; and, if they were scarce, happy was the person who could lay hold on them first. On the first of August, when the ships were in the latitude of $25^{\circ} 1'$, and the longitude of $134^{\circ} 6'$ West, they were nearly in the same situation with that which is assigned by Captain Carteret for Pitcairn's Island, discovered by him in 1767. For this Island, therefore, our Voyagers diligently looked; but saw nothing. According to the longitude in which he had placed it, Captain Cook must have passed it fifteen leagues to the West. But as this was uncertain, he did not think it prudent to lose any time in searching for it, as the sickly state of the Adventure's people required as speedy an arrival as possible at a place of refreshment. A sight of it, however, would have been of use in verifying, or correcting, not only the longitude of Pitcairn's Island, but of the others discovered by Captain Carteret in that neighbourhood. It is a diminution of the value of that Gentleman's voyage, that his longitude was not confirmed by astronomical observations, and that hence it was liable to errors, the correction of which was out of his power. As Captain Cook had now gotten to the northward of Captain Carteret's tracks, he no longer entertained any hopes of discovering a continent. Islands were all that he could expect to find, until he returned again to the South. In this and his former voyage, he had crossed the ocean in the latitude of 40° and upwards, without meeting any thing which could, in the least, induce him to believe that he should attain the great object of his pursuit. Every circumstance concurred to convince him that, between the meridian of America and New Zealand, there is no southern continent; and that there is no continent farther to the South, unless in a very high latitude. This, however, was a point too important to be

(v) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra* p. 121—130.

left to opinions and conjectures. It was to be determined by facts; and the ascertainment of it was appointed, by our Commander, for the employment of the ensuing summer. It was the sixth of August before the ships had the advantage of the trade wind (p). This they got at South-east, being at that time in the latitude of $19^{\circ} 36'$ South, and the longitude of $131^{\circ} 32'$ West. As Captain Cook had obtained the South-east trade wind, he directed his course to the West-north-west; not only with a view of keeping in with the strength of the wind, but also to get to the North of the Islands discovered in his former voyage, that he might have a chance of meeting with any other Islands which might lie in the way. It was in the track which had been pursued by M. de Bougainville that our Commander now proceeded. He was sorry that he could not spare time to sail to the North of this track; but at present, on account of the sickly state of the Adventure's crew, the arriving at a place where refreshments could be procured, was an object superior to that of discovery. To four of the Islands which were passed by Captain Cook, he gave the names of Resolution Island, Doubtful Island, Furneaux Island, and Adventure Island [T]. They are supposed to be the same that were seen by M. de Bougainville; and these with several others, which constitute a cluster of low and half drowned isles, that Gentleman distinguished by the appellation of the Dangerous Archipelago. The smoothness of the sea sufficiently convinced our Navigators that they were surrounded by them, and that it was highly necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, especially in the night (q). Early in the morning, on the fifteenth of August, the ships came within sight of Osnaburg Island, or Maitea, which had been discovered by Captain Wallis. Soon after, Captain Cook acquainted Captain Furneaux that it was his intention to put into Oaiti-piba Bay, near the South-east end of Otaheite, for the purpose of procuring what refreshments he could from that part of the Island, before he went down to Matavai. At six in the evening the Island was seen bearing West; and our people continued to advance towards it till midnight, when they brought to till four o'clock in the morning; after which they sailed in for the land with a fine breeze at East. At day-break, they found themselves within the distance of half a league from the reef; and, at the same time, the breeze began to fail them, and was at last succeeded by a calm. It now became necessary for the boats to be hoisted out, in order to tow off the ships; but all the efforts of our Voyagers, to keep them from being carried near the reef, were insufficient for the purpose. As the calm continued, the situation of the vessels became still more dangerous. Captain Cook, however, entertained hopes of getting round the western point of the reef, and into the bay. But, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when he came before an opening or break of the reef, through which he had flattered himself that he might get with the ships, he found, on sending to examine it, that there was not a sufficient depth of water. Nevertheless, this opening caused such an indraught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the Resolution; for as soon as the vessels got into the stream, they were carried towards the reef with great impetuosity. The moment the Captain perceived this, he ordered one of the warping machines, which was held in readiness, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it did not produce the least effect; and our Navigators had now in prospect the horrors of shipwreck. They were not more than two cables length from the breakers; and, though it was the only probable method which was left of saving the ships, they could find no bottom to anchor. An anchor, however, they did drop; but before it took hold, and brought them up, the Resolution was in less than three fathom water, and struck at every fall of the sea, which broke close under her stern in a dreadful surf, and threatened her crew every moment with destruction. Happily, the Adventure brought up without striking. Presently, the Resolution's people carried out two kedge-anchors, with hawsers to each; and these found ground a little without the bower. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower anchor, the ship was gotten afloat, where Captain Cook and his men lay for some time in the greatest anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawsers be cut in two by the rocks. At length, the tide ceased to act in the same direction; upon which the Captain ordered all the boats to try to tow off the vessel. Having found this to be practicable, the two kedges were hove up; and at that moment a light air came off from the land, by which the boats were so much assisted, that the Resolution soon got clear of all danger. Our Commander then ordered all the boats to assist the Adventure; but before they reached her, she was under sail with the land breeze, and in a little time joined her companion, leaving behind her three anchors, her coasting cable, and two hawsers, which were never recovered. Thus were our Voyagers once more safe at sea, after narrowly escaping being wrecked on the very Island at which, but a few days before, they had most ardently wished to arrive. It was a peculiarly happy circumstance, that the calm continued, after bringing the ships into so dangerous a state. For if the sea breeze, as is usually the case, had set in, the Resolution must inevitably have been lost, and probably the Adventure

(p) The not meeting with the South-east trade wind sooner is no new thing in this sea.

(q) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 131—132.

[T] And Adventure Island.] Resolution Island is $141^{\circ} 38'$; Furneaux Island, latitude $17^{\circ} 5'$, longitude in latitude $17^{\circ} 24'$ South, and longitude $141^{\circ} 39'$, $143^{\circ} 16'$; and Adventure Island, latitude $17^{\circ} 4'$ West; Doubtful Island, latitude $17^{\circ} 20'$, longitude $144^{\circ} 30'$ West.

likewise.

likewise. During the time in which the English were in this critical situation, a number of the natives were either on board or near the vessels in their canoes. Nevertheless, they seemed to be insensible of our people's danger, shewing not the least surprize, joy, or fear, when the ships were striking; and they went away a little before sunset, quite unconcerned. Though most of them knew Captain Cook again, and many enquired for Mr. Banks and others who had been with the Captain before, it was remarkable that not one of them asked for Tupia. On the seventeenth, the Resolution and Adventure anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay, immediately upon which they were crowded with the inhabitants of the country, who brought with them cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananoes, apples, yams, and other roots, which were exchanged for nails and beads. To some who called themselves Chiefs, our Commander made presents of shirts, axes, and several articles beside, in return for which they promised to bring him hogs and fowls; a promise which they did not perform, and which, as might be judged from their conduct, they had never had the least intention of performing. In the afternoon of the same day, Captain Cook landed in company with Captain Furneaux, for the purpose of viewing the watering-place, and of founding the disposition of the natives. The article of water, which was now much wanted on board, he found might conveniently be obtained, and the inhabitants behaved with great civility. Notwithstanding this civility, nothing was brought to market, the next day, but fruit and roots, though it was said that many hogs were seen about the houses in the neighbourhood. The cry was, that they belonged to Waeatoua the Earee de hi, or King; who had not yet appeared, nor, indeed, any other Chief of note. Among the Indians that came on board the Resolution, and no small number of whom did not scruple to call themselves *Earees*, there was one of this sort, who had been entertained in the cabin most of the day, and to all of whose friends Captain Cook had made presents, as well as liberally to himself. At length, however, he was caught taking things which did not belong to him, and handing them out of the quarter gallery. Various complaints of the like nature being, at the same time, made against the natives who were on deck, our Commander turned them all out of the ship. His cabin guest was very rapid in his retreat; and the Captain was so exasperated at his behaviour, that after the *Earee* had gotten to some distance from the Resolution, he fired two musquets over his head, by which he was so terrified, that he quitted his canoe, and took to the water. Captain Cook then sent a boat to take the canoe; but when the boat approached the shore, the people on land began to pelt her with stones. The Captain, therefore, being in some pain for her safety, as she was unarmed, went himself in another boat to protect her, and ordered a great gun, loaded with ball, to be fired along the coast, which made all the Indians retire from the shore, and he was suffered to bring away two canoes without the least shew of opposition. In a few hours peace was restored, and the canoes were returned to the first person who came for them. It was not till the evening of this day that any one enquired after Tupia, and then the enquiry was made by only two or three of the natives. When they learned the cause of his death, they were perfectly satisfied; nor did it appear to our Commander that they would have felt a moment's uneasiness, if Tupia's decease had proceeded from any other cause than sickness. They were as little concerned about Aotourou, the man who had gone away with M. de Bougainville. But they were continually asking for Mr. Banks, and for several others who had accompanied Captain Cook in his former voyage. Since that voyage, very considerable changes had happened in the country. Toutaha, the regent of the greater peninsula of Otahite, had been killed in a battle which was fought between the two kingdoms about five months before the Resolution's arrival; and Otoo was now the reigning Prince. Tubourai Tamaide, and several more of the principal friends to the English, had fallen in this battle, together with a large number of the common people. A peace subsisted, at present, between the two grand divisions of the Island. On the twentieth, one of the natives carried off a musquet belonging to the guard on shore. Captain Cook, who was himself a witness of the transaction, sent some of his people after him; but this would have been to very little purpose, if the thief had not been intercepted by several of his own countrymen, who pursued him voluntarily, knocked him down, and returned the musquet to the English. This act of justice prevented our Commander from being placed in a disagreeable situation. If the natives had not given their immediate assistance, it would scarcely have been in his power to have recovered the musquet, by any gentle means whatever; and if he had been obliged to have recourse to other methods, he was sure of losing more than ten times its value. The fraud of one who appeared as a Chief, is, perhaps, not unworthy of notice. This man, in a visit to Captain Cook, presented him with a quantity of fruit; among which were a number of cocoa-nuts that had already been exhausted of their liquor by our people, and afterwards thrown overboard. These the Chief had picked up, and tied so artfully in bundles, that at first the deception was not perceived. When he was informed of it, without betraying the least emotion, and affecting a total ignorance of the matter, he opened two or three of the nuts himself, signified that he was satisfied of the fact, and then went on shore and sent off a quantity of plantains and bananoes. The ingenuity and the impudence of fraud are not solely the productions of polished society. Captain Cook, on the twenty-third, had an interview

with Waheatoua, the result of which was, that our Navigators obtained this day as much pork as furnished a meal to the crews of both the vessels. In the Captain's last voyage, Waheatoua, who was then little more than a boy, was called Tearee; but having succeeded to his father's authority, he had assumed his father's name. The fruits which were procured at Oaiti-piha Bay contributed greatly to the recovery of the sick people belonging to the Adventure. Many of them, who had been so ill as to be incapable of moving without assistance, were, in the compass of a few days, so far recovered that they were able to walk about of themselves. When the Resolution entered the bay, she had but one scorbutic man on board. A Marine, who had long been sick, and who died, the second day after her arrival, of a complication of disorders, had not the least mixture of the scurvy.

On the twenty-fourth, the ships put to sea, and arrived the next evening in Matavai Bay. Before they could come to an anchor, the decks were crowded with the natives, many of whom Captain Cook knew, and by most of whom he was well remembered. Among a large multitude of people, who were collected together upon the shore, was Otoo the King of the Island. Our Commander paid him a visit on the following day, at Oparree, the place of his residence; and found him to be a fine, personable, well-made man, six feet high, and about thirty years of age. The qualities of his mind were not correspondent to his external appearance: for when Captain Cook endeavoured to obtain from him the promise of a visit on board, he acknowledged that he was afraid of the guns, and, indeed, manifested in all his actions that he was a prince of a timorous disposition. Upon the Captain's return from Oparree, he found the tents, and the Astronomer's observatories, set up, on the same spot from which the transit of Venus had been observed in 1769. The sick, being twenty in number from the Adventure, and one from the Resolution, all of whom were ill of the scurvy, he ordered to be landed; and he appointed a guard of Marines on shore, under the command of Lieutenant Edgcumbe. On the twenty-seventh, Otoo was prevailed upon, with some degree of reluctance, to pay our Commander a visit. He came attended with a numerous train, and brought with him fruits, a hog, two large fish, and a quantity of cloth; for which he and all his retinue were gratified with suitable presents. When Captain Cook conveyed his guests to land, he was met by a venerable Lady, the mother of the late Toutaha, who seized him by both hands, and burst into a flood of tears, saying *Toutaba Tiyo no Toutee matty Toutaba*; that is, "Toutaha, your friend, or the friend of Cook, is dead." He was so much affected with her behaviour, that it would have been impossible for him to have refrained from mingling his tears with her's, had not Otoo, who was displeased with the interview, taken him from her. It was with difficulty that the Captain could obtain permission to see her again, when he gave her an axe and some other articles. Captain Furneaux, at this time, presented the King with two fine goats, which, if no accident befel them, might be expected to multiply. Several days had passed in a friendly intercourse with the natives, and in procuring of provisions, when, in the evening of the thirtieth, the Gentlemen on board the Resolution were alarmed with the cry of murder, and with a great noise on shore, near the bottom of the bay, and at a distance from the English encampment. Upon this, Captain Cook, who suspected that some of his own men were concerned in the affair, immediately dispatched an armed boat, to know the cause of the disturbance, and to bring off such of his people as should be found in the place. He sent, also, to the Adventure, and to the post on shore, to learn who were missing; for none but those who were upon duty were absent from the Resolution. The boats speedily returned with three Marines and a Seaman. Some others, likewise, were taken, belonging to the Adventure; and all of them being put under confinement, our Commander, the next morning, ordered them to be punished according to their deserts. He did not find that any mischief had been done, and the men would confess nothing. Some liberties which they had taken with the women had probably given occasion to the disturbance. To whatever cause it was owing, the natives were so much alarmed, that they fled from their habitations in the dead of night, and the alarm was spread many miles along the coast. In the morning, when Captain Cook went to visit Otoo, by appointment, he found that he had removed, or rather fled, to a great distance from the usual place of his abode. After arriving where he was, it was some hours before the Captain could be admitted to the sight of him; and then he complained of the riot of the preceding evening. The sick being nearly recovered, the water completed, and the necessary repairs of the ships finished, Captain Cook determined to put to sea without delay. Accordingly, on the first of September, he ordered every thing to be removed from the shore, and the vessels to be unmoored, in which employment his people were engaged the greater part of the day. In the afternoon of the same day, Lieutenant Pickersgill returned from Attahourou, to which place he had been sent by the Captain, for the purpose of procuring some hogs that had been promised. In this expedition, the Lieutenant had seen the celebrated Oberea, who has been so much the object of poetical fancy. Her situation was very humble, compared with what it had formerly been. She was not only altered much for the worse in her person, but appeared to be poor, and of little or no consequence or authority in the Island. In the evening a favourable wind

(r) Cook's Voy-
age, *ubi supra*,
p. 144—149.

having sprung up, our Commander put to sea; on which occasion he was obliged to dismiss his Otaheite friends sooner than they wished to depart; but well satisfied with his kind and liberal treatment (r).

From Matavai Bay Captain Cook directed his course for the Island Huaheine, where he intended to touch. This Island he reached the next day, and, early in the morning of the third of September, made sail for the harbour of Owharre, in which he soon came to an anchor. The Adventure, not happening to turn into the harbour with equal facility, got ashore on the North side of the channel; but, by the timely assistance which Capt. Cook had previously provided, in case such an accident should occur, she was gotten off again, without receiving any damage. As soon as both the ships were in safety, our Commander, together with Captain Furneaux, landed upon the Island, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. A trade immediately commenced; so that our Navigators had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls, which, to people in their situation, was a very desirable circumstance. On the fourth, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the Isle. Another trading party was also sent on shore near the ships, which party Captain Cook attended himself, to see that the business was properly conducted at the first setting out, this being a point of no small importance. Every thing being settled to his mind, he went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay a visit to his old friend Oree, the Chief of the Island. This visit was preceded by many preparatory ceremonies. Among other things, the Chief sent to our Commander the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which he had left with him in July 1769. It was in the bag that Captain Cook had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, which had been put in at the same time; whence it was evident what particular care had been taken of the whole. After the previous ceremonies had been discharged, the Captain wanted to go to the King, but he was informed that the King would come to him. Accordingly, Oree went up to our Commander, and fell on his neck, and embraced him; nor was it a ceremonious embrace, for the tears which trickled down the venerable old man's cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The presents which Captain Cook made to the Chief on this occasion, consisted of the most valuable articles he had; for he regarded him as a father. Oree, in return, gave the Captain a hog, and a quantity of cloth, promising that all the wants of the English should be supplied; and it was a promise to which he faithfully adhered. Indeed, he carried his kindness to Captain Cook so far, as not to fail sending him every day, for his table, a plentiful supply of the very best of ready-dressed fruit and roots. Hitherto all things had gone on in the most agreeable manner; but on Monday the sixth, several circumstances occurred, which rendered it an unpleasant and troublesome day. When our Commander went to the trading-place he was informed that one of the inhabitants had behaved with remarkable insolence. The man was completely equipped in the war habit, had a club in each hand, and seemed bent upon mischief. Captain Cook took, therefore, the clubs from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty, compelled him to retire. About the same time, Mr. Sparrman, who had imprudently gone out alone to botanize, was assaulted by two men, who stripped him of every thing which he had about him, excepting his trowsers, and struck him again and again with his own hanger, though happily without doing him any harm. When they had accomplished their purpose, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading-place, where the inhabitants, in a large number, were assembled. The instant that Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition now described, they all fled with the utmost precipitation. Captain Cook, having recalled a few of the Indians, and convinced them that he should take no step to injure those who were innocent, went to Oree to complain of the outrage. When the Chief had heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, and many other of the inhabitants did the same. After the first transports of his grief had subsided, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them (for so his language was understood by the English) how well Captain Cook had treated them, both in this and his former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a minute account of the things of which Mr. Sparrman had been robbed, and, after having promised to use his utmost endeavours for the recovery of them, desired to go into the Captain's boat. At this, the natives, apprehensive doubtless for the safety of their Prince, expressed the utmost alarm, and used every argument to dissuade him from so rash a measure. All their remonstrances, however, were in vain. He hastened into the boat; and as soon as they saw that their beloved Chief was wholly in our Commander's power, they set up a great outcry. Indeed, their grief was inexpressible: they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat; and every face was bedewed with tears. Even Captain Cook himself was so moved by their distress, that he united his entreaties with theirs, but all to no purpose. Oree insisted upon the Captain's coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister was the only person among the Indians who behaved with a becoming magnanimity on this occasion; for, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, she alone did not oppose his going. It was his design, in coming into the boat of
the

the English, to proceed with them in search of the robbers. Accordingly, he went with Captain Cook, as far as it was convenient, by water, when they landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles inland; in doing which the Chief led the way, and enquired after the criminals of every person whom he saw. In this search he would have gone to the very extremity of the Island, if our Commander, who did not think the object worthy of so laborious a pursuit, had not refused to proceed any farther. Besides, as he intended to sail the next morning, and all manner of trade was stopped in consequence of the alarm of the natives, it became the more necessary for him to return, that he might restore things to their former state. It was with great reluctance that Oree was prevailed upon to discontinue the search, and to content himself with sending, at Captain Cook's request, some of his people for the things which had been carried off. When he and the Captain had gotten back to the boat, they found there the Chief's sister, and several other persons, who had travelled by land to the place. The English Gentlemen immediately stepped into their boat, in order to return on board, without so much as asking Oree to accompany them; notwithstanding which, he insisted upon doing it; nor could the opposition and entreaties of those who were about him induce him to desist from his purpose. His sister followed his example, uninfluenced, on this occasion, by the supplications and tears of her daughter. Captain Cook amply rewarded the Chief and his sister for the confidence they had placed in him; and, after dinner, conveyed them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced Oree with tears of joy. All was now peace and gladness: the inhabitants crowded in from every part, with such a plentiful supply of hogs, fowls, and vegetable productions, that the English presently filled two boats; and the Chief himself presented the Captain with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. Mr. Sparrman's hanger, the only thing of value which he had lost, was brought back, together with part of his coat; and our Navigators were told, that the remaining articles should be restored the next day. Some things which had been stolen from a party of officers, who had gone out a shooting, were returned in like manner. The transactions of this day have been the more particularly related, as they shew the high opinion which the Chief had formed of our Commander, and the unreserved confidence that he placed in his integrity and honour. Oree had entered into a solemn friendship with Captain Cook, according to all the forms which were customary in the country; and he seemed to think that this friendship could not be broken by the act of any other persons. It is justly observed by the Captain, that another Chief may never be found, who, under similar circumstances, will act in the same manner. Oree, indeed, had nothing to fear: for it was not our Commander's intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than was agreeable to his own desire. But of this how could he and his people be assured? They were not ignorant, that when he was once in Captain Cook's power, the whole force of the Island would not be sufficient to recover him, and that they must have complied with any demands, however great, for his ransom. The apprehensions, therefore, of the inhabitants, for their Chief's and their own safety, had a reasonable foundation. Early on the seventh, while the ships were unmooring, the Captain went to pay his farewell visit to Oree, and took with him such presents as had not only a fancied value, but a real utility. He left, also, with the Chief the inscription plate that had before been in his possession, and another small copper plate, on which were engraved these words: "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships, Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773." These plates, together with some medals, were put up in a bag; of which Oree promised to take care, and to produce them to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the Island. Having, in return, given a hog to Captain Cook, and loaded his boat with fruit, they took leave of each other, when the good old Chief embraced our Commander with tears in his eyes. Nothing was mentioned, at this interview, concerning the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's property. As it was early in the morning, the Captain judged that it had not been brought in, and he was not willing to speak of it to Oree, lest he should give him pain about things which there had not been time to recover. The robbers having soon afterwards been taken, Oree came on board again, to request that our Commander would go on shore, either to punish them, or to be present at their punishment; but this not being convenient to him, he left them to the correction of their own Chief. It was from the Island of Huaheine that Captain Furneaux received into his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, of whom so much hath since been known and written. This choice Captain Cook at first disapproved, as thinking that the youth was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of the Society Islands; being inferior to many of them in birth and acquired rank, and not having any peculiar advantage in point of shape, figure, or complexion. The Captain afterwards found reason to be better satisfied with Omai's having accompanied our Navigators to England. During the short stay of the vessels at Huaheine, our people were very successful in obtaining supplies of provisions. No less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruit, were procured; and had the ships continued longer at the place, the quantity might have been greatly increased. Such was the fertility of this small Island, that none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared to be as plentiful as ever (s).

(r) Cook's Voy-
age, *ubi supra*,
p. 144—149.

having sprung up, our Commander put to sea; on which occasion he was obliged to dismiss his Otaheite friends sooner than they wished to depart; but well satisfied with his kind and liberal treatment (r).

From Matavai Bay Captain Cook directed his course for the Island Huaheine, where he intended to touch. This Island he reached the next day, and, early in the morning of the third of September, made sail for the harbour of Owharre, in which he soon came to an anchor. The Adventure, not happening to turn into the harbour with equal facility, got ashore on the North side of the channel; but, by the timely assistance which Capt. Cook had previously provided, in case such an accident should occur, she was gotten off again, without receiving any damage. As soon as both the ships were in safety, our Commander, together with Captain Furneaux, landed upon the Island, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. A trade immediately commenced; so that our Navigators had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls, which, to people in their situation, was a very desirable circumstance. On the fourth, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the Isle. Another trading party was also sent on shore near the ships, which party Captain Cook attended himself, to see that the business was properly conducted at the first setting out, this being a point of no small importance. Every thing being settled to his mind, he went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay a visit to his old friend Oree, the Chief of the Island. This visit was preceded by many preparatory ceremonies. Among other things, the Chief sent to our Commander the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which he had left with him in July 1769. It was in the bag that Captain Cook had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, which had been put in at the same time; whence it was evident what particular care had been taken of the whole. After the previous ceremonies had been discharged, the Captain wanted to go to the King, but he was informed that the King would come to him. Accordingly, Oree went up to our Commander, and fell on his neck, and embraced him; nor was it a ceremonious embrace, for the tears which trickled down the venerable old man's cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The presents which Captain Cook made to the Chief on this occasion, consisted of the most valuable articles he had; for he regarded him as a father. Oree, in return, gave the Captain a hog, and a quantity of cloth, promising that all the wants of the English should be supplied; and it was a promise to which he faithfully adhered. Indeed, he carried his kindness to Captain Cook so far, as not to fail sending him every day, for his table, a plentiful supply of the very best of ready-dressed fruit and roots. Hitherto all things had gone on in the most agreeable manner; but on Monday the sixth, several circumstances occurred, which rendered it an unpleasant and troublesome day. When our Commander went to the trading-place he was informed that one of the inhabitants had behaved with remarkable insolence. The man was completely equipped in the war habit, had a club in each hand, and seemed bent upon mischief. Captain Cook took, therefore, the clubs from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty, compelled him to retire. About the same time, Mr. Sparrman, who had imprudently gone out alone to botanize, was assaulted by two men, who stripped him of every thing which he had about him, excepting his trowsers, and struck him again and again with his own hanger, though happily without doing him any harm. When they had accomplished their purpose, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading-place, where the inhabitants, in a large number, were assembled. The instant that Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition now described, they all fled with the utmost precipitation. Captain Cook, having recalled a few of the Indians, and convinced them that he should take no step to injure those who were innocent, went to Oree to complain of the outrage. When the Chief had heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, and many other of the inhabitants did the same. After the first transports of his grief had subsided, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them (for so his language was understood by the English) how well Captain Cook had treated them, both in this and his former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a minute account of the things of which Mr. Sparrman had been robbed, and, after having promised to use his utmost endeavours for the recovery of them, desired to go into the Captain's boat. At this, the natives, apprehensive doubtless for the safety of their Prince, expressed the utmost alarm, and used every argument to dissuade him from so rash a measure. All their remonstrances, however, were in vain. He hastened into the boat; and as soon as they saw that their beloved Chief was wholly in our Commander's power, they set up a great outcry. Indeed, their grief was inexpressible: they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat; and every face was bedewed with tears. Even Captain Cook himself was so moved by their distress, that he united his entreaties with theirs, but all to no purpose. Oree insisted upon the Captain's coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister was the only person among the Indians who behaved with a becoming magnanimity on this occasion; for, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, she alone did not oppose his going. It was his design, in coming into the boat of
the

the English, to proceed with them in search of the robbers. Accordingly, he went with Captain Cook, as far as it was convenient, by water, when they landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles inland; in doing which the Chief led the way, and enquired after the criminals of every person whom he saw. In this search he would have gone to the very extremity of the Island, if our Commander, who did not think the object worthy of so laborious a pursuit, had not refused to proceed any farther. Besides, as he intended to sail the next morning, and all manner of trade was stopped in consequence of the alarm of the natives, it became the more necessary for him to return, that he might restore things to their former state. It was with great reluctance that Oree was prevailed upon to discontinue the search, and to content himself with sending, at Captain Cook's request, some of his people for the things which had been carried off. When he and the Captain had gotten back to the boat, they found there the Chief's sister, and several other persons, who had travelled by land to the place. The English Gentlemen immediately stepped into their boat, in order to return on board, without so much as asking Oree to accompany them; notwithstanding which, he insisted upon doing it; nor could the opposition and entreaties of those who were about him induce him to desist from his purpose. His sister followed his example, uninfluenced, on this occasion, by the supplications and tears of her daughter. Captain Cook amply rewarded the Chief and his sister for the confidence they had placed in him; and, after dinner, conveyed them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced Oree with tears of joy. All was now peace and gladness: the inhabitants crowded in from every part, with such a plentiful supply of hogs, fowls, and vegetable productions, that the English presently filled two boats; and the Chief himself presented the Captain with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. Mr. Sparrman's hanger, the only thing of value which he had lost, was brought back, together with part of his coat; and our Navigators were told, that the remaining articles should be restored the next day. Some things which had been stolen from a party of officers, who had gone out a shooting, were returned in like manner. The transactions of this day have been the more particularly related, as they shew the high opinion which the Chief had formed of our Commander, and the unreserved confidence that he placed in his integrity and honour. Oree had entered into a solemn friendship with Captain Cook, according to all the forms which were customary in the country; and he seemed to think that this friendship could not be broken by the act of any other persons. It is justly observed by the Captain, that another Chief may never be found, who, under similar circumstances, will act in the same manner. Oree, indeed, had nothing to fear: for it was not our Commander's intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than was agreeable to his own desire. But of this how could he and his people be assured? They were not ignorant, that when he was once in Captain Cook's power, the whole force of the Island would not be sufficient to recover him, and that they must have complied with any demands, however great, for his ransom. The apprehensions, therefore, of the inhabitants, for their Chief's and their own safety, had a reasonable foundation. Early on the seventh, while the ships were unmooring, the Captain went to pay his farewell visit to Oree, and took with him such presents as had not only a fancied value, but a real utility. He left, also, with the Chief the inscription plate that had before been in his possession, and another small copper plate, on which were engraved these words: "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships, Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773." These plates, together with some medals, were put up in a bag; of which Oree promised to take care, and to produce them to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the Island. Having, in return, given a hog to Captain Cook, and loaded his boat with fruit, they took leave of each other, when the good old Chief embraced our Commander with tears in his eyes. Nothing was mentioned, at this interview, concerning the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's property. As it was early in the morning, the Captain judged that it had not been brought in, and he was not willing to speak of it to Oree, lest he should give him pain about things which there had not been time to recover. The robbers having soon afterwards been taken, Oree came on board again, to request that our Commander would go on shore, either to punish them, or to be present at their punishment; but this not being convenient to him, he left them to the correction of their own Chief. It was from the Island of Huaheine that Captain Furneaux received into his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, of whom so much hath since been known and written. This choice Captain Cook at first disapproved, as thinking that the youth was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of the Society Islands; being inferior to many of them in birth and acquired rank, and not having any peculiar advantage in point of shape, figure, or complexion. The Captain afterwards found reason to be better satisfied with Omai's having accompanied our Navigators to England. During the short stay of the vessels at Huaheine, our people were very successful in obtaining supplies of provisions. No less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruit, were procured; and had the ships continued longer at the place, the quantity might have been greatly increased. Such was the fertility of this small Island, that none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared to be as plentiful as ever (s).

(1) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 161.
From 171.

(r) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 144—149.

having sprung up, our Commander put to sea; on which occasion he was obliged to dismiss his Otaheite friends sooner than they wished to depart; but well satisfied with his kind and liberal treatment (r).

From Matavai Bay Captain Cook directed his course for the Island Huaheine, where he intended to touch. This Island he reached the next day, and, early in the morning of the third of September, made sail for the harbour of Owharre, in which he soon came to an anchor. The Adventure, not happening to turn into the harbour with equal facility, got ashore on the North side of the channel; but, by the timely assistance which Capt. Cook had previously provided, in case such an accident should occur, she was gotten off again, without receiving any damage. As soon as both the ships were in safety, our Commander, together with Captain Furneaux, landed upon the Island, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. A trade immediately commenced; so that our Navigators had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls, which, to people in their situation, was a very desirable circumstance. On the fourth, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the Isle. Another trading party was also sent on shore near the ships, which party Captain Cook attended himself, to see that the business was properly conducted at the first setting out, this being a point of no small importance. Every thing being settled to his mind, he went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay a visit to his old friend Oree, the Chief of the Island. This visit was preceded by many preparatory ceremonies. Among other things, the Chief sent to our Commander the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which he had left with him in July 1769. It was in the bag that Captain Cook had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, which had been put in at the same time; whence it was evident what particular care had been taken of the whole. After the previous ceremonies had been discharged, the Captain wanted to go to the King, but he was informed that the King would come to him. Accordingly, Oree went up to our Commander, and fell on his neck, and embraced him; nor was it a ceremonious embrace, for the tears which trickled down the venerable old man's cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The presents which Captain Cook made to the Chief on this occasion, consisted of the most valuable articles he had; for he regarded him as a father. Oree, in return, gave the Captain a hog, and a quantity of cloth, promising that all the wants of the English should be supplied; and it was a promise to which he faithfully adhered. Indeed, he carried his kindness to Captain Cook so far, as not to fail sending him every day, for his table, a plentiful supply of the very best of ready-dressed fruit and roots. Hitherto all things had gone on in the most agreeable manner; but on Monday the sixth, several circumstances occurred, which rendered it an unpleasant and troublesome day. When our Commander went to the trading-place he was informed that one of the inhabitants had behaved with remarkable insolence. The man was completely equipped in the war habit, had a club in each hand, and seemed bent upon mischief. Captain Cook took, therefore, the clubs from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty, compelled him to retire. About the same time, Mr. Sparrman, who had imprudently gone out alone to botanize, was assaulted by two men, who stripped him of every thing which he had about him, excepting his trowsers, and struck him again and again with his own hanger, though happily without doing him any harm. When they had accomplished their purpose, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading-place, where the inhabitants, in a large number, were assembled. The instant that Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition now described, they all fled with the utmost precipitation. Captain Cook, having recalled a few of the Indians, and convinced them that he should take no step to injure those who were innocent, went to Oree to complain of the outrage. When the Chief had heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, and many other of the inhabitants did the same. After the first transports of his grief had subsided, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them (for so his language was understood by the English) how well Captain Cook had treated them, both in this and his former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a minute account of the things of which Mr. Sparrman had been robbed, and, after having promised to use his utmost endeavours for the recovery of them, desired to go into the Captain's boat. At this, the natives, apprehensive doubtless for the safety of their Prince, expressed the utmost alarm, and used every argument to dissuade him from so rash a measure. All their remonstrances, however, were in vain. He hastened into the boat; and as soon as they saw that their beloved Chief was wholly in our Commander's power, they set up a great outcry. Indeed, their grief was inexpressible: they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat; and every face was bedewed with tears. Even Captain Cook himself was so moved by their distress, that he united his entreaties with theirs, but all to no purpose. Oree insisted upon the Captain's coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister was the only person among the Indians who behaved with a becoming magnanimity on this occasion; for, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, she alone did not oppose his going. It was his design, in coming into the boat of

the

the English, to proceed with them in search of the robbers. Accordingly, he went with Captain Cook, as far as it was convenient, by water, when they landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles inland; in doing which the Chief led the way, and enquired after the criminals of every person whom he saw. In this search he would have gone to the very extremity of the Island, if our Commander, who did not think the object worthy of so laborious a pursuit, had not refused to proceed any farther. Besides, as he intended to sail the next morning, and all manner of trade was stopped in consequence of the alarm of the natives, it became the more necessary for him to return, that he might restore things to their former state. It was with great reluctance that Oree was prevailed upon to discontinue the search, and to content himself with sending, at Captain Cook's request, some of his people for the things which had been carried off. When he and the Captain had gotten back to the boat, they found there the Chief's sister, and several other persons, who had travelled by land to the place. The English Gentlemen immediately stepped into their boat, in order to return on board, without so much as asking Oree to accompany them; notwithstanding which, he insisted upon doing it; nor could the opposition and entreaties of those who were about him induce him to desist from his purpose. His sister followed his example, uninfluenced, on this occasion, by the supplications and tears of her daughter. Captain Cook amply rewarded the Chief and his sister for the confidence they had placed in him; and, after dinner, conveyed them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced Oree with tears of joy. All was now peace and gladness: the inhabitants crowded in from every part, with such a plentiful supply of hogs, fowls, and vegetable productions, that the English presently filled two boats; and the Chief himself presented the Captain with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. Mr. Sparrman's hanger, the only thing of value which he had lost, was brought back, together with part of his coat; and our Navigators were told, that the remaining articles should be restored the next day. Some things which had been stolen from a party of officers, who had gone out a shooting, were returned in like manner. The transactions of this day have been the more particularly related, as they shew the high opinion which the Chief had formed of our Commander, and the unreserved confidence that he placed in his integrity and honour. Oree had entered into a solemn friendship with Captain Cook, according to all the forms which were customary in the country; and he seemed to think that this friendship could not be broken by the act of any other persons. It is justly observed by the Captain, that another Chief may never be found, who, under similar circumstances, will act in the same manner. Oree, indeed, had nothing to fear: for it was not our Commander's intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than was agreeable to his own desire. But of this how could he and his people be assured? They were not ignorant, that when he was once in Captain Cook's power, the whole force of the Island would not be sufficient to recover him, and that they must have complied with any demands, however great, for his ransom. The apprehensions, therefore, of the inhabitants, for their Chief's and their own safety, had a reasonable foundation. Early on the seventh, while the ships were unmooring, the Captain went to pay his farewell visit to Oree, and took with him such presents as had not only a fancied value, but a real utility. He left, also, with the Chief the inscription plate that had before been in his possession, and another small copper plate, on which were engraved these words: "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships, Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773." These plates, together with some medals, were put up in a bag; of which Oree promised to take care, and to produce them to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the Island. Having, in return, given a hog to Captain Cook, and loaded his boat with fruit, they took leave of each other, when the good old Chief embraced our Commander with tears in his eyes. Nothing was mentioned, at this interview, concerning the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's property. As it was early in the morning, the Captain judged that it had not been brought in, and he was not willing to speak of it to Oree, lest he should give him pain about things which there had not been time to recover. The robbers having soon afterwards been taken, Oree came on board again, to request that our Commander would go on shore, either to punish them, or to be present at their punishment; but this not being convenient to him, he left them to the correction of their own Chief. It was from the Island of Huaheine that Captain Furneaux received into his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, of whom so much hath since been known and written. This choice Captain Cook at first disapproved, as thinking that the youth was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of the Society Islands; being inferior to many of them in birth and acquired rank, and not having any peculiar advantage in point of shape, figure, or complexion. The Captain afterwards found reason to be better satisfied with Omai's having accompanied our Navigators to England. During the short stay of the vessels at Huaheine, our people were very successful in obtaining supplies of provisions. No less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruit, were procured; and had the ships continued longer at the place, the quantity might have been greatly increased. Such was the fertility of this small Island, that none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared to be as plentiful as ever (s).

(s) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 161.
From 171.

(r) Cook's Voy-
age, *ubi supra*,
p. 144—149.

having sprung up, our Commander put to sea; on which occasion he was obliged to dismiss his Otaheite friends sooner than they wished to depart; but well satisfied with his kind and liberal treatment (r).

From Matavai Bay Captain Cook directed his course for the Island Huaheine, where he intended to touch. This Island he reached the next day, and, early in the morning of the third of September, made sail for the harbour of Owharre, in which he soon came to an anchor. The Adventure, not happening to turn into the harbour with equal facility, got ashore on the North side of the channel; but, by the timely assistance which Capt. Cook had previously provided, in case such an accident should occur, she was gotten off again, without receiving any damage. As soon as both the ships were in safety, our Commander, together with Captain Furneaux, landed upon the Island, and was received by the natives with the utmost cordiality. A trade immediately commenced; so that our Navigators had a fair prospect of being plentifully supplied with fresh pork and fowls, which, to people in their situation, was a very desirable circumstance. On the fourth, Lieutenant Pickersgill sailed with the cutter, on a trading party, toward the south end of the Isle. Another trading party was also sent on shore near the ships, which party Captain Cook attended himself, to see that the business was properly conducted at the first setting out, this being a point of no small importance. Every thing being settled to his mind, he went, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, to pay a visit to his old friend Oree, the Chief of the Island. This visit was preceded by many preparatory ceremonies. Among other things, the Chief sent to our Commander the inscription engraved on a small piece of pewter, which he had left with him in July 1769. It was in the bag that Captain Cook had made for it, together with a piece of counterfeit English coin, and a few beads, which had been put in at the same time; whence it was evident what particular care had been taken of the whole. After the previous ceremonies had been discharged, the Captain wanted to go to the King, but he was informed that the King would come to him. Accordingly, Oree went up to our Commander, and fell on his neck, and embraced him; nor was it a ceremonious embrace, for the tears which trickled down the venerable old man's cheeks, sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart. The presents which Captain Cook made to the Chief on this occasion, consisted of the most valuable articles he had; for he regarded him as a father. Oree, in return, gave the Captain a hog, and a quantity of cloth, promising that all the wants of the English should be supplied; and it was a promise to which he faithfully adhered. Indeed, he carried his kindness to Captain Cook so far, as not to fail sending him every day, for his table, a plentiful supply of the very best of ready-dressed fruit and roots. Hitherto all things had gone on in the most agreeable manner; but on Monday the sixth, several circumstances occurred, which rendered it an unpleasant and troublesome day. When our Commander went to the trading-place he was informed that one of the inhabitants had behaved with remarkable insolence. The man was completely equipped in the war habit, had a club in each hand, and seemed bent upon mischief. Captain Cook took, therefore, the clubs from him, broke them before his eyes, and, with some difficulty, compelled him to retire. About the same time, Mr. Sparrman, who had imprudently gone out alone to botanize, was assaulted by two men, who stripped him of every thing which he had about him, excepting his trowsers, and struck him again and again with his own hanger, though happily without doing him any harm. When they had accomplished their purpose, they made off; after which another of the natives brought a piece of cloth to cover him, and conducted him to the trading-place, where the inhabitants, in a large number, were assembled. The instant that Mr. Sparrman appeared in the condition now described, they all fled with the utmost precipitation. Captain Cook, having recalled a few of the Indians, and convinced them that he should take no step to injure those who were innocent, went to Oree to complain of the outrage. When the Chief had heard the whole affair related, he wept aloud, and many other of the inhabitants did the same. After the first transports of his grief had subsided, he began to expostulate with his people, telling them (for so his language was understood by the English) how well Captain Cook had treated them, both in this and his former voyage, and how base it was in them to commit such actions. He then took a minute account of the things of which Mr. Sparrman had been robbed, and, after having promised to use his utmost endeavours for the recovery of them, desired to go into the Captain's boat. At this, the natives, apprehensive doubtless for the safety of their Prince, expressed the utmost alarm, and used every argument to dissuade him from so rash a measure. All their remonstrances, however, were in vain. He hastened into the boat; and as soon as they saw that their beloved Chief was wholly in our Commander's power, they set up a great outcry. Indeed, their grief was inexpressible: they prayed, entreated, nay, attempted to pull him out of the boat; and every face was bedewed with tears. Even Captain Cook himself was so moved by their distress, that he united his entreaties with theirs, but all to no purpose. Oree insisted upon the Captain's coming into the boat, which was no sooner done than he ordered it to be put off. His sister was the only person among the Indians who behaved with a becoming magnanimity on this occasion; for, with a spirit equal to that of her royal brother, she alone did not oppose his going. It was his design, in coming into the boat of
the

the English, to proceed with them in search of the robbers. Accordingly, he went with Captain Cook, as far as it was convenient, by water, when they landed, entered the country, and travelled some miles inland; in doing which the Chief led the way, and enquired after the criminals of every person whom he saw. In this search he would have gone to the very extremity of the Island, if our Commander, who did not think the object worthy of so laborious a pursuit, had not refused to proceed any farther. Besides, as he intended to sail the next morning, and all manner of trade was stopped in consequence of the alarm of the natives, it became the more necessary for him to return, that he might restore things to their former state. It was with great reluctance that Oree was prevailed upon to discontinue the search, and to content himself with sending, at Captain Cook's request, some of his people for the things which had been carried off. When he and the Captain had gotten back to the boat, they found there the Chief's sister, and several other persons, who had travelled by land to the place. The English Gentlemen immediately stepped into their boat, in order to return on board, without so much as asking Oree to accompany them; notwithstanding which, he insisted upon doing it; nor could the opposition and entreaties of those who were about him induce him to desist from his purpose. His sister followed his example, uninfluenced, on this occasion, by the supplications and tears of her daughter. Captain Cook amply rewarded the Chief and his sister for the confidence they had placed in him; and, after dinner, conveyed them both on shore, where some hundreds of people waited to receive them, many of whom embraced Oree with tears of joy. All was now peace and gladness: the inhabitants crowded in from every part, with such a plentiful supply of hogs, fowls, and vegetable productions, that the English presently filled two boats; and the Chief himself presented the Captain with a large hog and a quantity of fruit. Mr. Sparrman's hanger, the only thing of value which he had lost, was brought back, together with part of his coat; and our Navigators were told, that the remaining articles should be restored the next day. Some things which had been stolen from a party of officers, who had gone out a shooting, were returned in like manner. The transactions of this day have been the more particularly related, as they shew the high opinion which the Chief had formed of our Commander, and the unreserved confidence that he placed in his integrity and honour. Oree had entered into a solemn friendship with Captain Cook, according to all the forms which were customary in the country; and he seemed to think that this friendship could not be broken by the act of any other persons. It is justly observed by the Captain, that another Chief may never be found, who, under similar circumstances, will act in the same manner. Oree, indeed, had nothing to fear: for it was not our Commander's intention to hurt a hair of his head, or to detain him a moment longer than was agreeable to his own desire. But of this how could he and his people be assured? They were not ignorant, that when he was once in Captain Cook's power, the whole force of the Island would not be sufficient to recover him, and that they must have complied with any demands, however great, for his ransom. The apprehensions, therefore, of the inhabitants, for their Chief's and their own safety, had a reasonable foundation. Early on the seventh, while the ships were unmooring, the Captain went to pay his farewell visit to Oree, and took with him such presents as had not only a fancied value, but a real utility. He left, also, with the Chief the inscription plate that had before been in his possession, and another small copper plate, on which were engraved these words: "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's ships, Resolution and Adventure, September, 1773." These plates, together with some medals, were put up in a bag; of which Oree promised to take care, and to produce them to the first ship or ships that should arrive at the Island. Having, in return, given a hog to Captain Cook, and loaded his boat with fruit, they took leave of each other, when the good old Chief embraced our Commander with tears in his eyes. Nothing was mentioned, at this interview, concerning the remainder of Mr. Sparrman's property. As it was early in the morning, the Captain judged that it had not been brought in, and he was not willing to speak of it to Oree, lest he should give him pain about things which there had not been time to recover. The robbers having soon afterwards been taken, Oree came on board again, to request that our Commander would go on shore, either to punish them, or to be present at their punishment; but this not being convenient to him, he left them to the correction of their own Chief. It was from the Island of Huaheine that Captain Furneaux received into his ship a young man named Omai, a native of Ulitea, of whom so much hath since been known and written. This choice Captain Cook at first disapproved, as thinking that the youth was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of the Society Islands; being inferior to many of them in birth and acquired rank, and not having any peculiar advantage in point of shape, figure, or complexion. The Captain afterwards found reason to be better satisfied with Omai's having accompanied our Navigators to England. During the short stay of the vessels at Huaheine, our people were very successful in obtaining supplies of provisions. No less than three hundred hogs, besides fowls and fruit, were procured; and had the ships continued longer at the place, the quantity might have been greatly increased. Such was the fertility of this small Island, that none of these articles of refreshment were seemingly diminished, but appeared to be as plentiful as ever (s).

(s) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 161.
From 171.

From Huaheine our Navigators sailed for Ulietea, where trade was carried on in the usual manner, and a most friendly intercourse renewed between Captain Cook and Oreo, the Chief of the Island. Here Tupia was enquired after with particular eagerness, and the enquirers were perfectly satisfied with the account which was given of the occasion of that Indian's decease. On the morning of the fifteenth, the English were surprized at finding that none of the inhabitants of Ulietea came off to the ships, as had hitherto been customary. As two men belonging to the Adventure had stayed on shore all night, contrary to orders, Captain Cook's first conjectures were, that the natives had stripped them, and were afraid of the revenge which would be taken of the insult. This, however, was not the case. The men had been treated with great civility, and could assign no cause for the precipitate flight of the Indians. All that the Captain could learn was, that several were killed, and others wounded, by the guns of the English. This information alarmed him for the safety of some of our people, who had been sent out in two boats to the Island of Otaha. He determined, therefore, if possible, to see the Chief himself. When he came up to him, Oreo threw his arms around our Commander's neck, and burst into tears; in which he was accompanied by all the women, and some of the men; so that the lamentation became general. Astonishment alone kept Captain Cook from joining in their grief. At last, the whole which he could collect from his enquiries was, that the natives had been alarmed on account of the absence of the English boats, and imagined that the Captain, upon the supposition of the desertion of his men, would use violent means for the recovery of his loss. When the matter was explained, it was acknowledged that not a single inhabitant, or a single Englishman, had been hurt. This groundless consternation displayed in a strong light the timorous disposition of the people of the Society Islands. Our Navigators were as successful in procuring provisions at Ulietea as they had been at Huaheine. Captain Cook judged, that the number of hogs obtained amounted to four hundred, or upwards: many of them, indeed, were only roasters, while others exceeded a hundred pounds in weight; but the general run was from forty to sixty. A larger quantity was offered than the ships could contain; so that our countrymen were enabled to proceed on their voyage with no small degree of comfort and advantage (*t*). Our Commander, by his second visit to the Society Islands, gained a farther knowledge of their general state, and of the customs of the inhabitants. It appeared that a Spanish ship had been lately at Otaheite, and the natives complained that a disease had been communicated to them by the people of this vessel, which, according to their account, affected the head, the throat, and the stomach, and at length ended in death. With regard to a certain disorder, the effects of which have so fatally been felt in the later ages of the world, Captain Cook's enquiries could not absolutely determine whether it was known to the Islanders before they were visited by the Europeans. If it was of recent origin, the introduction of it was, without a dissentient voice, ascribed to the voyage of M. de Bougainville. One thing which our Commander was solicitous to ascertain, was, whether human sacrifices constituted a part of the religious customs of these people. The man of whom he made his enquiries, and several other natives, took some pains to explain the matter; but, from our people's ignorance of the language of the country, their explications could not be understood. Captain Cook afterwards learned from Omai, that the inhabitants of the Society Islands offer human sacrifices to the Supreme Being. What relates to funeral ceremonies excepted, all the knowledge he could obtain concerning their religion was very imperfect and defective. The Captain had an opportunity, in this voyage, of rectifying the great injustice which had been done to the women of Otaheite and the neighbouring Isles. They had been represented as ready, without exception, to grant the last favour to any man who would come up to their price: but our Commander found that this was by no means the case. The favours both of the married women and of the unmarried, of the better sort, were as difficult to be obtained in the Society Islands as in any other country whatever. Even with respect to the unmarried females of the lower class, the charge was not indiscriminately true. There were many of these who would not admit of indecent familiarities. The setting this subject in a proper light, a subject upon which Dr. Hawkesworth had enlarged more than wisdom seemed to require, must be considered as one of the agreeable effects of Captain Cook's second voyage. Every enlightened mind will rejoice at what conduces to the honour of human nature in general, and of the female sex in particular. Chastity is so eminently the glory of that sex, and, indeed, is so essentially connected with the good order of society, that it must be a satisfaction to reflect, that there is no country, however ignorant or barbarous, in which this virtue is not regarded as an object of moral obligation. This voyage enabled our Commander to gain some farther knowledge concerning the geography of the Society Isles; and he found it highly probable, that Otaheite is of greater extent than he had computed it in his former estimation (*u*). The Astronomers did not neglect to set up their observatories, and to make observations suited to their purpose.

(*u*) The latitude of Oaiti-piha Bay, in Otaheite, was found to be $17^{\circ} 46' 28''$ South, and longitude $0^{\circ} 21' 25'' \frac{1}{2}$ East from Point Venus; or $149^{\circ} 13' 24''$ West from Greenwich.

On the seventeenth of September, Captain Cook sailed from Ulietea, directing his course to the West, with an inclination to the South. Land was discovered on the twenty-third of the month, to which he gave the name of Harvey's Island (*w*). On the first of

(*t*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 171—180.

(*w*) It is situated in the latitude of $19^{\circ} 18'$ South, and $158^{\circ} 54'$ West.

October, he reached the Island of Middleburg. While he was looking about for a landing-place, two canoes, each of them conducted by two or three men, came boldly alongside the ship, and some of the people entered it without hesitation. This mark of confidence inspired our Commander with so good an opinion of the inhabitants, that he determined, if possible, to pay them a visit, which he did the next day. Scarcely had the vessels gotten to an anchor before they were surrounded by a great number of canoes, full of the natives, who brought with them cloth, and various curiosities, which they exchanged for nails, and such other articles as were adapted to their fancy. Among those who came on board, was a Chief, named Tioony, whose friendship Captain Cook immediately gained by proper presents, consisting principally of a hatchet and some spike-nails. A party of our Navigators, with the Captain at the head of them, having embarked in two boats, proceeded to shore, where they found an immense croud of people, who welcomed them to the Island with loud acclamations. There was not so much as a stick, or any other weapon, in the hands of a single native, so pacific were their dispositions and intentions. They seemed to be more desirous of giving than receiving; and many of them, who could not approach near to the boats, threw into them, over the heads of others, whole bales of cloth, and then retired, without either asking or waiting for any thing in return. The whole day was spent by our Navigators in the most agreeable manner. When they returned on board in the evening, every one expressed how much he was delighted with the country, and the very obliging behaviour of the inhabitants, who seemed to vie with each other in their endeavours to give pleasure to our people. All this conduct appeared to be the result of the most pure good-nature, perhaps without being accompanied with much sentiment or feeling; for when Captain Cook signified to the Chief his intention of quitting the Island, he did not seem to be in the least moved. Among other articles presented by the Captain to Tioony, he left him an assortment of garden-seeds, which, if properly used, might be of great future benefit to the country. From Middleburg the ships sailed down to Amsterdam, the natives of which Island were equally ready with those of the former place to maintain a friendly intercourse with the English. Like the people of Middleburg, they brought nothing with them but cloth, matting, and such other articles as could be of little service; and for these our seamen were so simple as to barter away their clothes. To put a stop, therefore, to so injurious a traffic, and to obtain the necessary refreshments, the Captain gave orders that no sort of curiosities should be purchased by any person whatever. This injunction produced the desired effect. When the inhabitants saw that the English would deal with them for nothing but eatables, they brought off bananoes and cocoa-nuts in abundance, together with some fowls and pigs; all of which they exchanged for small nails and pieces of cloth. Even a few old rags were sufficient for the purchase of a pig or a fowl. The method of carrying on trade being settled, and proper officers having been appointed to prevent disputes, our Commander's next object was to obtain as complete a knowledge as possible of the Island of Amsterdam. In this he was much facilitated by a friendship which he had formed with Attago, one of the Chiefs of the country. Captain Cook was struck with admiration, when he surveyed the beauty and cultivation of the Island. He thought himself transported into the most fertile plains of Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground. The roads occupied no larger a space than was absolutely necessary, and the fences did not take up above four inches each. Even such a small portion of ground was not wholly lost; for many of the fences themselves contained useful trees or plants. The scene was every where the same; and nature, assisted by a little art, no where assumes a more splendid appearance than in this Island. Friendly as were the natives of Amsterdam, they were not entirely free from the thievish disposition which hath so often been remarked in the Islanders of the Southern Ocean. The instances, however, of this kind, which occurred, were not of such a nature as to produce any extraordinary degree of trouble, or to involve our people in a quarrel with the inhabitants. Captain Cook's introduction to the King of the Island afforded a scene somewhat remarkable. His Majesty was seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that the Captain took him for an idiot, whom the Indians, from some superstitious reasons, were ready to worship. When our Commander saluted and spoke to him, he neither answered, nor took the least notice of him; nor did he alter a single feature of his countenance. Even the presents which were made to him could not induce him to resign a bit of his gravity, or to speak one word, or to turn his head either to the right hand or to the left. As he was in the prime of life, it is possible that a false sense of dignity might engage him to assume so solemn a stupidity of appearance. In the history of mankind, instances might probably be found which would confirm this supposition (x).

(x) Cook, *ubi*
supra, p. 181—
210.

For a general description of the two Islands of Middleburg and Amsterdam, and an account of the cultivation, customs, and manners of the inhabitants, recourse must be had to Capt. Cook's Voyage. In slightly touching upon a few particulars, I shall hope to obtain the forgiveness of some of my readers. It is observable, that these two Islands are guarded from the sea by a reef of coral rocks, which extend out from the shore about one hundred fathoms. On this reef the force of the sea is spent before it reaches the land. The same, indeed, is, in a great measure, the situation of all the tropical Isles which our Com-

mander had seen in that part of the globe; and hence arises an evidence of the wisdom and goodness of Providence; as by such a provision, nature has effectually secured them from the encroachments of the sea, though many of them are mere points, when compared with the vast ocean by which they are surrounded (y). In Amsterdam, Mr. Forster not only found the same plants that are at Otaheite and the neighbouring Islands, but several others which are not to be met with in those places. Captain Cook took care, by a proper assortment of garden-seeds and pulse, to increase the vegetable stock of the inhabitants. Hogs and fowls were the only domestic animals that were seen in these Islands. The former are of the same sort with those which had been met with in other parts of the Southern Ocean; but the latter are far superior, being as large as any in Europe, and equal, if not preferable, with respect to the goodness of their flesh. Both the men and women are of a common size with Europeans. Their colour is that of a lightish copper, and with a greater uniformity than occurs among the natives of Otaheite and the Society Isles. Some of the English Gentlemen were of opinion, that the inhabitants of Middleburg and Amsterdam were a much handsomer race; while others, with whom Captain Cook concurred, maintained a contrary sentiment. However this may be, their shape is good, their features regular, and they are active, brisk, and lively. The women, in particular, are the merriest creatures our Commander had ever met with; and, provided any person seemed pleased with them, they would keep chattering by his side, without the least invitation, or considering whether they were understood. They appeared in general to be modest, though there were several amongst them of a different character. As there were yet on board some complaints of a certain disorder, the Captain took all possible care to prevent its communication. Our Navigators were frequently entertained by the women with songs, and this in a manner which was by no means disagreeable. They had a method of keeping time, by snapping their fingers. Their music was harmonious as well as their voices, and there was a considerable degree of compass in their notes. A singular custom was found to prevail in these Islands. The greater part of the people were observed to have lost one or both of their little fingers; and this was not peculiar to rank, age, or sex; nor was the amputation restricted to any specific period of life. Our Navigators endeavoured in vain to discover the reason of so extraordinary a practice. A very extensive knowledge of the language of Middleburg and Amsterdam could not be obtained during the short stay which was made there by the English. However, the more they enquired into it, the more they found that it was, in general, the same with that which is spoken at Otaheite and the Society Isles. The difference is not greater than what frequently occurs betwixt the most northern and western parts of England (z).

(y) The Islands of Middleburg and Amsterdam are situated between the latitude of $21^{\circ} 29'$ and $21^{\circ} 3'$ South, and between the longitude of $174^{\circ} 40'$ and $175^{\circ} 15'$ West, deduced from observations made on the spot.

(z) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 211, 213, 214, 217, 218, 222, 225.

(a) Pilsart is situated in the latitude of $22^{\circ} 26'$ South, and in the longitude of $175^{\circ} 59'$ West. It is distant thirty-two leagues from the South end of Middleburg.

On the seventh of October, Captain Cook proceeded on his voyage. His intention was to sail directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, for the purpose of taking in wood and water, after which he was to pursue his discoveries to the South and the East. The day after he quitted Amsterdam, he passed the Island of Pilsart; an Island which had been discovered by Tasman (a). On the twenty-first, he made the land of New Zealand, at the distance of eight or ten leagues from Table Cape. As our Commander was very desirous of leaving in the country such an assortment of animals and vegetables as might greatly contribute to the future benefit of the inhabitants, one of the first things which he did was to give to a Chief, who had come off in a canoe, two boars, two fows, four hens, and two cocks, together with a quantity of seeds. The seeds were of the most useful kind; such as wheat, french and kidney beans, pease, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parsnips, and yams. The man to whom these several articles were presented, though he was much more enraptured with a spike-nail half the length of his arm, promised, however, to take care of them, and, in particular, not to kill any of the animals. If he adhered to his promise, they would be sufficient, in a due course of time, to stock the whole Island. It was the third of November before Captain Cook brought the Resolution into Ship Cove, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. He had been beating about the Island from the twenty-first of October, during which time his vessel was exposed to a variety of tempestuous weather. In one instance he had been driven off the land by a furious storm, which lasted two days, and which would have been dangerous in the highest degree, had it not fortunately happened that it was fair overhead, and that there was no reason to be apprehensive of a lee-shore. In the course of the bad weather which succeeded this storm, the Adventure was separated from the Resolution, and was never seen or heard of through the whole remainder of the voyage. The first object of our Commander's attention, after his arrival in Queen Charlotte's Sound, was to provide for the repair of his ship, which had suffered in various respects, and especially in her sails and rigging. Another matter which called for his notice, was the state of the bread belonging to the vessel; and he had the mortification of finding that a large quantity of it was damaged. To repair this loss in the best manner he was able, he ordered all the casks to be opened, the bread to be picked, and such parcels of it to be baked, in the copper oven, as could by that means be recovered. Notwithstanding this care, four thousand two hundred and ninety-two pounds were found totally unfit for use; and about three thousand pounds more could only be eaten by people in the situation of our Navigators. Captain Cook was early in his enquiries concerning the

the animals which had been left at New Zealand, in the former part of his voyage. He saw the youngest of the two sows that Captain Furneaux had put on shore in Cannibal Cove. She was in good condition, and very tame. The boar and other sow, if our Commander was rightly informed, were taken away and separated, but not killed. He was told that the two goats, which he had landed up the Sound, had been destroyed by a rascally native, of the name of Goubiah; so that the Captain had the grief of discovering that all his benevolent endeavours to stock the country with useful animals were likely to be frustrated by the very people whom he was anxious to serve. The gardens had met with a better fate. Every thing in them, excepting potatoes, the inhabitants had left entirely to nature, who had so well performed her part, that most of the articles were in a flourishing condition. Notwithstanding the inattention and folly of the New Zealanders, Captain Cook still continued his zeal for their benefit. To the inhabitants who resided at the Cove, he gave a boar, a young sow, two cocks, and two hens, which had been brought from the Society Islands. At the bottom of the West Bay, he ordered to be landed, without the knowledge of the Indians, four hogs, being three sows and one boar, together with two cocks and two hens. They were carried a little way into the woods, and as much food was left them as would serve them for ten or twelve days; which was done to prevent their coming down to the shore in search of sustenance, and by that means being discovered by the natives. The Captain was desirous of replacing the two goats which Goubiah was understood to have killed, by leaving behind him the only two that yet remained in his possession. But he had the misfortune, soon after his arrival at Queen Charlotte's Sound, to lose the ram; and this in a manner for which it was not easy to assign the cause. Whether it was owing to any thing he had eaten, or to his being stung with nettles, which were very plentiful in the place, he was seized with fits that bordered upon madness. In one of these fits, he was supposed to have run into the sea, and to have been drowned: and thus every method, which our Commander had taken to stock the country with sheep and goats, proved ineffectual. He hoped to be more successful with respect to the boars and sows, and the cocks and hens, which he left in the Island. While the boatswain, one day, and a party of men were employed in cutting broom, some of them stole several things from a private hut of the natives, in which was deposited most of the treasure they had received from the English, as well as property of their own. Complaint being made by the Indians to Captain Cook, and a particular man of the boatswain's party having been pointed out to the Captain as the person who had committed the theft, he ordered him to be punished in their presence. With this they went away seemingly satisfied, although they did not recover any of the articles which they had lost. It was always a maxim with our Commander, to punish the least crimes which any of his people were guilty of with regard to uncivilized nations. Their robbing us with impunity he by no means considered as a reason for our treating them in the same manner. Addicted as the New Zealanders were, in a certain degree, to stealing, a disposition which must have been very much increased by the novelty and allurements of the objects presented to their view; they had, nevertheless, when injured themselves, such a sense of justice, as to apply to Captain Cook for redress. The best method, in his opinion, of preserving a good understanding with the inhabitants of countries in this state of society, is, first, to convince them of the superiority we have over them in consequence of our fire-arms, and then to be always upon our guard. Such a conduct, united with strict honesty and gentle treatment, will convince them that it is their interest not to disturb us, and prevent them from forming any general plan of attack. In this second visit of our Navigators to New Zealand, they met with indubitable evidence that the natives were eaters of human flesh. The proofs of this fact had a most powerful influence on the mind of Oedidee, a youth of Bolabola, whom Captain Cook had brought in the Resolution from Ulitea. He was so affected that he became perfectly motionless, and exhibited such a picture of horror, that it would have been impossible for art to describe that passion with half the force with which it appeared in his countenance. When he was roused from this state by some of the English, he burst into tears; continued to weep and scold by turns; told the New Zealanders that they were vile men; and assured them that he would not be any longer their friend. He would not so much as permit them to come near him; and he refused to accept, or even to touch the knife by which some human flesh had been cut off. Such was Oedidee's indignation against the abominable custom; and our Commander has justly remarked, that it was an indignation worthy to be imitated by every rational being. The conduct of this young man upon the present occasion, strongly points out the difference which had taken place, in the progress of civilization, between the inhabitants of the Society Islands and those of New Zealand. It was our Commander's firm opinion, that the only human flesh which was eaten by these people was that of their enemies who had been slain in battle. During the stay of our Voyagers in Queen Charlotte's Sound, they were plentifully supplied with fish, procured from the natives at a very easy rate; and, besides the vegetables afforded by their own gardens, they every where found plenty of scurvy-grass and celery. These Captain Cook ordered to be dressed every day for all his hands. By the attention which he paid to his men in the article of provisions, they had for three months lived principally on

on a fresh diet, and, at this time, there was not a sick or scorbutic person on board. The morning before the Captain sailed, he wrote a memorandum, contain such information as he thought necessary for Captain Furneaux, in case he should put into the Sound. This memorandum was buried in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden; and in such a manner that it could not avoid being discovered, if either Captain Furneaux or any other European should chance to arrive at the Cove. Our Commander did not leave New Zealand without making such remarks on the coast between Cape Teerawhitte and Cape Palliser as may be of service to future navigators. It being now the unanimous opinion, that the Adventure was no where upon the Island, Captain Cook gave up all expectations of seeing her any more during the voyage. This circumstance, however, did not discourage him from fully exploring the southern parts of the Pacific Ocean, in the doing of which he intended to employ the whole of the ensuing season. When he quitted the coast, he had the satisfaction to find that not a man of the crew was dejected, or thought that the dangers they had yet to go through, were in the least augmented by their being alone. Such was the confidence they placed in their Commander, that they were as ready to proceed cheerfully to the South, or wherever he might lead them, as if the Adventure, or even a larger number of ships had been in company (b).

(b) Cook, *ubi*
supra, p. 225—
250.

(c) This was in
the latitude of
62° 10' South,
and longitude
172° West.

On the twenty-sixth of November, Captain Cook sailed from New Zealand in search of a continent, and steered to the South, inclining to the East. Some days after this, our Navigators reckoned themselves to be antipodes to their friends in London, and consequently were at as great a distance from them as possible. The first ice Island was seen on the twelfth of December (c), farther South than the first ice which had been met with after leaving the Cape of Good Hope in the preceding year. In the progress of the voyage, ice islands continually occurred, and the navigation became more and more difficult and dangerous. When our people were in the latitude of 67° 5' South, they all at once got within such a cluster of these islands, together with a large quantity of loose pieces, that to keep clear of them was a matter of the utmost difficulty. On the twenty-second of the month, the Resolution was in the highest latitude she had yet reached (d); and circumstances now became so unfavourable, that our Commander thought of returning more to the North. Here there was no probability of finding any land, or a possibility of getting farther South. To have proceeded, therefore, to the East in this latitude, must have been improper, not only on account of the ice, but because a vast space of sea to the North must have been left unexplored, in which there might lie a large tract of country. It was only by visiting those parts that it could be determined whether such a supposition was well founded. As our Navigators advanced to the North-east on the twenty-fourth, the ice islands increased so fast upon them, that, at noon, they could see nearly a hundred around them, besides an immense number of small pieces. In this situation they spent Christmas-day, much in the same manner as they had done in the former year. Happily our people had continual day-light, and clear weather; for had it been as foggy as it was on some preceding days, nothing less than a miracle could have saved them from being dashed to pieces. While the Resolution was in the high latitudes, many of her company were attacked with a slight fever, occasioned by colds. The disorder, however, yielded to the simplest remedies, and was generally removed in a few days. On the fifth of January, 1774, the ship not being then in much more than fifty degrees of latitude, there were only one or two persons on the sick list. After Captain Cook, agreeably to his late resolution, had traversed a large extent of ocean without discovering land, he again directed his course to the southward. By the thirtieth of the month, through obstructions and difficulties, which, from their similar nature to those already mentioned, it would be tedious to repeat, he reached to the seventy-first degree of latitude (e). Thus far had he gone; but to have proceeded farther would have been the height of folly and madness. It would have been exposing himself, his men, and his ship to the utmost danger, and perhaps to destruction, without the least prospect of advantage. The Captain was of opinion, as indeed were most of the Gentlemen on board, that the ice now in sight extended quite to the pole, or might join to some land, to which it might be fixed from the earliest time. If, however, there be such land, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. Though our Commander had not only the ambition of going farther than any one had done before, but of proceeding as far as it was possible for man to go, he was the less dissatisfied with the interruption he now met with, as it shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. In fact, he was impelled by inevitable necessity to tack, and stand back to the North. The determination which Captain Cook now formed was to spend the ensuing winter within the tropic, if he met with no employment before he came there. He was well satisfied that no continent was to be found in this ocean but what must lie so far to the South as to be wholly inaccessible on account of ice. If there existed a continent in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, he was sensible that he could not explore it without having the whole summer before him. Upon a supposition, on the other hand, that there is no land there, he might undoubtedly have reached the Cape of Good Hope by April. In that case, he would have put an end to the finding of a continent; which was indeed the first object of the voyage.

(d) This was
67° 31'. The
longitude was
142° 54' West.

(e) The exact
latitude at this
time was 71° 10'
South; and the
longitude 106°
54' West.

But this could not satisfy the extensive and magnanimous mind of our Commander. He had a good ship, expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and was not in want either of stores or of provisions. In such circumstances, to have quitted this Southern Pacific Ocean, would, he thought, have been betraying not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing it to have been so well explored, that nothing farther could be done. Although he had proved that there was no continent but what must lie far to the South, there remained, nevertheless, room for very large Islands in places wholly unexamined. Many, likewise, of those which had formerly been discovered had been but imperfectly explored, and their situations were as imperfectly known. He was also persuaded, that his continuing some time longer in this sea would be productive of improvements in navigation and geography, as well as in other sciences. In consequence of these views, it was Captain Cook's intention first to go in search of the land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez, in the last century (f). If he should fail in finding this land, he proposed to direct his course in quest of Easter Island or Davis's Land, the situation of which was known with so little certainty, that none of the attempts lately made for its discovery had been successful. He next intended to get within the tropic, and then to proceed to the West, touching at, and settling the situations of such Islands as he might meet with till he arrived at Otaheite, where it was necessary for him to stop, to look for the Adventure. It was also in his contemplation to run as far West as the Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo, which was discovered by Quiros, and to which M. de Bougainville has given the name of the Great Cyclades. From this land it was the Captain's plan to steer to the South, and so back to the East, between the latitudes of fifty and sixty. In the execution of this plan, it was his purpose, if possible, to attain the length of Cape Horn in the ensuing November, when he should have the best part of the summer before him, to explore the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. Great as was this design, our Commander thought it capable of being carried into execution; and when he communicated it to his officers, he had the satisfaction of finding that it received their zealous and cheerful concurrence. They displayed the utmost readiness for executing, in the most effectual manner, every measure he thought proper to adopt. With such good examples to direct them, the seamen were always obedient and alert; and on the present occasion, so far were they from wishing the voyage to be concluded, that they rejoiced at the prospect of its being prolonged another year, and of soon enjoying the benefits of a milder climate (g).

(f) In about the latitude of 38°.

(g) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 250—271.

In pursuing his course to the North, Captain Cook became well assured that the discovery of Juan Fernandez, if any such was ever made, could be nothing more than a small Island. At this time, the Captain was attacked by a bilious colic, the violence of which confined him to his bed. The management of the ship, upon this occasion, was left to Mr. Cooper, the first officer, who conducted her entirely to his Commander's satisfaction. It was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of Captain Cook's disorder were removed; during which time, Mr. Patten the Surgeon, in attending upon him, manifested not only the skillfulness of a Physician, but the tenderness of a nurse. When the Captain began to recover, a favourite dog, belonging to Mr. Forster, fell a sacrifice to his tender stomach. There was no other fresh meat whatever on board, and he could eat not only of the broth which was made of it, but of the flesh itself, when there was nothing else that he was capable of tasting. Thus did he derive nourishment and strength from food which to most people in Europe would have been in the highest degree disgusting, and productive of sickness. The necessity of the case overcame every feeling of dislike. On the eleventh of March, our Navigators came within sight of Easter Island, or Davis's Land (h); their transactions at which place were of too little moment to deserve a particular recital. The inhabitants are, in general, a slender race. In colour, features, and language, they bear such an affinity to the people of the more western Isles, that there can be no doubt of their having been descended from one common original. It is indeed extraordinary that the same nation should have spread themselves to so wide an extent, as to take in almost a fourth part of the circumference of the globe. With regard to the disposition of the natives of Easter Island, it is friendly and hospitable; but they are as much addicted to stealing as any of their neighbours. The Island itself hath so little to recommend it, that no nation need to contend for the honour of its discovery. So sparing has nature been of her favours to this spot, that there is in it no safe anchorage, no wood for fuel, no fresh water worth taking on board. The most remarkable objects in the country are some surprising gigantic statues, which were first seen by Roggewein, and of which Captain Cook has given a particular description (i). It was with pleasure that our Commander quitted a place which could afford such slender accommodations to voyagers, and directed his course for the Marquesas Islands. He had not been long at sea, before he was again attacked by his bilious disorder. The attack, however, was not so violent as the former one had been. He had reason to believe, that the return of his disease was owing to his having exposed and fatigued himself too much at Easter Island. On the sixth and seventh of April, our Navigators came within sight of four Islands, which they knew to be the Marquesas. To one of them, which was a new discovery, Captain Cook gave the name of Hoop's Island, after that of the young Gentleman by whom it was first seen. As soon as the ship was

(h) It is situated in the latitude of 27° 5' 30" South, and the longitude of 109° 46' 20" West.

(i) Cook's Voyages, *ubi supra*, p. 274, 275, 288, 290, 294—296.

brought to an anchor in Madre de Dios, or Resolution Bay, in the Island of St. Christina, a traffic commenced, in the course of which the natives would frequently keep our goods, without making any return. At last the Captain was obliged to fire a musquet-ball over one man who had several times treated the English in this manner. This produced only a temporary effect. Too many of the Indians having come on board, our Commander, who was going in a boat, to find a convenient place for mooring the ship, said to the officers, "You must look well after these people, or they will certainly carry off something or other." Scarcely had he gotten into the boat, when he was informed that they had stolen an iron stanchion from the opposite gangway, and were carrying it off. Upon this he ordered his men to fire over the canoe till he could get round in the boat, but not to kill any one. Such, however, was the noise made by the natives, that the order was not heard; and the unhappy thief was killed at the first shot. All the Indians having retired with precipitation, in consequence of this unfortunate accident, Captain Cook followed them into the bay, prevailed upon some of them to come alongside his boat, and, by suitable presents, so far conciliated their minds, that their fears seemed to be in a great measure allayed. The death of their countryman did not cure them of their thievish disposition; but, at length, it was somewhat restrained by their conviction that no distance secured them from the reach of our musquets. Several smaller instances of their talent at stealing, the Captain thought proper to overlook. The provisions obtained at St. Christina were yams, plantains, bread-fruit, a few cocoa nuts, fowls, and small pigs. For a time, the trade was carried on upon reasonable terms; but the market was at last ruined by the indiscretion of some young Gentlemen, who gave away in exchange various articles which the inhabitants had not seen before, and which captivated their fancy above nails, or more useful iron tools. One of the Gentlemen had given for a pig a very large quantity of red feathers, which he had gotten at Amsterdam. The effect of this was particularly fatal. It was not possible to support the trade, in the manner in which it was now begun, even for a single day. When, therefore, our Commander found that he was not likely to be supplied, on any conditions, with sufficient refreshments, and that the Island was neither very convenient for taking in wood and water, nor for affording the necessary repairs of the ship, he determined to proceed immediately to some other place, where the wants of his people could be effectually relieved. After having been nineteen weeks at sea, and having lived all that time upon salt diet, a change in their food could not avoid being peculiarly desirable: and yet, on their arrival at St. Christina, it could scarcely be asserted that a single man was sick; and there were but a few who had the least complaint of any kind. "This," says Captain Cook, in the narrative of his voyage, "was undoubtedly owing to the many antiscorbutic articles we had on board, and to the great attention of the Surgeon, who was remarkably careful to apply them in time (k)." It may justly be added, that this was likewise owing to the singular care of the Captain himself, and to the exertions of his authority, in enforcing the excellent regulations, which his wisdom and humanity had adopted. The chief reason for our Commander's touching at the Marquesas Islands, was to fix their situation; that being the only circumstance in which the nautical account of them, given in Mr. Dalrymple's collection, is deficient. It was farther desirable to settle this point, as it would lead to a more accurate knowledge of Mendana's other discoveries. Accordingly, Captain Cook has marked the situation of the Marquesas with his usual correctness [U]. He has also taken care to describe the particular cove in Resolution Bay, in the Island of St. Christina, which is most convenient for obtaining wood and water. It is remarkable, with respect to the inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands, that, collectively taken, they are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. Perhaps they surpass all other nations in symmetry of form, and regularity of features. It is plain, however, from the affinity of their language to that of Otaheite and the Society Isles, that they are of the same origin. Of this affinity the English were fully sensible, though they could not converse with them; but Oedidee was capable of doing it tolerably well (l).

(k) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 297—305

(l) *Ibid.* p. 306—308.

(m) Tiookea is situated in the latitude of 14° 27' 30" South, and the longitude of 144° 56' West.

From the Marquesas Captain Cook steered for Otaheite, with a view of falling in with some of the Islands discovered by former navigators, and especially by the Dutch, the situation of which had not been accurately determined. In the course of the voyage, he passed a number of low islets, connected together by reefs of coral rocks. One of the Islands, on which Lieutenant Cooper went ashore, with two boats well armed, was called by the natives Tiookea (m). It had been discovered and visited by Captain Byron. The inhabitants of Tiookea are of a much darker colour than those of the higher Islands, and appeared to be more fierce in their dispositions. This may be owing to their manner of

[U] Captain Cook has marked the situation of the Marquesas with his usual correctness.] The Marquesas Islands, four of which were first discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, are five in number, viz. La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northern-

most. La Dominica is the largest of them, being about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. These Islands occupy one degree of latitude, and nearly half a degree in longitude. Their latitude is from 9 to 10, and their longitude from 138° 47' to 139° 13' West.

gaining

gaining their subsistence, which is chiefly from the sea, and to their being much exposed to the sun and the weather. Our Voyagers observed that they were stout, well-made men, and that they had marked on their bodies the figure of a fish, which was a good emblem of their profession. Besides passing by St. George's Islands, which had been so named by Captain Byron, our Commander made the discovery of four others (*n*). These he called **PALLISER'S ISLES**, in honour of his particular friend, Sir Hugh Palliser. The inhabitants seemed to be the same sort of people as those of Tiookea, and, like them, were armed with long pikes. Captain Cook could not determine, with any degree of certainty, whether the group of Isles he had lately seen were, or were not, any of those that had been discovered by the Dutch navigators. This was owing to the neglect of recording, with sufficient accuracy, the situation of their discoveries. Our Commander hath, in general, observed, with regard to this part of the ocean, that, from the latitude of twenty down to fourteen or twelve, and from the meridian of a hundred and thirty-eight to a hundred and forty-eight or a hundred and fifty West, it is so strewed with low isles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much caution. On the twenty-second of April, Captain Cook reached the Island of Otaheite, and anchored in Matavai Bay. As his chief reason for putting in at this place was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity of ascertaining the error of the watch by the known longitude, and to determine anew her rate of going, the first object was to land the instruments, and to erect tents for the reception of a guard, and such other people as it was necessary to have on shore. Sick there were none; for the refreshments which had been obtained at the Marquesas had removed every complaint of that kind. From the quantity of provisions, which, contrary to expectation, our Commander now found at Otaheite, he determined to make a longer stay in the Island than he had at first intended. Accordingly, he took measures for the repairs of the ship, which the high southern latitudes had rendered indispensably necessary. During Captain Cook's stay at Otaheite, he maintained a most friendly connection with the inhabitants; and a continual interchange of visits was preserved between him and Otoo, Towha, and other Chiefs of the country. His traffic with them was greatly facilitated by his having fortunately brought with him some red parrot feathers from the Island of Amsterdam. These were jewels of high value in the eyes of the Otaheitans. The Captain's stock in trade was by this time greatly exhausted; so that, if it had not been for the feathers, he would have found it difficult to have supplied the ship with the necessary refreshments. Among other entertainments which our Commander and the rest of the English Gentlemen met with at Otaheite, one was a grand naval review. The vessels of war consisted of a hundred and sixty large double canoes, well equipped, manned, and armed. They were decorated with flags and streamers; and the Chiefs, together with all those who were on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits. The whole fleet made a noble appearance; such as our Voyagers had never seen before in this sea, or could ever have expected. Besides the vessels of war, there were a hundred and seventy sail of smaller double canoes, which seemed to be designed for transports and victuallers. Upon each of them was a little house; and they were rigged with mast and sail, which was not the case with the war canoes. Captain Cook guessed that there were no less than seven thousand seven hundred and sixty men in the whole fleet. He was not able to obtain full information concerning the design of this armament. Notwithstanding the agreeable intercourse that was, in general, maintained between our Commander and the people of Otaheite, circumstances occasionally happened, which called for peculiar exertions of his prudence and resolution. One of the natives who had attempted to steal a water-cask from the watering-place, was caught in the fact, sent on board, and put in irons. In this situation, he was seen by King Otoo, and other Chiefs. Captain Cook having made known to them the crime of their countryman, Otoo entreated that he might be set at liberty. This the Captain however refused, alleging, that since he punished his own people, when they committed the least offence against Otoo's, it was but just that this man should also be punished. As Captain Cook knew that Otoo would not punish him, he resolved to do it himself. Accordingly, he directed the criminal to be carried on shore to the tents, and having himself followed, with the Chiefs and other Otaheitans, he ordered the guard out, under arms, and commanded the man to be tied up to a post. Otoo again solicited the culprit's release, and in this he was seconded by his sister, but in vain. The Captain expostulated with him on the conduct of the man, and of the Indians in general; telling him, that neither he, nor any of the ship's company, took the smallest matter of property from them without first paying for it; enumerating the articles which the English had given in exchange for such and such things; and urging that it was wrong in them to steal from those who were their friends. He added, that the punishing of the guilty person would be the means of saving the lives of several of Otoo's people, by deterring them from committing crimes of the like nature, and thus preventing them from the danger of being shot to death, which would certainly happen, at one time or other, if they persisted in their robberies. With these arguments the King appeared to be satisfied, and only desired that the man might not be killed. Captain Cook then directed that the croud, which was very great, should be kept at a proper distance, and, in the presence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen of lashes with a

(*n*) The situation of one of them was in latitude 15° 26' South, and in longitude 146° 20' West. Another was in latitude 15° 27' and longitude 146° 3'.

cat-of-nine tails. This punishment the man sustained with great firmness, after which he was set at liberty. When the natives were going away, Towha called them back, and, with much gracefulness of action, addressed them in a speech of nearly half an hour in length, the design of which was to condemn their present conduct, and to recommend a different one for the future. To make a farther impression upon the minds of the inhabitants, our Commander ordered his Marines to go through their exercises, and to load and fire in volleys with ball. As they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is more easy to conceive than to describe the amazement which possessed the Indians during the whole time, and especially those of them who had not seen anything of the kind before. The judicious will discern, with regard to this narrative, that it throws peculiar light on Captain Cook's character. Nor is it an uncurious circumstance in the history of human society, that a stranger should thus exercise jurisdiction over the natives of a country, in the presence of the Prince of that country, without his authority, and even contrary to his solicitations. Another disagreeable altercation with the inhabitants of Otaheite, arose from the negligence of one of the English centinels on shore. Having either slept or quitted his post, an Indian seized the opportunity of carrying off his musquet. When any extraordinary theft was committed, it immediately excited such an alarm among the natives in general, from their fear of Captain Cook's resentment, that they fled from their habitations, and a stop was put to the traffic for provisions. On the present occasion, the Captain had no small degree of trouble; but, by his prudent conduct, the musquet was recovered, peace restored, and commerce again opened. In the differences which happened with the several people he met with in his voyages, it was a rule with him, never to touch the least article of their property, any farther than to detain their canoes for a while, when it became absolutely necessary. He always chose the most mild and equitable methods of bringing them to reason; and in this he not only succeeded, but frequently put things upon a better footing than if no contention had taken place. During this visit to Otaheite, fruit and other refreshments were obtained in great plenty. The relief arising from them was the more agreeable and salutary, as the bread of the ship was in a bad condition. Though the biscuit had been aired and picked at New Zealand, it was now in such a state of decay, that it was necessary for it to undergo another airing and cleaning, in which much of it was found wholly rotten, and unfit to be eaten. This decay was judged to be owing to the ice our Navigators had frequently taken in when to the southward, which made the hold of the vessel cold and damp, and to the great heat that succeeded when they came to the North. Whatever was the cause, the loss was so considerable, that the men were put to a scanty allowance in this article, with the additional mortification of the bread's being bad that could be used. Two goats, that had been given by Captain Furneaux to Otoo, in the former part of the voyage, seemed to promise fair for answering the purposes for which they were left upon the Island. The ewe, soon after, had two female kids, which were now so far grown as to be almost ready to propagate. At the same time, the old ewe was again with kid. The people were very fond of them, and they were in excellent condition. From these circumstances, Captain Cook entertained a hope that, in a course of years, they would multiply so much as to be extended over all the Isles of the Southern Ocean. The like success did not attend the sheep which had been left in the country. These speedily died, one excepted, which was said to be yet alive. Our Navigators also furnished the natives with cats, having given away no less than twenty at Otaheite, besides some which had been made presents of at Ulietea and Huaheine. With regard to the number of the inhabitants of Otaheite, our Commander collected, from comparing several facts together, that, including women and children, there could not be less, in the whole Island, than two hundred and four thousand. This number, at first sight, exceeded his belief. But when he came to reflect on the vast swarms of people that appeared wherever he went, he was convinced that the estimate was agreeable to truth. Such was the friendly treatment which our Voyagers met with at Otaheite, that one of the gunner's mates was induced to form a plan for remaining in the country. As he knew that he could not execute his scheme with success while the Resolution continued in Matavai Bay, he took the opportunity, when she was ready to quit it, and the sails were set for that purpose, to slip overboard. Being a good swimmer, he had no doubt of getting safe to a canoe, which was at some distance ready to receive him; for his design was concerted with the natives, and had even been encouraged by Otoo. However, he was discovered before he had gotten clear of the ship, and a boat being presently hoisted out, he was taken up, and brought back to the vessel. When our Commander reflected on this man's situation, he did not think him very culpable, or his desire of staying in the Island so extraordinary as might at first view be imagined. He was a native of Ireland, and had sailed in the Dutch service. Captain Cook, on his return from his former voyage, had picked him up at Batavia, and had kept him in his employment ever since. It did not appear that he had either friends or connections which could bind him to any particular part of the world. All nations being alike to him, where could he be more happy than at Otaheite? Here, in one of the finest climates of the globe, he could enjoy not only the necessities, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty. The

Captain

Captain seems to think, that if the man had applied to him in time, he might have given his consent to his remaining in the country.

On the fifteenth of May, Captain Cook anchored in O'Wharre Harbour, in the Island of Huaheine. He was immediately visited by his friend Oree, and the same agreeable intercourse subsisted between the Captain and this good old Chief which had formerly taken place. Red feathers were not here in such estimation as they had been at Otaheite; the natives of Huaheine having the good sense to give a preference to the more useful articles of nails and axes. During the stay of our Voyagers in the Island, some alarms were occasioned by the thievish disposition of several of the inhabitants; but matters subsided without any material consequences. A solemn march, which our Commander made through part of the country, at the head of forty-eight men, tended to impress the Indians with a sense of his power and authority. In fact, their attempts at stealing had been too much invited by the indiscretion of some of the English, who unguardedly separated themselves in the woods, for the purpose of killing birds; and who managed their musquets so unskilfully, as to render them less formidable in the eyes of the natives. I cannot persuade myself to omit a dramatic entertainment, at which several of the Gentlemen belonging to the Resolution attended one evening. The piece represented a girl as running away with our Navigators from Otaheite; and the story was partly founded in truth; for a young woman had taken a passage in the ship, down to Ulietea. She happened to be present at the representation of her own adventures; which had such an effect upon her, that it was with great difficulty that she could be prevailed upon by the English Gentlemen to see the play out, or to refrain from tears while it was acting. The piece concluded with the reception which she was supposed to meet with from her friends at her return; and it was a reception that was by no means favourable. As these people, when they see occasion, can add little extempore pieces to their entertainments, it is reasonable to imagine that the representation now described was intended as a satire against the girl, and to discourage others from following her steps. Such is the sense which they entertain of the propriety of female decorum. During Captain Cook's stay at Huaheine, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetable productions were procured in abundance, but not a sufficiency of hogs to supply the daily expence of the ship. This was partly owing to a want of proper articles for traffic. The Captain was obliged, therefore, to set the Smiths at work, to make different sorts of nails, iron tools, and instruments, in order to enable him to obtain refreshments at the Islands he was yet to visit, and to support his credit and influence among the natives. When our Commander was ready to sail from Huaheine, Oree was the last man that went out of the vessel. At parting, Captain Cook told him that they should meet each other no more; at which he wept, and said, "Let your sons come, we will treat them well."

At Ulietea, to which the Captain next directed his course, the events that occurred were nearly similar to those which have already been related. He had always been received by the people of this Island in the most hospitable manner, and they were justly entitled to every thing which it was in his power to grant. They expressed the deepest concern at his departure, and were continually importuning him to return. Oreo the Chief, and his wife and daughter, but especially the two latter, scarcely ever ceased weeping. Their grief was so excessive, that it might perhaps be doubted whether it was entirely sincere and unaffected; but our Commander was of opinion that it was real. At length, when he was ready to sail, they took a most affectionate leave. Oreo's last request to Captain Cook was that he would return; and when he could not obtain a promise to that effect, he asked the name of his burying-place. To this strange question the Captain answered, without hesitation, that it was Stepney; that being the parish in which he lived when in London. Mr. Forster, to whom the same question was proposed, replied, with greater wisdom and recollection, that no man, who used the sea, could say where he should be buried. As our Commander could not promise, or even then suppose, that more English ships would be sent to the southern isles, Oedidee, who for so many months had been the faithful companion of our Navigators, chose to remain in his native country. But he left them with a regret fully demonstrative of his esteem and affection, nor could any thing have torn him from them, but the fear of never returning. When Oreo pressed so ardently Captain Cook's return, he sometimes gave such answers as left room for hope. At these answers Oedidee would eagerly catch, take him on one side, and ask him over again. The Captain declares, that he had not words to describe the anguish which appeared in this young man's breast, when he went away. "He looked up at the ship, burst into tears, and then sunk down into the canoe." Oedidee was a youth of good parts, and of a docile, gentle, and humane disposition; but as he was almost wholly ignorant of the religion, government, manners, customs, and traditions of his countrymen, and the neighbouring Islands, no material knowledge could have been collected from him, had our Commander brought him away. He would, however, in every respect, have been a better specimen of the nation than Omai. When Captain Cook first came to these Islands, he had some thoughts of visiting Tupia's famous Bolabola. But having obtained a plentiful supply of refreshments, and the route he had in view allowing him no time to spare, he laid this

design aside, and directed his course to the West. Thus did he take his leave, as he then thought, for ever, of these happy isles, on which benevolent nature has spread her luxuriant sweets with a lavish hand; and in which the natives, copying the bounty of Providence, are equally liberal; being ready to contribute plentifully and cheerfully to the wants of navigators (o).

(o) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 312—378.

From Mr. Wales's observations it appeared, that, during five months, in which the watch had passed through the extremes of heat and cold, it went better in the cold than in the hot climates. (p) It is situated in latitude $18^{\circ} 4'$ South, and longitude $163^{\circ} 10'$ West.

On the sixth of June, the day after our Voyagers left Ulietea, they saw land, which they found to be a low reef Island, about four leagues in compass, and of a circular form. This was Howe Island, which had been discovered by Captain Wallis (p). Nothing remarkable occurred from this day to the sixteenth, when land was again seen. It was another reef Island; and being a new discovery, Captain Cook gave it the name of PALMERSTON ISLAND, in honour of Lord Palmerston (q).

(p) Its latitude is $16^{\circ} 46'$ South, and its longitude $154^{\circ} 8'$ West.

On the twentieth, fresh land appeared, which was perceived to be inhabited. This induced our Commander to go on shore with a party of Gentlemen; but the natives were found to be fierce and untractable. All endeavours to bring them to a parley were to no purpose; for they came on with the ferocity of wild boars, and instantly threw their darts. Two or three musquets discharged in the air, did not prevent one of them from advancing still farther, and throwing another dart, or rather a spear, which passed close over Captain Cook's shoulder. The courage of this man had nearly cost him his life. When he threw his spear, he was not five paces from the Captain, who had resolved to shoot him for his own preservation. It happened, however, that his musquet missed fire; a circumstance on which he afterwards reflected with pleasure. When he joined his party, and tried his musquet in the air, it went off perfectly well. This Island, from the disposition and behaviour of the natives, with whom no intercourse could be established, and from whom no benefit could be received, was called by our Commander SAVAGE ISLAND (r).

(r) Its situation is in latitude $19^{\circ} 1'$ South, and in longitude $169^{\circ} 37'$ West.

It is about eleven leagues in circuit; is of a round form, and good height; and has deep waters close to its shores. Among its other disadvantages, it is not furnished with a harbour. In pursuing his course to the West-south-west, Captain Cook passed by a number of small Islands, and, on the twenty-sixth, anchored on the North side of Anamocka, or Rotterdam. A traffic immediately commenced with the natives, who brought what provisions they had, being chiefly yams and shaddocks, which they exchanged for nails, beads, and other small articles. Here, as in many former cases, the Captain was put to some trouble on account of the thievish disposition of the inhabitants. As they had gotten possession of an adze and two musquets, he found it necessary to exert himself with peculiar vigour, in order to oblige them to make restitution. For this purpose he commanded all the Marines to be armed, and sent on shore; and the result of this measure was, that the things which had been stolen were restored. In the contest, Captain Cook was under a necessity of firing some small shot at a native who had distinguished himself by his resistance. His countrymen afterwards reported that he was dead; but he was only wounded, and that not in a dangerous manner. Though his sufferings were the effects of his own misbehaviour, the Captain endeavoured to soften them, by making him a present, and directing his wounds to be dressed by the Surgeon of the ship. The first time that our Commander landed at Anamocka, an old Lady presented him with a girl, and gave him to understand that she was at his service. Miss, who had previously been instructed, wanted a spike-nail, or a shirt, neither of which he had to give her; and he flattered himself that, by making the two women sensible of his poverty, he should easily get clear of their importunities. In this, however, he was mistaken. The favours of the young Lady were offered upon credit; and on his declining the proposal, the old woman began to argue with him, and then to abuse him. As far as he could collect from her countenance and her actions, the design of her speech was both to ridicule and reproach him, for refusing to entertain so fine a young woman. Indeed, the girl was by no means destitute of beauty; but Captain Cook found it more easy to withstand her allurements than the abuses of the ancient matron, and therefore hastened into his boat. While the Captain was on shore at Anamocka, he got the names of twenty Islands, which lie between the North-west and the North-east. Some of them were in sight; and two of them, which are most to the West, are remarkable on account of their great height. These are Amattafoa and Oghao. From a continual column of smoke which was seen daily ascending from the middle of Amattafoa, it was judged that there was a volcano in that Island. Anamocka was first discovered by Tasman, and by him was named Rotterdam (s).

(s) It is situated in the latitude of $20^{\circ} 15'$ South, and the longitude of $174^{\circ} 31'$ West.

It is of a triangular form, and each side extends about three and a half or four miles. From the North-west to the South of the Island, round by the East and North, it is encompassed by a number of small isles, sand-banks, and breakers. An end could not be seen to their extent to the North, and they may possibly reach as far to the South as Amsterdam, or Tongataboo. Together with Middleburg, or Eaoowe, and Pilstart, these form a group, containing about three degrees of latitude, and two of longitude. To this group Captain Cook had given the name of the Friendly Isles, or Archipelago, from the firm alliance and friendship which seemed to subsist among their inhabitants, and from their courteous behaviour to strangers. The same group may perhaps be extended much farther, even down to Boscawen and Keppel's Isles, which were discovered by Captain Wallis, and lie nearly in the same meridian (t).

(t) In the latitude of $15^{\circ} 53'$.

Whilst our Commander

mander was at Anamocka, he was particularly assiduous to prevent the introduction of a certain disorder. As some of his people brought with them the remains of this disease from the Society Isles, he prohibited them from having any female intercourse; and he had reason to believe that his endeavours were successful. The productions of Rotterdam, and the persons, manners, and customs of its inhabitants, are similar to those of Amsterdam. It is not, however, equally plentiful in its fruits, nor is every part of it in so high a state of cultivation. Neither hath it arisen to the same degree of wealth, with regard to cloth, matting, ornaments, and other articles, which constitute the chief riches of the Islanders of the Southern Ocean (*u*).

(*u*) Capt. Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, vol. ii. p. 1—21.

(*w*) It is situated in latitude 19° 43' South, and in longitude 178° 2' West.

Pursuing their course to the West, our Navigators discovered land on the first of July; and, upon a nearer approach, found it to be a small Island, to which, on account of the number of turtle that were seen upon the coast, Captain Cook gave the name of *TURTLE ISLE* (*w*). On the sixteenth, high land was seen bearing South-west, which no one doubted to be the *Australis del Espiritu Santo* of Quiros, and which is called by M. de Bougainville the *Great Cyclades*. After exploring the coast for some days, the Captain came to an anchor, in a harbour in the Island of *Mallicollo*. One of his first objects was to commence a friendly intercourse with the natives; but, while he was thus employed, an accident occurred which threw all into confusion, though in the end it was rather advantageous than hurtful to the English. A fellow in a canoe, having been refused admittance into one of our boats, bent his bow to shoot a poisoned arrow at the boat keeper. Some of his countrymen having prevented his doing it at that instant, time was given to acquaint our Commander with the transaction, who immediately ran upon deck. At this minute, the Indian had directed his bow to the boat-keeper; but upon being called to by Captain Cook, he pointed it at him. Happily, the Captain had a musquet in his hand loaded with small shot, and gave him the contents. By this, however, he was only staggered for a moment; for he still held his bow in the attitude of shooting. A second discharge of the same nature made him drop it, and obliged him, together with the other natives who were in the canoe, to paddle off with all possible celerity. At this time, some of the inhabitants began to shoot arrows from another quarter. A musquet discharged in the air had no effect upon them; but no sooner was a four-pound ball shot over their heads than they fled in the utmost confusion. A few hours after these transactions, the English put off in two boats, and landed in the face of four or five hundred people, who were assembled on the shore; and who, though they were all armed with bows and arrows, clubs and spears, made not the least opposition. On the contrary, when they saw Captain Cook advance with nothing but a green branch in his hand, one of them, who appeared to be a Chief, giving his bow and arrows to another, met the Captain in the water, bearing also a green branch. These being mutually exchanged in token of friendship, the Chief led our Commander to the crowd, to whom he immediately distributed presents. The Marines, in the mean time, were drawn up on the beach. Captain Cook then acquainted the Indians, by signs, that he wanted wood; and in the same manner permission was granted him to cut down the trees. Much traffic could not be carried on with these people, because they set no value on nails, or iron tools, or, indeed, on any of the articles which our Navigators could furnish. In such exchanges as they did make, and which were principally of arrows for pieces of cloth, they distinguished themselves by their honesty. When the ship had begun to sail from the Island, and they might easily, in consequence of their canoes dropping astern, have avoided delivering the things they had been paid for, they used their utmost efforts to get up with her, that they might discharge their obligations. One man, in particular, followed the *Resolution* a considerable time, and did not reach her till the object which brought him was forgotten. As soon as he came alongside the vessel, he held up the thing which had been purchased; and though several of the crew offered to buy it, he insisted upon delivering it to the person to whom it had been sold. That person, not knowing him again, would have given something in return; but this he refused, and shewed him what he had before received. There was only a single instance in which the natives took, or even attempted to take, any thing from our Voyagers, by any means whatever; and in that case restitution was immediately made, without trouble and without altercation. The inhabitants of *Mallicollo*, in general, are the most ugly and ill-proportioned people that Captain Cook had ever seen, and are in every respect different from all the nations which had been met with in the Southern Ocean. They are a very dark-coloured, and rather a diminutive race, with long heads, flat faces, and countenances which have some resemblance to that of the monkey. Their hair, which is mostly black or brown, is short and curly; but not altogether so soft and woolly as that of a negro. The difference of this people from any whom our Commander had yet visited, appeared not only in their persons but their language. Of about eighty words which were collected by Mr. Forster, scarcely one was found to bear any affinity to the language spoken in any country or Island hitherto described. It was observed by Captain Cook, that the natives could pronounce most of the English words with great ease. They had not so much as a name for a dog, and knew nothing of that animal; for which reason the Captain left them a dog and a bitch; and as they were very fond of them, it was highly probable that the breed

(x) It is situated on the North-east side of Mallicollo, not far from the South-east end, in latitude $16^{\circ} 25' 20''$ South, and longitude $167^{\circ} 57' 23''$ East.
(y) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 23—37.

breed would be fostered and encreased, To the harbour, in which our Commander anchored, while he lay at Mallicollo, he gave the name of PORT SANDWICH (x). It has many advantages, with regard to the depth of water, shelter from winds, and lying so near the shore as to be a cover to those of a ship's company who may be carrying on any necessary operations at land (y).

Soon after our Navigators had gotten to sea, which was on the twenty-third of July, they discovered three or four small Islands, that before had appeared to be connected. At this time the Resolution was not far from the Isle of Ambrym, the Isle of Paoom, and the Isle of Apee. On the next morning, several more Islands were discovered, lying off the South-east point of Apee, and constituting a group which Captain Cook called SHEPHERD'S ISLES, in honour of his learned and valuable friend, Dr. Shepherd, Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge. The ship was this day in some danger. It suddenly fell calm, and our Voyagers were left to the mercy of the current, close by the Isles, where no soundings could be found with a line of a hundred and eighty fathoms. The lands or Islands, which lay around the vessel in every direction, were so numerous that they could not be counted. At this crisis a breeze sprung up, which happily relieved the Captain and his company from the anxiety the calm had occasioned. Amidst the number of Islands, that were continually seen by our Navigators, there was only one on which no inhabitants were discerned. This consisted chiefly of a remarkable peaked rock, which was only accessible to birds, and which obtained the name of the MONUMENT. In the farther course of the ship to the southward, our Navigators drew near to certain Islands, which they found to consist of one large Island, the southern and western extremities of which extended beyond their sight. Three or four smaller ones lay off its North side. To the two principal of these Captain Cook gave the name of MONTAGU and HINCHINBROOK; and the large Island he named SANDWICH, in honour of his noble patron the Earl of Sandwich. This Island, which was spotted with woods and lawns, agreeably diversified over the whole surface, and which had a gentle slope from the hills down to the sea-coast, exhibited a most beautiful and delightful prospect. The examination of it was not, however, so much an object with our Commander, as to proceed to the South, in order to find the southern extremity of the Archipelago. Pursuing his discoveries, Captain Cook came in sight of an Island, which was afterwards known to be called by the natives Erromango. After coasting it for three days, he brought his vessel to anchor in a bay there, on the third of August. The next day, he went with two boats to examine the coast, and to look for a proper landing-place, that he might obtain a supply of wood and water. At this time, the inhabitants began to assemble on the shore, and by signs to invite our people to land. Their behaviour was apparently so friendly, that the Captain was charmed with it; and the only thing which could give him the least suspicion was, that most of them were armed with clubs, spears, darts, and bows and arrows. He did not, therefore, remit his vigilance; but kept his eye continually upon the Chief, watching his looks, as well as his actions. It soon was evident that the intentions of the Indians were totally hostile. They made a violent attempt to seize upon one of the boats; and though, on our Commander's pointing a musquet at them, they in some measure desisted, yet they returned in an instant, seemingly determined to carry their design into execution. At the head of the party was the Chief; while others, who could not come at the boat, stood behind with darts, stones, and bows and arrows in hand, ready to support their countrymen. As signs and threats had no effect, the safety of Captain Cook and his people became the only object of consideration; and yet he was unwilling to fire on the multitude. He resolved, therefore, to make the Chief alone the victim of his own treachery, and accordingly, aimed his musquet at him; but at this critical moment it missed fire. This circumstance encouraged the natives to despise our weapons, and to show the superiority of their own, by throwing stones and darts, and by shooting arrows. Hence it became absolutely necessary for the Captain to give orders to his men to fire upon the assailants. The first discharge threw them into confusion; but a second was scarcely sufficient to drive them off the beach. In consequence of this skirmish, four of the Indians lay, to all appearance, dead on the shore. However, two of them were afterwards perceived to crawl into the bushes; and it was happy for these people that not half of the musquets of the English would go off, since otherwise many more must have fallen. The inhabitants were, at length, so terrified as to make no farther appearance; and two oars, which had been lost in the conflict, were left standing up against the bushes. It was observed of these Islanders, that they seemed of a different race from those of Mallicollo, and that they spoke a different language. They are of a middle size, with a good shape, and tolerable features. Their colour is very dark; and their aspect is not mended by a custom they have of painting their faces, some with a black, and others with a red pigment. As to their hair, it is curly and crisp, and somewhat woolly. The few women who were seen, and who appeared to be ugly, wore a kind of petticoat, made either of palm leaves or of a plant similar in its nature; but the men, like those of Mallicollo, were almost entirely naked. On account of the treacherous behaviour of the inhabitants of Erromango, Captain Cook called a promontory, or peninsula, near which the skirmish happened, TRAITOR'S HEAD (z).

(z) It is the North-east point of the Island, and is situated in the latitude of $18^{\circ} 43'$ South, and the longitude of $169^{\circ} 28'$ East.

From

From this place the Captain sailed for an Island which had been discovered before, at a distance, and at which, on account of his wanting a large quantity of wood and water, he was resolved to make some stay. At first the natives were disposed to be very hostile; but our Commander, with equal wisdom and humanity, contrived to terrify them, without danger to their lives. This was principally effected by firing a few great guns, at which they were so much alarmed, as afterwards to be brought to tolerable order. Among these Islanders, many were inclined to be on friendly terms with our Navigators, and especially the old people; whilst most of the younger were daring and insolent, and obliged the English to keep to their arms. It was natural enough that age should be prudent and cautious, and youth bold and impetuous; and yet this distinction, with regard to the behaviour of the various nations which had been visited by Captain Cook, had not occurred before. The Island where the Captain now stayed, was found, upon enquiry, to be called, by the inhabitants, Tanna; and three others in its neighbourhood, and which could be seen from it, were distinguished by the names of Immer, Erronan or Footoona, and Annatom. From such information of the natives as our commander could see no reason to doubt, it appeared that circumcision was practised among them, and that they were eaters of human flesh. Concerning the latter subject, he should never have thought of asking them a single question, if they had not introduced it themselves, by enquiring whether the English had the same custom. It hath been argued, that necessity alone could be the origin of this horrid practice. But as the people of Tanna are possessed of fine pork and fowls, together with an abundance of roots and fruits, the plea of necessity cannot be urged in their behalf. In fact, no instance was seen of their eating human flesh; and, therefore, there might, perhaps, be some reason to hesitate, in pronouncing them to be cannibals. By degrees the inhabitants grew so courteous and civil, as to permit the English Gentlemen to ramble about in the skirts of the woods, and to shoot in them, without affording them the least molestation, or shewing any dislike. One day, some boys of the Island having gotten behind thickets, and thrown two or three stones at our people who were cutting wood, they were fired at by the petty officers on duty. Captain Cook, who was then on shore, was alarmed at the report of the musquets; and, when he was informed of the cause, was much displeased that so wanton an use should be made of our fire-arms. Proper measures were taken by him to prevent such conduct for the future. In the Island of Tanna was a volcano, which sometimes made a dreadful noise, and, at each explosion, which happened every three or four minutes, threw up fire and smoke in prodigious columns. At one time, great stones were seen high in the air. At the foot of the hill were several hot springs; and on the side of it Mr. Forster found some places whence smoke of a sulphureous smell issued, through cracks or fissures of the earth. A thermometer, that was placed in a little hole made in one of them, and which in the open air stood only at eighty, rose to a hundred and seventy. In another instance, the mercury rose to hundred and ninety-one. Our Commander being desirous of getting a near and good view of the volcano, set out with a party for that purpose. But the Gentlemen met with so many obstructions from the inhabitants, who were jealous of their penetrating far into the country, that they thought proper to return. For this jealousy of the Islanders Captain Cook, in his narrative, has made a very judicious and candid apology. It is observable, with respect to the volcano of Tanna, that it is not on the ridge of the hill to which it belongs, but on its side. Nor is that hill the highest in the country; for there are others near it of more than double its height. It was in moist and wet weather that the volcano was most violent. When our Commander was ready to sail from Tanna, an event happened, which gave him much concern. Just as our people were getting some logs into the boat, four or five of the natives stepped forward to see what they were doing. In consequence of the Indians not being allowed to come within certain limits, the centinel ordered them back, upon which they readily complied. At this time, Captain Cook, who had his eyes fixed upon them, observed the centry present his piece to the men. The Captain was going to reprove him for this action, when, to his inexpressible astonishment, the centry fired. An attack so causeless and extraordinary naturally threw the natives into great confusion. Most of them fled, and it was with difficulty that our Commander could prevail upon a few of them to remain. As they ran off, he perceived one of them to fall, who was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, washed his wound, and then led him off. The wounded person not being carried far, Captain Cook sent for the Surgeon of the ship, and accompanied him to the man, whom they found expiring. The rascal that had fired pretended that an Indian had laid an arrow across his bow, and was going to shoot at him; so that he apprehended himself to be in danger. This, however, was no more than what the Islanders had always done, to shew that they were armed as well as our Voyagers. What rendered the present incident the more unfortunate was, that it was not the man who bent the bow, but one who stood near him, that was shot by the centry. The harbour where the Captain anchored, during his stay at Tanna, was called by him **PORT RESOLUTION**, after the name of the ship, she being the first vessel by which it was ever entered. It is no more than a little creek, three quarters of a mile in length, and about half that space in breadth^(a). No

(a) It is situated on the North side of the most eastern point of the Island, in the latitude of $19^{\circ} 32' 25''$ South, and in the longitude of $169^{\circ} 44' 35''$ East.

place can exceed it in its convenience for taking in wood and water, which are both close to the shore. The inhabitant of the Island, with whom our Commander had the most frequent and friendly connections, was named Paowang. Very little trade could be carried on with the people of Tanna. They had not the least knowledge of iron; and consequently nails, tools, and other articles made of that metal, and which are so greedily sought for in the more eastern isles, were here of no consideration. Cloth could be of no service to persons who go naked. Among the productions of the Island, there is reason to believe that the nutmeg-tree might be mentioned. This is collected from the circumstance of Mr. Forster's having shot a pigeon, in the craw of which a wild nutmeg was discovered. However, though he took some pains to find the tree, his endeavours were not attended with success. It was at first thought by our Navigators, that the inhabitants of Tanna were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands, and those of Mallicollo; but by a short acquaintance with them they were convinced that they had little or no affinity to either, excepting in their hair. Some few men, women, and children were seen, whose hair resembled that of the English. With regard, however, to these persons it was obvious, that they were of another nation; and it was understood that they came from Erronan. Two languages were found to be spoken in Tanna. One of them, which appeared to have been introduced from Erronan, is nearly, if not exactly, the same with that of the Friendly Islands. The other, which is the proper language of the country, and which is judged to be peculiar to Tanna, Erromango, and Annatom, is different from any that had hitherto been met with by our Voyagers. The people of Tanna are of the middle size, and for the most part slender. There are few tall or stout men among them. In general, they have good features and agreeable countenances. Like all the tropical race, they are active and nimble; and seem to excel in the use of arms, but not to be fond of labour. With respect to the management of their weapons, Mr. Wales hath made an observation so honourable to Homer, that were I to omit it, I should not be forgiven by my classical readers. "I must confess," says Mr. Wales, "I have often been led to think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears, a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when confined within the strait stays of Aristotle. Nay, even so great an advocate for him as Mr. Pope, acknowledges them to be surprizing. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears, and them badly pointed, and not of a hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great poet on this account. But if I see fewer exceptions, I can find infinitely more beauties in him; as he has, I think, scarcely an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever, relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognized among these people; as, their whirling motion, and whistling noise, as they fly; their quivering motion, as they stick in the ground when they fall; their meditating their aim, when they are going to throw; and their shaking them in their hand as they go along (b)." On the twentieth of August Captain Cook sailed from Tanna, and employed all the remainder of the month in a farther examination of the Islands around him. He had now finished his survey of the whole Archipelago, and had gained a knowledge of it infinitely superior to what had ever been attained before. The northern Islands of this Archipelago were first discovered in 1606, by that eminent navigator Quiros, who considered them as part of the southern continent, which, at that time, and till very lately, was supposed to exist. M. de Bougainville was the next person by whom they were visited, in 1768. This Gentleman, however, besides landing in the Isle of Lepers, only made the discovery that the country was not connected, but composed of Islands, which he called the Great Cyclades. Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the situation and extent of these Islands, added to them several new ones which had hitherto been unknown, and explored the whole. He thought, therefore, that he had obtained a right to name them; and accordingly he bestowed upon them the appellation of the NEW HEBRIDES [W]. His title to this honour will not be disputed in any part of Europe, and certainly not by so enlightened and liberal a people as the French nation.

(b) Cook's Voyage, ubi supra, p. 38-84.

The season of the year now rendered it necessary for our Commander to return to the South, while he had yet some time to explore any land he might meet with between the New Hebrides and New Zealand; at which last place he intended to touch, that he might refresh his people, and renew his stock of wood and water for another southern course. With this view, he sailed on the first of September, and on the fourth land was discovered; in a harbour belonging to which the Resolution came to an anchor the next day. The design of Captain Cook was not only to visit the country, but to have an op-

[W] And accordingly he bestowed upon them the appellation of the NEW HEBRIDES.] They are situated between the latitude of $14^{\circ} 29'$ and $20^{\circ} 4'$ South, and between $166^{\circ} 41'$ and $170^{\circ} 21'$ East longitude, and extended a hundred and twenty-five leagues, in the direction of North-north-west $\frac{1}{2}$ West, and South-south-east $\frac{1}{2}$ East. The principal Islands of the New

Hebrides, for an account of which the reader is referred to Captain Cook's Voyage, are, the Peak of the Etoile, Tierra del Espiritu Santo, Mallicollo, St. Bartholomew, the Isle of Lepers, Aurora, Whitsuntide Isle, Ambrym, Paoom, Apee, Three Hills, Sandwich, Erromango, Tanna, Immer, and Annatom.

portunity of observing an eclipse of the sun, which was soon to happen. An intercourse immediately commenced with the inhabitants, who, during the whole of the Captain's stay, behaved in a very civil and friendly manner. In return, he was solicitous to render them every service in his power. To Teabooma the Chief, he sent, among other articles, a dog and a bitch, both young, but nearly full grown. It was some time before Teabooma could believe that the two animals were intended for him; but when he was convinced of it, he was lost in an excess of joy. Another, and still more valuable present, was that of a young boar and sow; which, on account of the absence of the Chief when they were brought to land, were received with great hesitation and ceremony. The last time that our Commander went on shore at this place, he ordered an inscription to be cut on a large tree, setting forth the name of the ship, the date of the year, and other circumstances, which testified that the English were the first discoverers of the country. This he had before done, wherever such a ceremony seemed necessary. How the Island was called by the natives, our Voyagers could never learn; and, therefore, Captain Cook gave it the name of NEW CALEDONIA. The inhabitants are strong, robust, active, and well made. With regard to the origin of the nation, the Captain judged them to be a race between the people of Tanna and the Friendly Isles; or between those of Tanna and the New Zealanders; or all three. Their language is in some respects a mixture of them all (c). In their disposition they are courteous and obliging; and they are not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be asserted concerning any other nation in this sea. The women of New Caledonia, and those likewise of Tanna, were found to be much chaster than the females of the more eastern Islands. Our Commander never heard that the least favour was obtained from them by any one of his company. Sometimes, indeed, the women would exercise a little coquetry, but they went no farther. The Botanists of the ship did not here complain for want of employment. They were diligent in their researches, and their labours were amply rewarded. Every day brought some accession to botanical knowledge, or that of other branches of natural history (d). Every thing being ready to put to sea, Captain Cook weighed anchor on the thirteenth of September, with the purpose of examining the coast of New Caledonia. In pursuing this object, by which he was enabled to add greatly to nautical and geographical knowledge, the Resolution was more than once in danger of being lost; and particularly, in the night of the twenty-eighth of the month, she had a narrow escape. Our Navigators, on this occasion, were much alarmed; and day-light shewed that their fears had not been ill founded. Indeed, breakers had been continually under their lee, and at a small distance from them; so that they were in the most imminent danger. "We owed our safety," says the Captain, "to the interposition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very brisk manner in which the ship was managed." Our Commander now began to be tired of a coast which he could no longer explore but at the risk of losing the vessel, and ruining the whole voyage. He determined, however, not to leave it, till he knew of what kind some groves of trees were, which, by their uncommon appearance, had occasioned much speculation, and had been mistaken, by several of the Gentlemen, for bisaltes. Captain Cook was the more solicitous to ascertain the point, as these trees appeared to be of a sort which might be useful to shipping, and had not been seen any where but in the southern parts of New Caledonia. They proved to be a species of spruce pine, very proper for spars, which were then wanted. The discovery was valuable, as, excepting New Zealand, there was not an Island known, in the South Pacific Ocean, where a ship could supply herself with a mast or yard, to whatever distress she might be reduced. It was the opinion of the Carpenter of the Resolution, who was a mast-maker as well as a shipwright, that very good masts might be made from the trees in question. The wood of them, which is white, close-grained, tough, and light, is well adapted to that purpose. One of the small Islands where the trees were found, was called by the Captain the ISLE OF PINES. To another, on account of its affording sufficient employment to the Botanists, during the little time they stayed upon it, he gave the name of BOTANY ISLE.

(c) Mr. Forster is of opinion that the language of the New Caledonians is totally different from that of any other nation which had yet been seen in the voyage.

(d) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 85-127.

Captain Cook now took into serious consideration what was farther to be done. He had pretty well determined the extent of the South-west coast of New Caledonia, and would gladly have proceeded to a more accurate survey of the whole, had he not been deterred, not only by the dangers he must encounter, but by the time required for the undertaking, and which he could not possibly spare. Indeed, when he considered the vast ocean he had to explore to the South; the state and condition of the ship; the near approach of Summer; and that any material accident might detain him in this sea even for another year, he did not think it adviseable to make New Caledonia any longer the object of his attention. But though he was thus obliged, by necessity, for the first time, to leave a coast which he had discovered, before it was fully surveyed, he did not quit it till he had ascertained the extent of the country, and proved, that, excepting New Zealand, it is perhaps the largest Island in the South Pacific Ocean [X]. As the Resolution pursued her

[X] *It is perhaps the largest Island in the South Pacific Ocean.* New Caledonia extends from the latitude of $19^{\circ} 37'$ to $22^{\circ} 30'$ South, and from the longitude of $163^{\circ} 37'$ to $167^{\circ} 14'$ East. It lies nearly

North-west $\frac{1}{2}$ West, and South-east $\frac{1}{2}$ East, and is about eighty-seven leagues long in that direction. Its breadth does not any where exceed ten leagues.

course from New Caledonia, land was discovered, which, on a nearer approach, was found to be an Island of good height and five leagues in circuit. Captain Cook named it NORFOLK ISLE, in honour of the noble family of Howard (e). It was uninhabited; and the first persons that ever set foot on it were unquestionably our English Navigators. Various trees and plants were observed that are common at New Zealand; and, in particular, the flax plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country. The chief produce of the Island is a kind of spruce pine, exceedingly straight and tall, which grows in great abundance. Such is the size of many of the trees, that, breast high, they are as thick as two men can fathom. Among the vegetables of the place, the palm-cabbage afforded both a wholesome and palatable refreshment; and, indeed, proved the most agreeable repast that our people had for a considerable time enjoyed. In addition to this gratification, they had the pleasure of procuring some excellent fish.

(e) It is situated in the latitude of $29^{\circ} 2' 30''$ South, and in the longitude of $163^{\circ} 16'$ East.

From Norfolk Isle, our Commander steered for New Zealand, it being his intention to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound, that he might refresh his crew, and put the ship in a condition to encounter the southern latitudes. On the eighteenth of October, he anchored before Ship Cove in that sound; and the first thing he did, after landing, was to look for the bottle he had left on the shore, in which was a memorandum. It was taken away; and it soon appeared, from indubitable circumstances, that the Adventure had been in the cove after it was quitted by the Resolution. Upon visiting the gardens which had been formed at Motuara, they were found almost in a state of nature, having been wholly neglected by the inhabitants. Many, however, of the articles were in a flourishing condition, and shewed how well they liked the soil in which they were planted. It was several days before any of the natives made their appearance; but when they did so, and recognised Captain Cook and his friends, joy succeeded to fear. They hurried in numbers out of the woods, and embraced the English over and over again, leaping and skipping about like madmen. Amidst all this extravagance of joy, they were careful to preserve the honour of their females; for they would not permit some women, who were seen at a distance, to come near our people. The Captain's whole intercourse with the New Zealanders, during this his third visit to Queen Charlotte's Sound, was peaceable and friendly; and one of them, a man apparently of consequence, whose name was Pedero, presented him with a staff of honour, such as the Chiefs generally carry. In return, our Commander dressed Pedero, who had a fine person, and a good presence, in a suit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. Captain Cook still continued his solicitude to stock the Island with useful animals; and accordingly, in addition to what he had formerly done, he ordered two pigs, a boar and sow, to be put on shore. There was reason to believe that some of the cocks and hens which had formerly been left here still existed. None of them, indeed, were seen; but an hen's egg was found, which had not long been laid. Mr. Wales had now an opportunity of completing his observations with regard to Queen Charlotte's Sound, so as to ascertain its latitude and longitude with the utmost accuracy (f). In the Captain's former voyage there had been an error in this respect. Such were Mr. Wales's abilities and assiduity, that the same correctness was maintained by him, in determining the situations of all the other places which were visited by our Navigators (g).

(f) The longitude of Queen Charlotte's Sound, at the bottom of Ship Cove, is $174^{\circ} 25' 7\frac{1}{2}''$ East, and its latitude $41^{\circ} 5' 56''\frac{1}{2}''$ South. (g) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 128—162.

(h) The ship, on the twenty-seventh, was in longitude $138^{\circ} 56'$ West.

On the tenth of November, Captain Cook took his departure from New Zealand, in farther pursuit of his great object, the determination of the question concerning the existence of a southern continent. Having sailed till the twenty-seventh, in different degrees of latitude, extending from 43° to $55^{\circ} 48'$ South, he gave up all hopes of finding any more land in this ocean (h). He came, therefore, to the resolution of steering directly for the West entrance of the Straits of Magalhaens, with a view of coasting the South side of Terra del Fuego, round Cape Horn, to the Strait Le Maire. As the world had hitherto obtained but a very imperfect knowledge of this shore, the Captain thought that the full survey of it would be more advantageous, both to navigation and geography, than any thing he could expect to find in a higher latitude. In the prosecution of his voyage, our Commander, on the seventeenth of December, reached the West coast of Terra del Fuego; and having continued to range it till the twentieth, he came to an anchor in a place to which he afterwards gave the name of CHRISTMAS SOUND. Through the whole course of his various navigations, he had never seen so desolate a coast. It seems to be entirely composed of rocky mountains, without the least appearance of vegetation. These mountains terminate in horrible precipices, the craggy summits of which spire up to a vast height; so that scarcely any thing in nature can appear with a more barren and savage aspect, than the whole of the country. The run which Captain Cook had made directly across this ocean, in a high southern latitude, was believed by him to be the first of the kind that had ever been carried into execution (i). He was, therefore, somewhat particular in remarking every circumstance which seemed to be in the least material. However, he could not but observe, that he had never made a passage any where, of such length, or even of a much shorter extent, in which so few things occurred that were of an interesting nature. Excepting the variation of the compass, he knew of nothing else that was worthy of notice. The Captain had now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean; and he had explored it in such a manner, that it would be impossible for any one to think that more could be

(i) He could not possibly know, at this time, that the Adventure had made the passage before him.

(k) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 163—176.

performed, in a single voyage, towards obtaining that end, than had actually been accomplished (k). Barren and dreary as the land is about Christmas Sound, it was not wholly destitute of some accommodations, which could not fail of being agreeable to our Navigators. Near every harbour they found fresh water, and wood for fuel. The country abounds likewise with wild fowl, and particularly with geese; which afforded a refreshment to the whole crew, that was the more acceptable on account of the approaching festival. Had not Providence thus happily provided for them, their Christmas cheer must have been salt beef and pork. Some Madeira wine, the only article of provision that was mended by keeping, was still left. This, in conjunction with the geese, which were cooked in every variety of method, enabled our people to celebrate Christmas as cheerfully, as perhaps was done by their friends in England. The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, Captain Cook found to be of the same nation that he had formerly seen in Success Bay; and the same whom M. de Bougainville has distinguished by the name of Pecharas. They are a little, ugly, half-starved, beardless race, and go almost naked. It is their own fault that they are not better clothed, nature having furnished them with ample materials for that purpose. By lining their seal-skin cloaks with the skins and feathers of aquatic birds; by making the cloaks themselves larger; and by applying the same materials to different parts of clothing, they might render their dress much more warm and comfortable. But while they are doomed to exist in one of the most inhospitable climates in the globe, they have not sagacity enough to avail themselves of those means of adding to the conveniencies of life, which Providence has put into their power. In short, the Captain, after having been a witness to so many varieties of the human race, hath pronounced, that of all the nations he had seen, the Pecharas are the most wretched (l). Notwithstanding the barrenness of the country, it abounds with a variety of unknown plants, and gave sufficient employment to the Botanists of the Resolution. "Almost every plant," says Mr. Forster, "which we gathered" on the rocks, "was new to us, and some species" were remarkable for the beauty of their flowers, or their smell (m). On the twenty-eighth of December, our Commander sailed from Christmas Sound, and proceeded on his voyage, round Cape Horn, through Strait le Maire, to Staten Land. This famous Cape was passed by him on the next day, when he entered the Southern Atlantic Ocean. In some charts, Cape Horn is laid down as belonging to a small Island; but this was neither confirmed, nor could it be contradicted by our Navigators; for several breakers appeared in the coast, both to the East and West of it, and the hazy weather rendered every object indistinct. Though the summits of some of the hills were rocky, the sides and valleys seemed covered with a green turf, and wooded in tufts (n). In ranging Staten Island a good part was found situated three leagues to the westward of St. John, and in a northern direction. Upon account of the day on which the discovery of this port was made, (being the first of January) Captain Cook gave it the name of NEW YEAR'S HARBOUR. The knowledge of it may be of service to future Navigators. Indeed, it would be more convenient for ships bound to the West, or round Cape Horn, if its situation would permit them to put to sea with an easterly and northerly wind. But this inconvenience is not of great consequence, since these winds are seldom known to be of long duration. The Captain, however, has declared, that if he were on a voyage round Cape Horn to the West, and not in want of wood or water, or any other thing which might make it necessary to put into port, he would not approach the land at all. By keeping out at sea the currents would be avoided, which, he was satisfied, would lose their force at ten or twelve leagues from land, and be totally without influence at a greater distance. The extent of Terra del Fuego, and consequently that of the Straits of Magalhaens, our Commander ascertained to be less than has been laid down by the generality of navigators. Nor was the coast, upon the whole, found to be so dangerous as has often been represented. The weather, at the same time, was remarkably temperate. In one of the little Isles near Staten Land, and which had been called by Captain Cook New Year's Isles, there was observed a harmony between the different animals of the place, which is too curious to be omitted. It seemed as if they had entered into a league not to disturb each other's tranquillity. The greater part of the sea-coast is occupied by the sea-lions; the sea-bears take up their abode in the Isle; the shags are posted in the highest cliffs; the penguins fix their quarters where there is the most easy communication to and from the sea; and the rest of the birds chuse more retired places. All these animals were occasionally seen to mix together, like domestic cattle and poultry in a farm-yard, without one attempting to molest the other. Nay, the Captain had often observed the eagles and vultures sitting on the hills among the shags, while none of the latter, whether old or young, appeared to be in the least disturbed at their presence. It may be asked, then, how do these birds of prey live? This question our Commander hath answered, by supposing that they feed on the carcases of seals and birds which die by various causes. It is probable, from the immense quantity of animals with which the Isle abounds, that such carcases exist in great numbers (o).

(l) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 177—187.

(m) Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 488.

(n) The latitude of Cape Horn is 55° 58' South, and its longitude was now ascertained to be 67° 46' West.

(o) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 187—206.

From Staten Island Captain Cook sailed, on the fourth of January, with a view, in the first place, of discovering that extensive coast, laid down by Mr. Dalrymple in his chart, in

which is the gulph of St. Sebastian. In order to have all other parts before him, the Captain designed to make the western point of that gulph. As he had some doubt of the existence of such a coast, this appeared to him the best route for determining the matter, and for exploring the southern part of this ocean. When he came to the situations assigned to the different points of the gulph of St. Sebastian, neither land nor any unequivocal signs of land were discovered. On the contrary, it was evident that there could not be any extensive tract of country in the direction which had been supposed. Proceeding in his voyage, land was seen on the fourteenth, which was at first mistaken for an Island of ice. It was in a manner wholly covered with snow. From the person by whom it was first discovered, it obtained the name of WILLIS'S ISLAND (p). It is a high rock, of no great extent, near to which are some rocky islets. Another Island, of a larger compass, on account of the vast number of birds which were upon it, was called BIRD ISLE. A more extensive range of country had been seen for some time, which Captain Cook reached on the seventeenth, and where he landed, on the same day, in three different places. The head of the bay, in which he came to shore, was terminated by particular ice-cliffs, of considerable height. Pieces were continually breaking off, and floating out to sea; and while our Navigators were in the bay, a great fall happened, which made a noise like a cannon. No less savage and horrible were the inner parts of the country. "The wild rocks raised their summits, till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow." There was not a tree to be seen, or a shrub found that was even big enough to make a tooth-pick. The only vegetation that was met with, was a coarse strong-bladed grass, growing in tufts, wild burnet, and a plant like moss, which sprang from the rocks. When our Commander landed in the bay, he displayed the English colours; and, under a discharge of small arms, took possession of the country in his Majesty's name. It was not, however, a discovery which was ever likely to be productive of any considerable benefit. In his return to the ship, Captain Cook brought with him a quantity of seals and penguins, which were an acceptable present to the crew; not from the want of provisions, which were plentiful in every kind, but from a change of diet. Any sort of fresh meat was preferred by most on board to salt. The Captain himself was now, for the first time, tired of the salted meats of the ship; and though the flesh of the penguins could scarcely vie with bullock's liver, its freshness was sufficient to render it comparatively agreeable to the palate. To the bay in which he had been, he gave the name of POSSESSION BAY (q). The land in which this bay lies, was at first judged by our Navigators to be part of a great continent. But, upon coasting round the whole country, it was proved to a demonstration that it was only an Island of seventy leagues in circuit. In honour of his Majesty, Captain Cook called it the ISLE OF GEORGIA (r). It could scarcely have been thought that an Island of no greater extent than this, situated between the latitude of fifty-four and fifty-five, should, in a manner, be wholly covered, many fathoms deep, with frozen snow, in the height of summer. The sides and summits of the lofty mountains were cased with snow and ice; and an incredible quantity lay in the valleys. So immense was the quantity, that our Commander did not think that it could be the produce of the Island. Some land, therefore, which he had seen at a distance, induced him to believe that it might belong to an extensive tract; and gave him hopes of discovering a continent. In this respect, however, he was disappointed; but the disappointment did not sit heavy upon him; since to judge of the bulk by the apprehended sample, it would not have been worth the discovery. It was remarkable that our Voyagers did not see a river, or a stream of fresh water, on the whole coast of the Isle of Georgia. Captain Cook judged it to be highly probable that there are no perennial springs in the country; and that the interior parts, in consequence of their being much elevated, never enjoy heat enough to melt the snow in sufficient quantities to produce a river or stream of water. In sailing round the Island, our Navigators were almost continually involved in a thick mist; so that, for any thing they knew to the contrary, they might be surrounded with dangerous rocks.

(p) It is situated in latitude $54^{\circ} 5'$ South, and longitude of $37^{\circ} 18'$ West.

(p) It is situated in the latitude of 54° South, and the longitude of $38^{\circ} 23'$ West.

(r) It is situated between the latitudes of $53^{\circ} 57'$ and $54^{\circ} 57'$ South, and between $38^{\circ} 13'$ and $35^{\circ} 34'$ West longitude.

The Captain, on the twenty-fifth of the month, steered from the Isle of Georgia, and, on the twenty-seventh, computed that he was in latitude sixty, South. Farther than this he did not intend to go, unless some certain signs of soon meeting with land should be discovered. There was now a long hollow swell from the West, which was a strong indication that no land was to be met with in that direction; and hence arose an additional proof of what has already been remarked, that the extensive coast, laid down in Mr. Dalrymple's chart of the ocean between Africa and America, and the Gulph of St. Sebastian, doth not exist. Not to mention the various Islands which were seen in the prosecution of the voyage, and the names that were given to them, I shall only advert to a few of the more material circumstances. On an elevated coast, which appeared in sight upon the thirty-first, our Commander bestowed the appellation of the SOUTHERN THULE. The reason of his giving it this name was, that it is the most southern land that had ever yet been discovered (s). It is every where covered with snow, and displays a surface of vast height. On this day, our Voyagers were in no small danger from a great westerly swell, which set right upon the shore, and threatened to carry them on the most horrible coast in the world. Happily,

(s) Its latitude is $59^{\circ} 13' 30''$ South, and its longitude $27^{\circ} 45'$ West.

the discovery of a point to the North, beyond which no land could be seen, relieved them from their apprehensions. To the more distinguished tracts of country, which were discovered from the thirty-first of January to the sixth of February, Captain Cook gave the names of CAPE BRISTOL, CAPE MONTAGU, SAUNDERS'S ISLE, CANDLEMAS ISLES, and SANDWICH'S LAND. The last is either a group of Islands, or else a point of the continent. For that there is a tract of land near the pole, which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast Southern Ocean, was the Captain's firm opinion: He also thought it probable, that this land must extend farthest to the North where it is opposite to the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Ice had always been found by him farther to the North in these oceans than any where else, and this he judged could not be the case, if there were not land of considerable extent to the South. However, the greatest part of this southern continent, if it actually exists, must lie within the polar circle, where the sea is so encumbered with ice, that the land is rendered inaccessible. So great is the risque which is run, in examining a coast in these unknown and icy seas, that our Commander, with a modest and well-grounded boldness, could assert, that no man would ever venture farther than he had done; and that the lands which may lie to the South will never be explored. Thick fogs, snow storms, intense cold, and every thing beside that can render navigation dangerous, must be encountered; all which difficulties are greatly heightened by the inexpressibly horrid aspect of the country. It is a country doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to lie buried in everlasting snow and ice. Whatever ports there may be on the coast, they are almost entirely covered with frozen snow of a vast thickness. If, however, any one of them should be so far open as to invite a ship into it, she would run the risque of being fixed there for ever, or of coming out in an ice island. To this it may be added, that the Islands and floats on the coast, the great falls from the ice cliffs in the port, or a heavy snow storm, attended with a sharp frost, might be equally fatal. Nothing could exceed the inclination of Captain Cook, if it had been practicable, to penetrate farther to the South: but difficulties like these were not to be surmounted. If he had risked all that had been done during the voyage, for the sake of discovering and exploring a coast, which, when discovered and explored, would have answered no end whatever, or have been of the least use either to navigation or geography, or indeed to any other science, he would justly have been charged with inexcusable temerity. He determined, therefore, to alter his course to the east, and to sail in quest of Bouvet's Land, the existence of which was yet to be settled. Accordingly, this was the principal object of his pursuit, from the sixth to the twenty-second of the month. By that day he had run down thirteen degrees of longitude, in the very latitude assigned for Bouvet's Land. No such land, however, was discovered; nor did any proofs occur of the existence of Cape Circumcision. Our Commander was at this time no more than two degrees of longitude from the route he had taken to the South, when he left the Cape of Good Hope. It would, therefore, have been to no purpose to proceed any farther to the East in this parallel. But being desirous of determining the question concerning some land that was supposed to have been seen more to the South, he directed his course for the situation in which the discovery of it might be expected. Two days were spent by him in this pursuit, to no effectual purpose. After having run over the place where the land was imagined to lie, without meeting with the least signs of any, it became certain that the ice islands had deceived our Navigators as well as Mr. Bouvet (*t*). Captain Cook had now made the circuit of the southern ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to leave not the least room for the possibility of there being a continent, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice visiting the tropical sea, he had not only settled the situation of some old discoveries, but made many new ones; and, indeed, even in that part, had left little more to be accomplished. The intention of the voyage had, in every respect, been fully answered, and the southern hemisphere sufficiently explored. A final end was hereby put to the searching after a southern continent, which, for nearly two centuries past, had occasionally engrossed the attention of some of the maritime powers, and had been urged with great ardour by philosophers and geographers in different ages.

The great purpose of his navigation round the globe being thus completed, the Captain began to direct his views towards England. He had, indeed, some thoughts of protracting his course a little longer, for the sake of revisiting the place where the French discovery is said to be situated. But, upon mature deliberation, he determined to lay aside his intention. He considered that, if this discovery had really been made, the end would be as fully answered as if it had been done by himself. It could only be an Island; and if a judgment might be formed from the degree of cold which our Voyagers had experienced in that latitude, it could not be a fertile one. Besides, our Commander would hereby have been kept two months longer at sea, and that in a tempestuous latitude, with which the ship was not in a condition to struggle. Her sails and rigging were so much worn, that something was giving way every hour; and there was nothing left, either to repair or to replace them. The provisions of the vessel were in such a state of decay, that they afforded little nourishment, and the company had been long without refreshments. Indeed, the crew

(*t*) Cook, *ubi*
supra, p. 207—
238.

were yet healthy, and would cheerfully have gone wherever the Captain judged it proper to lead them; but he was fearful lest the scurvy should lay hold of them, at a time when none of the remedies were left by which it could be removed. He thought, likewise, that it would have been cruel in him to have continued the fatigues and hardships they were perpetually exposed to, longer than was absolutely necessary. Throughout the whole voyage, they had merited by their behaviour every indulgence which it was in his power to bestow. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they had shewn that no difficulties or dangers which came in their way were incapable of being surmounted; nor had their activity, courage, and cheerfulness been in the least abated by the separation from them of their consort the *Adventure*. From all these considerations, which were evidently the dictates of wisdom and humanity, Captain Cook was induced to spend no longer time in searching for the French discoveries, and to steer for the Cape of Good Hope. He determined, however, to direct his course in such a manner as to look for the Isles of Denia and Marseeven, which are laid down in Dr. Halley's variation chart (u). After sailing in the proper latitudes, from the twenty-fifth of February to the thirteenth of March, no such Islands were discovered. Nothing, indeed, had been seen that could encourage our Voyagers to persevere in a search after them; and much time could not now be spared, either for the purpose of finding them, or of proving their non-existence. Every one on board was for good reasons impatient to get into port. The Captain, therefore, could no longer avoid yielding to the general wishes, and resolving to proceed to the Cape, without farther delay (w). Soon after our Commander had come to this determination, he demanded of the officers and petty officers, in pursuance of his instructions, the log-books and journals they had kept; which were delivered to him accordingly, and sealed up for the inspection of the Admiralty. He enjoined them also, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they had been, till they were permitted to do so by their Lordships; an injunction, a compliance with which might probably be rendered somewhat difficult, from the natural tendency there is in men to relate the extraordinary enterprises and adventures wherein they have been concerned. As the *Resolution* approached towards the Cape of Good Hope, she fell in first with a Dutch East Indiaman from Bengal, commanded by Captain Bosch, and next with an English Indiaman, being the *True Briton*, from China, of which Captain Broadly was the Commander. Mr. Bosch very obligingly offered to our Navigators sugar, arrack, and whatever he had to spare; and Captain Broadly, with the most ready generosity, sent them fresh provisions, tea, and various articles which could not fail of being peculiarly acceptable to people in their situation. Even a parcel of old news-papers furnished no slight gratification to persons who had so long been deprived of obtaining any intelligence concerning their country and the state of Europe. From these vessels Captain Cook received some information with regard to what had happened to the *Adventure*, after her separation from the *Resolution*. On Wednesday the twenty-second of March (x), he anchored in Table Bay; where he found several Dutch ships, some French, and the *Ceres*, an English East Indiaman, bound directly for England, under the command of Captain Newte. By this Gentleman he sent a copy of the preceding part of his journal, some charts, and other drawings, to the Admiralty (y). During the circum-navigation of the globe, from the period of our Commander's leaving the Cape of Good Hope to his return to it again, he had sailed no less than twenty thousand leagues. This was an extent of voyage nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which had never been accomplished before, by any ship, in the same compass of duration. In such a case, it could not be a matter of surprise, that the rigging and sails of the *Resolution* should be essentially damaged, and even worn out: and yet, in all this great run, which had been made in every latitude between nine and seventy-one, she did not spring either low-mast, top-mast, lower or top-sail yard; nor did she so much as break a lower or top-mast shroud. These happy circumstances were owing to the good properties of the vessel, and the singular care and abilities of her officers (z).

(w) He was at this time in the latitude of 38° $38'$ South, and longitude of 23° $37'$ East.

(u) They are laid down in the latitude of 41° $\frac{1}{2}$ South, and about 4° of longitude to the East of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope.

(y) Capt. Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, vol. ii. p. 239-249.

(x) With our Navigators, who had sailed round the world, it was Wednesday the twenty-second of March; but at the Cape of Good Hope it was Tuesday the twenty-first.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 265, 266.

On the remainder of the voyage it is not necessary to enlarge. Though it was conducted with the same attention to navigation and geography, and with the same sagacity in marking whatever was worthy of observation, nevertheless, as it was not employed in traversing unknown seas, or in discovering countries that had not been heard of before, it may be sufficient briefly to mention the places at which Captain Cook touched, before his arrival in England. The repairs of the ship having been completed, and the necessary stores gotten on board, together with a fresh supply of provisions and water, he left the Cape of Good Hope on the twenty-seventh of April, and reached the Island of St. Helena on the fifteenth of May. Here he staid till the twenty-first, when he sailed for the Island of Ascension, where he anchored on the twenty-eighth. From this place he directed his course, on the thirty-first, for the Island of Fernando de Noronha, at which he arrived on the ninth of June. In the progress of the voyage, our Commander made an experiment upon the still for procuring fresh water; and the result of the trial was, that the invention is useful upon the whole, but that to trust entirely to it would by no means be advisable. Indeed, provided there is not a scarcity of fuel, and the coppers are good, as much water may be obtained as will support life; but no efforts will be able to procure a quantity sufficient

sufficient for the preservation of health; especially in hot climates. Captain Cook was convinced, by experience, that nothing contributes more to the health of seamen, than having plenty of water. On the fourteenth of July, the Captain came to an anchor in the Bay of Fayal, one of the Azores Islands. His sole design in stopping here, was to give Mr. Wales an opportunity of finding the rate of the watch, that hereby he might be enabled to fix the longitude of these Islands with the greater degree of certainty. No sooner, therefore, had our Commander anchored, than he sent an officer to wait on the English consul, and to acquaint the Governor with the arrival of our Navigators, requesting his permission for Mr. Wales to make observations on shore, for the purpose now mentioned. Mr. Dent, who then acted as consul, not only obtained this permission, but accommodated Mr. Wales with a convenient place in his garden, to set up his instruments. This object being accomplished, Captain Cook proceeded, on the nineteenth, with all expedition for England. On the thirtieth of the same month, he anchored at Spithead, and landed at Portsmouth, having been absent from Great Britain three years and eighteen days, in which time, and under all changes of climate, he had lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness (a).

(a) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 268—289.

The able manner in which Captain Cook had conducted the preceding voyage, the discoveries he had made, and his complete determination of the grand point he had been sent to ascertain, justly and powerfully recommended him to the protection and encouragement of all those who had patronized the undertaking. No alteration had occurred, during his absence, in the Presidency of the Admiralty department. The noble Lord, whose extensive views had taken such a lead in the plans of navigation and discovery, still continued at the head of that board; and it could not be otherwise than a high satisfaction to him that so extraordinary a degree of success had attended his designs for the enlargement of science. His Lordship lost no time in representing Captain Cook's merits to the King: nor did his Majesty stand in need of solicitations to shew favour to a man who had so eminently fulfilled his royal and munificent intentions. Accordingly, our Navigator, on the ninth of August, was raised to the rank of a Post Captain. Three days afterwards, he received a more distinguished and substantial mark of the approbation of Government; for he was then appointed a Captain in Greenwich Hospital; a situation which was intended to afford him a pleasing and honourable reward for his illustrious labours and services (b).

(b) From the books of the Admiralty.

It will easily be supposed that the lovers of science would, in general, be peculiarly attentive to the effects resulting from Captain Cook's discoveries. The additions he had made to the knowledge of geography, navigation, and astronomy, and the new views he had opened of the diversified state of human life and manners, could not avoid commanding their esteem, and exciting their admiration. With many persons of philosophic literature he was in the habits of intimacy and friendship; and he was particularly acquainted with Sir John Pringle, at that time President of the Royal Society. It was natural, therefore, that his scientific friends should wish him to become a Member of this learned body; the consequence of which was, that, in the latter end of the year 1775, he was proposed as a candidate for election. On the twenty-ninth of February, 1776, he was unanimously chosen; and he was admitted on the seventh of March (c). That same evening, a paper was read, which he had addressed to Sir John Pringle, containing an account of the method he had taken to preserve the health of the crew of his Majesty's ship the *Resolution*, during her

(c) From the register of the Royal Society, and the information of Mrs. Planta.

(d) Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxvi. p. 402—406.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 447—449.

voyage round the world (d). Another paper, at the request of the President, was communicated by him, on the eighteenth of April, relative to the tides in the South Seas. The tides particularly considered were those in the Endeavour River, on the East coast of New Holland (e). A still greater honour was in reserve for Captain Cook than the election of him to be a common Member of the Royal Society. It was resolved by Sir John Pringle, and the Council of the Society, to bestow upon him the estimable prize of the gold medal, for the best experimental paper of the year; and no determination could be founded in greater wisdom and justice. If Captain Cook had made no important discoveries, if he had not determined the question concerning a southern continent, his name would have been entitled to immortality, on account of his humane attention to, and his unparalleled success in preserving the lives and health of his seamen. He had good reason, upon this head, to assume the pleasurable, but modest language, with which he has concluded his narrative of his second navigation round the globe: "Whatever," says he, "may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation, which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health among a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable, in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about the Southern Continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and to divide the judgment of Philosophers (f)." It was the custom of Sir John Pringle, at the delivery of Sir Godfrey Copley's annual medal, to give an elaborate discourse, containing the history of that part of science for the improvement of which the medal was conferred. Upon

(f) Cook's second Voyage, vol. ii. p. 293.

the present occasion, the President had a subject to enlarge upon, which was perfectly congenial to his disposition and studies. His own life had been much employed in pointing out the means which tended not only to cure, but to prevent, the diseases of mankind; and, therefore, it was with peculiar pleasure and affection that he celebrated the conduct of his friend, who, by precautions equally wise and simple, had rendered the circumnavigation of the globe, so far as health is concerned, quite a harmless undertaking (g). Towards the beginning of his discourse, Sir John justly asks, "What enquiry can be so useful as that, which hath for its object, the saving the lives of men? and when shall we find one more successful than that before us? Here," adds the President, "are no vain boastings of the empiric, nor ingenious and delusive theories of the dogmatist; but a concise and artless, and an incontestable relation of the means, by which, under Divine favour, Captain Cook, with a company of a hundred and eighteen men, performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days, throughout all the climates, from fifty-two degrees North to seventy-one degrees South, with the loss of only one man by sickness [T]. —I would now enquire," proceeds Sir John Pringle, "of the most conversant in the study of bills of mortality, whether, in the most healthful climate, and in the best condition of life, they have ever found so small a number of deaths, within that space of time? How great and agreeable then must our surprize be, after perusing the histories of long navigations in former days, when so many perished by Marine diseases, to find the air of the sea acquitted of all malignity, and, in fine, that a voyage round the world may be undertaken with less danger, perhaps, to health, than a common tour in Europe!" In the progress of his discourse, the President recounted the dreadful calamities and destruction the scurvy had heretofore brought upon Mariners in voyages of great length; after which he pointed out at large, and illustrated with his own observations, the methods pursued by Captain Cook for preserving the health of his men. In conclusion, Sir John remarked, that the Royal Society never more cordially or more meritoriously bestowed the gold medal, that faithful symbol of their esteem and affection. "For if," says he, "Rome decreed the *civic crown* to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who having himself saved many, perpetuates in your Transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, preserve numbers of her intrepid sons, her *mariners*; who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire, of their country (h) [Z]!" One circumstance alone was wanting to complete the pleasure and

(g) Life of Sir John Pringle, prefixed to his Six Discourses, p. xlii, xliii.

(h) Sir John Pringle's Six Discourses, p. 145—147, 199.

[T] *With the loss of only one man by sickness.* Mr. Patten, Surgeon to the Resolution, informed Sir John Pringle, that this one man, who died of a consumption terminating in a dropsy, began so early to complain of a cough and other consumptive symptoms, which had never left him, that his lungs must have been affected before he came on board.

[Z] *And to the maritime empire, of their country.* It cannot but be acceptable to insert here, from the conclusion of Captain Cook's second voyage, his enumeration of the several causes, to which, under the care of Providence, the uncommon good state of health, experienced by his people, was owing. "In the Introduction," says he, "mention has been made of the extraordinary attention paid by the Admiralty, in causing such articles to be put on board, as either from experience or suggestion it was judged would tend to preserve the health of the teamen. I shall not trespass upon the reader's time in mentioning them all, but confine myself to such as were found the most useful.

"We were furnished with a quantity of malt, of which was made *Sweet Wort*. To such of the men as shewed the least symptoms of the scurvy; and also to such as were thought to be threatened with that disorder, this was given, from one to two or three pints a day each man; or in such proportion as the Surgeon found necessary, which sometimes amounted to three quarts. This is, without doubt, one of the best antiscorbutic sea-medicines yet discovered; and, if used in time, will, with proper attention to other things, I am persuaded, prevent the scurvy from making any great progress for a considerable while. But I am not altogether of opinion that it will cure it at sea.

"*Sour Krout*, of which we had a large quantity, is not only a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly antiscorbutic; and it spoils not by keeping. A pound of this was served to each man, when at sea, twice a week, or oftener, as was thought necessary.

"*Portable Broth* was another great article, of which we had a large supply. An ounce of this to each man, or such other proportion as circumstances pointed out, was boiled in their pease, three days in the week; and when we were in places where vegetables were to be got, it was boiled with them, and wheat or oatmeal, every morning for breakfast; and also with pease and vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of vegetables than they would otherwise have done.

"*Rob of Lemon and Orange*, is an antiscorbutic we were not without. The Surgeon made use of it in many cases, with great success.

"Amongst the articles of victualling, we were supplied with *Sugar* in the room of *Oil*, and with *Wheat* for a part of our *Oatmeal*; and were certainly gainers by the exchange. *Sugar*, I apprehend, is a very good antiscorbutic; whereas oil (such as the navy is usually supplied with), I am of opinion has the contrary effect.

"But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provisions or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful, unless supported by certain regulations. On this principle, many years experience, together with some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser, Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay a plan whereby all was to be governed.

"The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and had generally dry cloaths to shift themselves, when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little to wet weather as possible.

"Proper methods were used to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, cloaths, &c. constantly clean and dry. Equal care was taken to keep the ship clean and dry betwixt decks. Once or twice a week

and celebrity arising from the assignment of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal. Captain Cook was not himself present, to hear the discourse of the President, and to receive the honour conferred upon him. Some months before the anniversary of St. Andrew's day, he had failed on his last expedition. The medal, therefore, was delivered into the hands of Mrs. Cook, whose satisfaction at being entrusted with so valuable a pledge of her husband's reputation cannot be questioned. Neither can it be doubted, but that the Captain, before his departure from England, was fully apprized of the mark of distinction which was intended for him by the Royal Society.

Captain Cook, after the conclusion of his second voyage, was called upon to appear in the world in the character of an author. In the account that was published, by authority, of his former circum-navigation of the globe, as well as of those which had been performed by the Captains Byron, Carteret, and Wallis, it was thought requisite to procure the assistance of a professed literary man, whose business it should be to draw up a narrative from the several journals of these Commanders. Accordingly, Dr. Hawkesworth, as is universally known, was employed for the purpose. In the present case, it was not esteemed necessary to have recourse to such an expedient. Captain Cook was justly regarded as sufficiently qualified to relate his own story. His journal only required to be divided into chapters, and perhaps to be amended by a few verbal corrections. It is not speaking extravagantly to say, that, in point of composition, his history of his voyage reflects upon him no small degree of credit. His style is natural, clear, and manly; being well adapted to the subject and to his own character: and it is possible that a pen of more studied elegance would not have given any additional advantage to the narration. It was not till some time after Captain Cook's leaving England that the work was published; but, in the mean while, the superintendence of it was undertaken by his learned and valuable friend, Dr. Douglas, whose late promotion to the mitre hath afforded pleasure to every literary man, of every denomination. When the Voyage appeared, it came recommended by the accuracy and excellence of its charts, and by a great variety of engravings, from the curious and beautiful drawings of Mr. Hodges. This work was followed by the publication of the original astronomical observations, which had been made by Mr. Wales in the Resolution, and by Mr. Bayley in the Adventure. It was at the expence of the Commissioners of Longitude that these observations were made, and it was by their order that they were printed. The book of Mr. Wales and Mr. Bayley displays, in the strongest light, the scientific use and value of Captain Cook's voyage [AA]. Some of the circumstances which have now been mentioned, have designedly been brought forward more early in point of time than should otherwise have been done, in order to prevent any interruption in the course of the subsequent narrative.

" week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder, mixed with vinegar or water. I had also, frequently, a fire made in an iron pot, at the bottom of the well, which was of great use in purifying the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this, and to cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid: the least neglect occasions a putrid and disagreeable smell below, which nothing but fires will remove. Proper attention was paid to the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean.

" The fat, which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy.

" I was careful to take in water wherever it was to be got, even though we did not want it. Because I look upon fresh water from the shore, to be more wholesome than that which had been kept some time on board a ship. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always plenty for every necessary purpose. Navigators in general cannot, indeed, expect, nor would they wish to meet with such advantages in this respect, as fell to my lot. The nature of our voyage carried us into very high latitudes. But the hardships and dangers inseparable from that situation, were in some degree compensated by the singular felicity we enjoyed, of extracting inexhaustible supplies of fresh water from an ocean strewed with ice.

" We came to few places, where either the art of man, or the bounty of nature, had not provided some sort of refreshment or other, either in the animal or vegetable way. It was my first care to procure whatever of any kind could be met with, by every means in my power; and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from re-

" freshments of any kind soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to recommend the one, or to exert the other (7)."

(7) Vol. ii. p. 289-292.

In a letter which Captain Cook wrote to Sir John Pringle, just before he embarked on his last voyage, dated Plymouth Sound, July 7, 1776, he expressed himself as follows: " I entirely agree with you, that the dearth of the rob of lemons and of oranges will hinder them from being furnished in large quantities. But I do not think this so necessary; for, though they may assist other things, I have no great opinion of them alone. Nor have I a higher opinion of vinegar. My people had it very sparingly during the late voyage, and, towards the latter part, none at all; and yet we experienced no ill effect from the want of it. The custom of washing the inside of the ship with vinegar, I seldom observed; thinking that fire and smoke answered the purpose much better (8)."

(8) Sir John Pringle's Six Discourses, p. 200.

[AA] *The scientific use and value of Captain Cook's Voyage.* Beside the works which came from authority, Mr. George Forster published, in two volumes, quarto, "A Voyage round the World, in his Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution." This appeared in 1777. The next year, Dr. John Reinhold Forster communicated to the public, in one volume, quarto, "Observations made during a Voyage round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy." It need not be said, that these works contain much curious and useful information. Mr. George Forster having been thought to be guilty of some misrepresentations with regard to certain facts, Mr. Wales wrote remarks upon his book, to which Mr. Forster replied. As to one or two hasty and premature attempts to gratify the public curiosity, they are not worthy to be noticed.

Though

Though Captain Cook was expected to sit down in repose, after his toils and labours, the design of farther discoveries was not laid aside. The illusion, indeed, of a *terra Australis incognita*, to any purposes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been dispelled: but there was another grand question which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the English, to discover a shorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable course of sailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the East Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a western passage round North America, had been attempted by several bold adventurers, from Frobisher's first voyage, in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631. By these expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudson's and Baffin's Bays were discovered. But the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find such a passage, by sailing round the North of Asia, in an eastern direction, attended with better success. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long list of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, had been unsuccessful in such a number of instances, that it ceased, for many years, to be an object of pursuit (i). The question was again revived in the present century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In consequence of the spirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been passed, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, the accomplishment of this favourite object continued at as great a distance as ever (k). To ascertain a matter of such importance and magnitude in navigation, was reserved to be another glory of his present Majesty's reign. The idea was peculiarly suited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the design, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordship met with the same insuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheless, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose (l). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be so new, so extensive, and so various, it was evident that great ability, skill, and experience were indispensably necessary (m). That Captain Cook was of all men the best qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in question. But, however ardently it might be wished that he would take upon him the command of the service, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himself) presumed to solicit him upon the subject. The benefits he had already conferred on science and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were so many and great, that it was not deemed reasonable to ask him to engage in fresh perils. At the same time, nothing could be more natural than to consult him upon every thing relative to the business; and his advice was particularly requested with regard to the properest person for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, besides taking into consideration what officer should be recommended to his Majesty for accomplishing the purposes in view, many things were said concerning the nature of the design. Its grandeur and dignity, the consequences of it to navigation and science, and the completion it would give to the whole system of discoveries, were enlarged upon in the course of the conversation. Captain Cook was so fired with the contemplation and representation of the object, that he started up, and declared, that he himself would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is easy to suppose, with what pleasure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a proposal which was so agreeable to their secret wishes, and which they thought of the highest importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (n). No time was lost by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (o). At the same time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he should be restored to his situation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who succeeded him was to resign in his favour (p).

(p) From Lord Sandwich's information.

(i) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(k) *Ibid.* p. xxix, xxx.

(m) *Ibid.*

(n) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.

(o) From the books of the Admiralty.

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily settled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the best course that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous task was now assigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America; and the adoption of this resolution was, I believe, the result of his own reflections upon the subject. The usual plan, therefore, of discovery was reversed; so that instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever openings

openings or inlets there might be on the East side of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a passage, it was wisely foreseen that the ultimate success of the expedition would depend upon there being an open sea between the West side of that continent and the extremities of Asia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic. After having crossed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries, in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations (q). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wisest reasons, and after the most mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [BB]. To give every possible encouragement to the prosecution of the great design in view, the motives of interest were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which passed in 1745, the reward of twenty thousand pounds had been only held out to the ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, while his Majesty's own ships were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to such ships alone as should discover a passage through Hudson's Bay. By a new law, which passed in 1776, both these deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ship belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *to his Majesty*, shall find out, and sail through, any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of such ships, if belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *the commander, officers, and seamen of such ship belonging to his Majesty*, shall receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (r)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the success of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commissioned not only to examine the western parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of these Gentlemen that promoted the purposes of Captain Cook's voyage (s). Two vessels were fixed upon by Government for the intended service; the Resolution, and the Discovery. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the Resolution was assigned the same complement of officers and men which she had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the establishment of the Discovery from that of the Adventure, was in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board.

From the time of the two ships being put into commission, the greatest degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the most complete manner. Both the vessels were supplied with as much of every necessary article as could conveniently be stowed, and with the best of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewise, the experience of the former voyages had shewn to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was provided in a large abundance. That some permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to visit, it was graciously commanded by his Majesty that an assortment of useful animals should be carried out to those countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and several sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other serviceable animals to these, when Captain Cook should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the same benevolent purposes, the Captain was furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds, as could not fail of being a valuable present to the newly-discovered Islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles besides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemisphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourse with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both sides, an ample assortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no less humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ships; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be supposed to be in the least conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to these things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally solicitous to afford every assistance that

[BB] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.*] See published, of the methods which have been taken by these reasons represented at large in the admirable the Hudson's Bay Company, to explore the western Introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage; together parts of North America, extending from that bay, with a curious and interesting account, never before p. xl—li.

Though Captain Cook was expected to sit down in repose, after his toils and labours, the design of farther discoveries was not laid aside. The illusion, indeed, of a *terra Australis incognita*, to any purposes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been dispelled: but there was another grand question which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the English, to discover a shorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable course of sailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the East Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a western passage round North America, had been attempted by several bold adventurers, from Frobisher's first voyage, in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631. By these expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudson's and Baffin's Bays were discovered. But the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find such a passage, by sailing round the North of Asia, in an eastern direction, attended with better success. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long list of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, had been unsuccessful in such a number of instances, that it ceased, for many years, to be an object of pursuit (i). The question was again revived in the present century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In consequence of the spirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been passed, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, the accomplishment of this favourite object continued at as great a distance as ever (k). To ascertain a matter of such importance and magnitude in navigation, was reserved to be another glory of his present Majesty's reign. The idea was peculiarly suited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the design, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordship met with the same insuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheless, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose (l). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be so new, so extensive, and so various, it was evident that great ability, skill, and experience were indispensably necessary (m). That Captain Cook was of all men the best qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in question. But, however ardently it might be wished that he would take upon him the command of the service, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himself) presumed to solicit him upon the subject. The benefits he had already conferred on science and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were so many and great, that it was not deemed reasonable to ask him to engage in fresh perils. At the same time, nothing could be more natural than to consult him upon every thing relative to the business; and his advice was particularly requested with regard to the properest person for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, besides taking into consideration what officer should be recommended to his Majesty for accomplishing the purposes in view, many things were said concerning the nature of the design. Its grandeur and dignity, the consequences of it to navigation and science, and the completion it would give to the whole system of discoveries, were enlarged upon in the course of the conversation. Captain Cook was so fired with the contemplation and representation of the object, that he started up, and declared, that he himself would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is easy to suppose, with what pleasure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a proposal which was so agreeable to their secret wishes, and which they thought of the highest importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (n). No time was lost by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (o). At the same time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he should be restored to his situation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who succeeded him was to resign in his favour (p).

(p) From Lord Sandwich's information.

(i) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(n) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.
(o) From the books of the Admiralty.

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily settled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the best course that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous task was now assigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America; and the adoption of this resolution was, I believe, the result of his own reflections upon the subject. The usual plan, therefore, of discovery was reversed; so that instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever openings

openings or inlets there might be on the East side of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a passage, it was wisely foreseen that the ultimate success of the expedition would depend upon there being an open sea between the West side of that continent and the extremities of Asia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic. After having crossed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries, in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations (q). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wisest reasons, and after the most mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [BB]. To give every possible encouragement to the prosecution of the great design in view, the motives of interest were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which passed in 1745, the reward of twenty thousand pounds had been only held out to the ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, while his Majesty's own ships were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to such ships alone as should discover a passage through Hudson's Bay. By a new law, which passed in 1776, both these deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ship belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *to his Majesty*, shall find out, and sail through, any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of such ships, if belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *the commander, officers, and seamen of such ship belonging to his Majesty*, shall receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (r)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the success of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commissioned not only to examine the western parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of these Gentlemen that promoted the purposes of Captain Cook's voyage (s). Two vessels were fixed upon by Government for the intended service; the Resolution, and the Discovery. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the Resolution was assigned the same complement of officers and men which she had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the establishment of the Discovery from that of the Adventure, was in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board.

From the time of the two ships being put into commission, the greatest degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the most complete manner. Both the vessels were supplied with as much of every necessary article as could conveniently be stowed, and with the best of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewise, the experience of the former voyages had shewn to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was provided in a large abundance. That some permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to visit, it was graciously commanded by his Majesty that an assortment of useful animals should be carried out to those countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and several sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other serviceable animals to these, when Captain Cook should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the same benevolent purposes, the Captain was furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds, as could not fail of being a valuable present to the newly-discovered Islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles besides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemisphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourse with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both sides, an ample assortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no less humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ships; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be supposed to be in the least conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to these things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally solicitous to afford every assistance that

[BB] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.* See published, of the methods which have been taken by these reasons represented at large in the admirable the Hudson's Bay Company, to explore the western Introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage; together parts of North America, extending from that bay, with a curious and interesting account, never before p. xl—li.

Though Captain Cook was expected to sit down in repose, after his toils and labours, the design of farther discoveries was not laid aside. The illusion, indeed, of a *terra Australis incognita*, to any purposes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been dispelled: but there was another grand question which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the English, to discover a shorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable course of sailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the East Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a western passage round North America, had been attempted by several bold adventurers, from Frobisher's first voyage, in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631. By these expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudson's and Baffin's Bays were discovered. But the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find such a passage, by sailing round the North of Asia, in an eastern direction, attended with better success. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long list of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, had been unsuccessful in such a number of instances, that it ceased, for many years, to be an object of pursuit (i). The question was again revived in the present century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In consequence of the spirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been passed, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, the accomplishment of this favourite object continued at as great a distance as ever (k). To ascertain a matter of such importance and magnitude in navigation, was reserved to be another glory of his present Majesty's reign. The idea was peculiarly suited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the design, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordship met with the same insuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheless, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose (l). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be so new, so extensive, and so various, it was evident that great ability, skill, and experience were indispensably necessary (m). That Captain Cook was of all men the best qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in question. But, however ardently it might be wished that he would take upon him the command of the service, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himself) presumed to solicit him upon the subject. The benefits he had already conferred on science and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were so many and great, that it was not deemed reasonable to ask him to engage in fresh perils. At the same time, nothing could be more natural than to consult him upon every thing relative to the business; and his advice was particularly requested with regard to the properest person for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, besides taking into consideration what officer should be recommended to his Majesty for accomplishing the purposes in view, many things were said concerning the nature of the design. Its grandeur and dignity, the consequences of it to navigation and science, and the completion it would give to the whole system of discoveries, were enlarged upon in the course of the conversation. Captain Cook was so fired with the contemplation and representation of the object, that he started up, and declared, that he himself would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is easy to suppose, with what pleasure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a proposal which was so agreeable to their secret wishes, and which they thought of the highest importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (n). No time was lost by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (o). At the same time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he should be restored to his situation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who succeeded him was to resign in his favour (p).

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily settled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the best course that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous task was now assigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America; and the adoption of this resolution was, I believe, the result of his own reflections upon the subject. The usual plan, therefore, of discovery was reversed; so that instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever openings

(i) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(k) *Ibid.* p. xxix.

(l) *Ibid.* p. xxix, xxx.

(m) *Ibid.*

(p) From Lord Sandwich's information.

(n) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.
(o) From the books of the Admiralty.

openings or inlets there might be on the East side of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a passage, it was wisely foreseen that the ultimate success of the expedition would depend upon there being an open sea between the West side of that continent and the extremities of Asia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic. After having crossed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries, in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations (q). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wisest reasons, and after the most mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [BB]. To give every possible encouragement to the prosecution of the great design in view, the motives of interest were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which passed in 1745, the reward of twenty thousand pounds had been only held out to the ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, while his Majesty's own ships were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to such ships alone as should discover a passage through Hudson's Bay. By a new law, which passed in 1776, both these deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ship belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *to his Majesty*, shall find out, and sail through, any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of such ships, if belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *the commander, officers, and seamen of such ship belonging to his Majesty*, shall receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (r)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the success of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commissioned not only to examine the western parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of these Gentlemen that promoted the purposes of Captain Cook's voyage (s). Two vessels were fixed upon by Government for the intended service; the Resolution, and the Discovery. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the Resolution was assigned the same complement of officers and men which she had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the establishment of the Discovery from that of the Adventure, was in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board.

From the time of the two ships being put into commission, the greatest degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the most complete manner. Both the vessels were supplied with as much of every necessary article as could conveniently be stowed, and with the best of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewise, the experience of the former voyages had shewn to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was provided in a large abundance. That some permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to visit, it was graciously commanded by his Majesty that an assortment of useful animals should be carried out to those countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and several sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other serviceable animals to these, when Captain Cook should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the same benevolent purposes, the Captain was furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds, as could not fail of being a valuable present to the newly-discovered Islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles besides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemisphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourse with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both sides, an ample assortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no less humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ships; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be supposed to be in the least conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to these things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally solicitous to afford every assistance that

[BB] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.* See published, of the methods which have been taken by these reasons represented at large in the admirable the Hudson's Bay Company, to explore the western Introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage; together parts of North America, extending from that bay, with a curious and interesting account, never before p. xl—li.

Though Captain Cook was expected to sit down in repose, after his toils and labours, the design of farther discoveries was not laid aside. The illusion, indeed, of a *terra Australis incognita*, to any purposes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been dispelled: but there was another grand question which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the English, to discover a shorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable course of sailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the East Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a western passage round North America, had been attempted by several bold adventurers, from Frobisher's first voyage, in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631. By these expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudson's and Baffin's Bays were discovered. But the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find such a passage, by sailing round the North of Asia, in an eastern direction, attended with better success. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long list of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, had been unsuccessful in such a number of instances, that it ceased, for many years, to be an object of pursuit (i). The question was again revived in the present century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In consequence of the spirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been passed, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, the accomplishment of this favourite object continued at as great a distance as ever (k). To ascertain a matter of such importance and magnitude in navigation, was reserved to be another glory of his present Majesty's reign. The idea was peculiarly suited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the design, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordship met with the same insuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheless, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose (l). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be so new, so extensive, and so various, it was evident that great ability, skill, and experience were indispensably necessary (m). That Captain Cook was of all men the best qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in question. But, however ardently it might be wished that he would take upon him the command of the service, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himself) presumed to solicit him upon the subject. The benefits he had already conferred on science and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were so many and great, that it was not deemed reasonable to ask him to engage in fresh perils. At the same time, nothing could be more natural than to consult him upon every thing relative to the business; and his advice was particularly requested with regard to the properest person for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, besides taking into consideration what officer should be recommended to his Majesty for accomplishing the purposes in view, many things were said concerning the nature of the design. Its grandeur and dignity, the consequences of it to navigation and science, and the completion it would give to the whole system of discoveries, were enlarged upon in the course of the conversation. Captain Cook was so fired with the contemplation and representation of the object, that he started up, and declared, that he himself would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is easy to suppose, with what pleasure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a proposal which was so agreeable to their secret wishes, and which they thought of the highest importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (n). No time was lost by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (o). At the same time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he should be restored to his situation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who succeeded him was to resign in his favour (p).

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily settled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the best course that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous task was now assigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America; and the adoption of this resolution was, I believe, the result of his own reflections upon the subject. The usual plan, therefore, of discovery was reversed; so that instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever openings

(i) *Ibid.* p. xxix.(l) *Ibid.* p. xxix, xxx.(m) *Ibid.*

(p) From Lord Sandwich's information.

(i) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(n) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.
(o) From the books of the Admiralty.

openings or inlets there might be on the East side of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a passage, it was wisely foreseen that the ultimate success of the expedition would depend upon there being an open sea between the West side of that continent and the extremities of Asia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic. After having crossed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries, in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations (q). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wisest reasons, and after the most mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [BB]. To give every possible encouragement to the prosecution of the great design in view, the motives of interest were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which passed in 1745, the reward of twenty thousand pounds had been only held out to the ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, while his Majesty's own ships were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to such ships alone as should discover a passage through Hudson's Bay. By a new law, which passed in 1776, both these deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ship belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *to his Majesty*, shall find out, and sail through, any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of such ships, if belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *the commander, officers, and seamen of such ship belonging to his Majesty*, shall receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (r)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the success of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commissioned not only to examine the western parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of these Gentlemen that promoted the purposes of Captain Cook's voyage (s). Two vessels were fixed upon by Government for the intended service; the *Resolution*, and the *Discovery*. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the *Resolution* was assigned the same complement of officers and men which she had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the establishment of the *Discovery* from that of the *Adventure*, was in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board.

From the time of the two ships being put into commission, the greatest degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the most complete manner. Both the vessels were supplied with as much of every necessary article as could conveniently be stowed, and with the best of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewise, the experience of the former voyages had shewn to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was provided in a large abundance. That some permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to visit, it was graciously commanded by his Majesty that an assortment of useful animals should be carried out to those countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and several sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other serviceable animals to these, when Captain Cook should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the same benevolent purposes, the Captain was furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds, as could not fail of being a valuable present to the newly-discovered Islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles besides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemisphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourse with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both sides, an ample assortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no less humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ships; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be supposed to be in the least conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to these things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally solicitous to afford every assistance that

[BB] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.* See these reasons represented at large in the admirable Introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage; together with a curious and interesting account, never before published, of the methods which have been taken by the Hudson's Bay Company, to explore the western parts of North America, extending from that bay, p. xl—li.

Though Captain Cook was expected to sit down in repose, after his toils and labours, the design of farther discoveries was not laid aside. The illusion, indeed, of a *terra Australis incognita*, to any purposes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been dispelled: but there was another grand question which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the English, to discover a shorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable course of sailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the East Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a western passage round North America, had been attempted by several bold adventurers, from Frobisher's first voyage, in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631. By these expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudson's and Baffin's Bays were discovered. But the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find such a passage, by sailing round the North of Asia, in an eastern direction, attended with better success. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long list of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, had been unsuccessful in such a number of instances, that it ceased, for many years, to be an object of pursuit (i). The question was again revived in the present century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In consequence of the spirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been passed, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, the accomplishment of this favourite object continued at as great a distance as ever (k). To ascertain a matter of such importance and magnitude in navigation, was reserved to be another glory of his present Majesty's reign. The idea was peculiarly suited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the design, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordship met with the same insuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheless, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose (l). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be so new, so extensive, and so various, it was evident that great ability, skill, and experience were indispensably necessary (m). That Captain Cook was of all men the best qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in question. But, however ardently it might be wished that he would take upon him the command of the service, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himself) presumed to solicit him upon the subject. The benefits he had already conferred on science and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were so many and great, that it was not deemed reasonable to ask him to engage in fresh perils. At the same time, nothing could be more natural than to consult him upon every thing relative to the business; and his advice was particularly requested with regard to the properest person for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, besides taking into consideration what officer should be recommended to his Majesty for accomplishing the purposes in view, many things were said concerning the nature of the design. Its grandeur and dignity, the consequences of it to navigation and science, and the completion it would give to the whole system of discoveries, were enlarged upon in the course of the conversation. Captain Cook was so fired with the contemplation and representation of the object, that he started up, and declared, that he himself would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is easy to suppose, with what pleasure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a proposal which was so agreeable to their secret wishes, and which they thought of the highest importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (n). No time was lost by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (o). At the same time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he should be restored to his situation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who succeeded him was to resign in his favour (p).

(k) *Ibid.* p. xxix.

(l) *Ibid.* p. xxix, xxx.

(m) *Ibid.*

(p) From Lord Sandwich's information.

(i) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(n) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.
(o) From the books of the Admiralty.

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily settled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the best course that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous task was now assigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America; and the adoption of this resolution was, I believe, the result of his own reflections upon the subject. The usual plan, therefore, of discovery was reversed; so that instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever

openings

openings or inlets there might be on the East side of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a passage, it was wisely foreseen that the ultimate success of the expedition would depend upon there being an open sea between the West side of that continent and the extremities of Asia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic. After having crossed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries, in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations (q). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wisest reasons, and after the most mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [BB]. To give every possible encouragement to the prosecution of the great design in view, the motives of interest were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which passed in 1745, the reward of twenty thousand pounds had been only held out to the ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, while his Majesty's own ships were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to such ships alone as should discover a passage through Hudson's Bay. By a new law, which passed in 1776, both these deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ship belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *to his Majesty*, shall find out, and sail through, any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of such ships, if belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *the commander, officers, and seamen of such ship belonging to his Majesty*, shall receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (r)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the success of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commissioned not only to examine the western parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of these Gentlemen that promoted the purposes of Captain Cook's voyage (s). Two vessels were fixed upon by Government for the intended service; the Resolution, and the Discovery. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the Resolution was assigned the same complement of officers and men which she had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the establishment of the Discovery from that of the Adventure, was in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board.

From the time of the two ships being put into commission, the greatest degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the most complete manner. Both the vessels were supplied with as much of every necessary article as could conveniently be stowed, and with the best of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewise, the experience of the former voyages had shewn to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was provided in a large abundance. That some permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to visit, it was graciously commanded by his Majesty that an assortment of useful animals should be carried out to those countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and several sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other serviceable animals to these, when Captain Cook should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the same benevolent purposes, the Captain was furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds, as could not fail of being a valuable present to the newly-discovered Islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles besides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemisphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourse with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both sides, an ample assortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no less humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ships; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be supposed to be in the least conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to these things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally solicitous to afford every assistance that

[BB] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.* See these reasons represented at large in the admirable Introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage; together with a curious and interesting account, never before published, of the methods which have been taken by the Hudson's Bay Company, to explore the western parts of North America, extending from that bay, p. xl—li.

Though Captain Cook was expected to sit down in repose, after his toils and labours, the design of farther discoveries was not laid aside. The illusion, indeed, of a *terra Australis incognita*, to any purposes of commerce, colonization, and utility, had been dispelled: but there was another grand question which remained to be determined; and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. It had long been a favourite object with navigators, and particularly with the English, to discover a shorter, a more commodious, and a more profitable course of sailing to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the East Indies in general, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. To find a western passage round North America, had been attempted by several bold adventurers, from Frobisher's first voyage, in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631. By these expeditions a large addition was made to the knowledge of the northern extent of America, and Hudson's and Baffin's Bays were discovered. But the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Nor were the various attempts of our countrymen, and of the Dutch, to find such a passage, by sailing round the North of Asia, in an eastern direction, attended with better success. Wood's failure, in 1676, appears to have concluded the long list of unfortunate expeditions in that century. The discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, had been unsuccessful in such a number of instances, that it ceased, for many years, to be an object of pursuit (i). The question was again revived in the present century. Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-west passage through Hudson's Bay, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking. In consequence of the spirit by him excited, Captain Middleton was sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746. But, though an act of Parliament had been passed, which secured a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, the accomplishment of this favourite object continued at as great a distance as ever (k). To ascertain a matter of such importance and magnitude in navigation, was reserved to be another glory of his present Majesty's reign. The idea was peculiarly suited to the enlightened mind of the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, and he adopted it with ardour. Preparatory to the execution of the design, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole. In this expedition, his Lordship met with the same insuperable difficulties which had been experienced by former voyagers. Nevertheless, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose (l). For the conduct of an enterprize, the operations of which were intended to be so new, so extensive, and so various, it was evident that great ability, skill, and experience were indispensably necessary (m). That Captain Cook was of all men the best qualified for carrying it into execution, was a matter that could not be called in question. But, however ardently it might be wished that he would take upon him the command of the service, no one (not even his friend and patron, Lord Sandwich himself) presumed to solicit him upon the subject. The benefits he had already conferred on science and navigation, and the labours and dangers he had gone through, were so many and great, that it was not deemed reasonable to ask him to engage in fresh perils. At the same time, nothing could be more natural than to consult him upon every thing relative to the business; and his advice was particularly requested with regard to the properest person for conducting the voyage. To determine this point, the Captain, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr. Stephens were invited to Lord Sandwich's to dinner. Here, besides taking into consideration what officer should be recommended to his Majesty for accomplishing the purposes in view, many things were said concerning the nature of the design. Its grandeur and dignity, the consequences of it to navigation and science, and the completion it would give to the whole system of discoveries, were enlarged upon in the course of the conversation. Captain Cook was so fired with the contemplation and representation of the object, that he started up, and declared, that he himself would undertake the direction of the enterprize. It is easy to suppose, with what pleasure the noble Lord, and the other Gentlemen, received a proposal which was so agreeable to their secret wishes, and which they thought of the highest importance towards attaining the ends of the voyage (n). No time was lost by the Earl of Sandwich, in laying the matter before the King; and Captain Cook was appointed to the command of the expedition, on the tenth of February, 1776 (o). At the same time, it was agreed, that, on his return to England, he should be restored to his situation at Greenwich; and, if no vacancy occurred during the interval, the officer who succeeded him was to resign in his favour (p).

The command and the direction of the enterprize being thus happily settled, it became an object of great importance to determine what might be the best course that could be given to the voyage. All former navigators round the globe had returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. But to Captain Cook the arduous task was now assigned of attempting it by reaching the high northern latitudes between Asia and America; and the adoption of this resolution was, I believe, the result of his own reflections upon the subject. The usual plan, therefore, of discovery was reversed; so that instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. Whatever openings

(i) Introduction to Capt. Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. xxviii.

(k) *Ibid.* p. xxix.

(l) *Ibid.* p. xxix, xxx.

(m) *Ibid.*

(p) From Lord Sandwich's information.

(n) From the information of the Right Honourable the Earl of Sandwich.
(o) From the books of the Admiralty.

openings or inlets there might be on the East side of America, that lie in a direction which could afford any hopes of a passage, it was wisely foreseen that the ultimate success of the expedition would depend upon there being an open sea between the West side of that continent and the extremities of Asia. Accordingly Captain Cook was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of the new Islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic. After having crossed the equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries, in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations (q). With regard to his grand object, it was determined, for the wisest reasons, and after the most mature deliberation and enquiry, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward as far as the latitude of 65°, and not lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until he had gotten into that latitude [BB]. To give every possible encouragement to the prosecution of the great design in view, the motives of interest were added to the obligations of duty. In the act of Parliament which passed in 1745, the reward of twenty thousand pounds had been only held out to the ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, while his Majesty's own ships were excluded. Another, and more capital defect of this act was, that it confined the reward to such ships alone as should discover a passage through Hudson's Bay. By a new law, which passed in 1776, both these deficiencies were effectually remedied. It was now enacted, "That if any ship belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *to his Majesty*, shall find out, and sail through, any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the northern hemisphere, to the northward of the 52° of northern latitude, the owners of such ships, if belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, or *the commander, officers, and seamen of such ship belonging to his Majesty*, shall receive, as a reward for such discovery, the sum of twenty thousand pounds (r)." That every thing might be done which could facilitate the success of the grand expedition, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out, in 1776, with directions to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and, in the next year, Lieutenant Young was commissioned not only to examine the western parts of that bay, but to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Nothing was performed by either of these Gentlemen that promoted the purposes of Captain Cook's voyage (s). Two vessels were fixed upon by Government for the intended service; the Resolution, and the Discovery. The command of the former was given to Captain Cook, and of the other to Captain Clerke. To the Resolution was assigned the same complement of officers and men which she had during her preceding voyage; and the only difference in the establishment of the Discovery from that of the Adventure, was in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board.

From the time of the two ships being put into commission, the greatest degree of attention and zeal was exerted by the Earl of Sandwich, and the rest of the Board of Admiralty, to have them equipped in the most complete manner. Both the vessels were supplied with as much of every necessary article as could conveniently be stowed, and with the best of each kind that could be procured. Whatever, likewise, the experience of the former voyages had shewn to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was provided in a large abundance. That some permanent benefit might be conveyed to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other Islands of the Pacific Ocean, whom our Navigators might happen to visit, it was graciously commanded by his Majesty that an assortment of useful animals should be carried out to those countries. Accordingly, a bull, two cows with their calves, and several sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, were taken on board; and it was intended to add other serviceable animals to these, when Captain Cook should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. With the same benevolent purposes, the Captain was furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds, as could not fail of being a valuable present to the newly-discovered Islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. By order of the Board of Admiralty, many articles besides were delivered to our Commander, which were calculated, in various ways, to improve the condition of the natives of the other hemisphere. Still farther to promote a friendly intercourse with them, and to carry on a traffic that might be profitable on both sides, an ample assortment was provided of iron tools and trinkets. An attention no less humane was extended to the wants of our own people. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for the crews of the two ships; and nothing was denied to our Navigators that could be supposed to be in the least conducive to their health, or even to their convenience. It was not to these things only that the extraordinary care of Lord Sandwich, and of the other Gentlemen at the head of the naval department, was confined. They were equally solicitous to afford every assistance that

[BB] *Until he had gotten into that latitude.* See published, of the methods which have been taken by these reasons represented at large in the admirable the Hudson's Bay Company, to explore the western Introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage; together parts of North America, extending from that bay, with a curious and interesting account, never before p. xl—li.

was calculated to render the expedition of public utility. Several astronomical and nautical instruments were intrusted, by the Board of Longitude, to Captain Cook, and Mr. King his second Lieutenant; who had undertaken to make the necessary observations, during the voyage, for the improvement of astronomy and navigation. It was originally intended that a professed observator should be sent out in the *Resolution*; but the scientific abilities of the Captain and his Lieutenant rendered the appointment of such a person absolutely unnecessary. The case was somewhat different with regard to the *Discovery*. Mr. W. Bayley, who had already given satisfactory proofs of his skill and diligence as an Observator, while he was employed in Captain Furneaux's ship, during the late voyage, was engaged a second time, in that capacity, and appointed to sail on board Captain Clerke's vessel. The department of natural history was assigned to Mr. Anderson, the Surgeon of the *Resolution*, who was as willing as he was well qualified, to describe every thing in that branch of science which should occur worthy of notice. From the remarks of this Gentleman, Captain Cook had derived considerable assistance in his last navigation; especially with regard to the very copious vocabulary of the language of Otaheite, and the comparative specimen of the languages of the other Islands which had then been visited. There were several young men among our Commander's sea officers, who, under his direction could be usefully employed in constructing charts, in taking views of the coasts and headlands near which our Voyagers might pass, and in drawing plans of the bays and harbours in which they should anchor. Without a constant attention to this object, the Captain was sensible that his discoveries could not be rendered profitable to future navigators. That he might go out with every help which could serve to make the result of the voyage entertaining to the generality of readers, as well as instructive to the sailor and the scholar, Mr. Webber was fixed upon, and engaged to embark in the *Resolution*, for the express purpose of supplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling our people to preserve, and to bring home, such drawings of the most memorable scenes of their transactions, as could only be executed by a professed and skilful artist. As the last mark of the extraordinary attention which the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the Board of Admiralty had uniformly shewn to the preparations for the expedition, they went down to Long Reach, and paid a visit to the ships, on the eighth of June, to examine whether every thing was completed conformably to their intentions and orders, and to the satisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. His Lordship and the rest of the Admiralty Board, together with several Noblemen and Gentlemen of their acquaintance, honoured Captain Cook, on that day, with their company at dinner. Both upon their coming on board and their going ashore, they were saluted with seventeen guns, and with three cheers. As the ships were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands, it had been determined not to omit the only opportunity which might ever offer of carrying Omai back to his native country. Accordingly, he left London, on the twenty-fourth of June, in company with Captain Cook; and it was with a mixture of regret and satisfaction that he took his departure. When England, and those who, during his stay, had honoured him with their protection or friendship were spoken of, his spirits were sensibly affected, and it was with difficulty that he could refrain from tears. But his eyes began to sparkle with joy, as soon as ever the conversation was turned to his own Islands. The good treatment he received in England had made a deep impression upon his mind; and he entertained the highest ideas of the country and of the people. Nevertheless, the pleasing prospect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what, he well knew, would there be esteemed invaluable treasures, and the flattering hope which the possession of these afforded him of attaining to a distinguished superiority among his countrymen, were considerations which operated, by degrees, to suppress every uneasy sensation. By the time he had gotten on board the ship, he appeared to be quite happy. His Majesty had furnished Omai with an ample provision of every article which our English Navigators, during their former intercourse with Otaheite and the Society Islands, had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or ornamental. Many presents, likewise, of the same nature, had been made him by Lord Sandwich, Sir Joseph Banks, and several other Gentlemen and Ladies of his acquaintance. In short, both during his residence in England, and at his departure from it, no method had been neglected, which could be calculated to render him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, the most exalted ideas of the greatness and generosity of the British nation (1).

(1) Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 2—7.

Every preparation for the voyage being completed, Captain Cook received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the *Discovery* under his command. Having, accordingly, given the proper directions to Captain Clerke, he sailed from the Nore to the Downs, on the twenty-fifth of June. On the thirtieth of the same month, he anchored in Plymouth Sound, where the *Discovery* was already arrived. It was the eighth of July before our Commander received his instructions for the voyage; and, at the same time, he was ordered to proceed, with the *Resolution*, to the Cape of Good Hope. Captain Clerke, who was detained in London by some unavoidable circumstances, was to follow, as soon as he should join his ship. In the evening of the twelfth, Captain Cook stood out of Plymouth Sound,

Sound, and pursued his course down the channel. It was very early that he began his judicious operations for preserving the health of his crew; for, on the seventeenth, the ship was smoked between the decks with gunpowder, and the spare sails were well aired. On the thirtieth, the moon being totally eclipsed, the Captain observed it with a night telescope. He had not, on this occasion, an opportunity of making many observations. The reason was, that the moon was hidden behind the clouds the greater part of the time; and this was particularly the case, when the beginning and the end of total darkness, and the end of the eclipse, happened. It being found that there was not hay and corn sufficient for the subsistence of the stock of animals on board, till the arrival of our people at the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Cook determined to touch at Teneriffe. This Island he thought better adapted to the purposes of procuring these articles, and other refreshments, than Madeira. On the first of August, he anchored in the road of Santa Cruz, and immediately dispatched an officer to the Governor, who, with the utmost politeness, granted every thing which our Commander requested. Were a judgment to be formed from the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, it might be concluded that Teneriffe is so barren a spot, as to be insufficient for the maintenance even of its own inhabitants. It was proved, however, by the ample supplies which our Navigators received, that the Islanders had enough to spare for visitors. The necessary articles of refreshment were procured at such moderate prices, as to confirm Captain Cook in his opinion, that Teneriffe is a more eligible place than Madeira, for ships to touch at which are bound on long voyages. Indeed, the wine of the latter Island is far superior to that of the former; but then it can only be purchased by a sum of money proportionally larger. During the short stay which the Captain made at Teneriffe, he continued with great assiduity his astronomical observations; and Mr. Anderson has not a little contributed to the farther knowledge of the country, by his remarks on its general state, its natural appearances, its productions, and its inhabitants. He learned from a sensible and well-informed Gentleman, who resided in the Island, that a shrub is common there, which agrees exactly with the description given by Tournefort and Linnæus, of the *tea-shrub*, as growing in China and Japan. It is reckoned a weed, and every year is rooted out in large quantities from the vineyards. The Spaniards, however, sometimes use it as tea, and ascribe to it all the qualities of that which is imported from China. They give it also the name of tea, and say that it was found in the country when the Islands were first discovered. Another botanical curiosity is called the *impregnated lemon*; which is a perfect and distinct lemon, enclosed within another, and differing from the outer one only in being a little more globular. The air and climate of Teneriffe are, in general, remarkably healthful, and particularly adapted to give relief in pulmonary complaints. This the Gentleman before-mentioned endeavoured to account for from its being always in a person's power to procure a different temperature of the air, by residing at different heights in the Island. He expressed, therefore, his surprize that the physicians of England should never have thought of sending their consumptive patients to Teneriffe, instead of Nice or Lisbon. Although it is not understood that there is any great similarity between the manners of the English and those of the Spaniards, it was observable, that the difference between them was very little perceived by Omai. He only said, that the Spaniards did not appear to be so friendly as the English; and that, in their persons, they approached to some resemblance of his own countrymen (u). On the fourth, Captain Cook sailed from Teneriffe, and proceeded on his voyage. Such was his attention, both to the discipline and the health of his company, that twice in the space of five days, he exercised them at great guns and small arms, and cleared and smoked the ship below decks. On the evening of the tenth, when the Resolution was at a small distance from the Island of Bonavista, she ran so close upon a number of sunken rocks, that she did but just weather the breakers. The situation of our Voyagers, for a few minutes, was very alarming. In this situation the Captain, with the intrepid coolness which distinguished his character, did not choose to sound, as that, without any possibility of lessening, might have heightened the danger. While our Commander was near the Cape de Verde Islands, he had an opportunity of correcting an assertion of Mr. Nicholson's, with regard to the manner of sailing by those Islands, which, if implicitly trusted to, might prove of dangerous consequence. On the thirteenth, our Navigators arrived before Port Praya, in the Island of St. Jago; but as the Discovery was not there, and little water had been expended in the passage from Teneriffe, Captain Cook did not think proper to go in; but stood to the southward. In the course of the voyage, between the latitudes of 12° and 7° North, the weather was generally dark and gloomy. The rains were frequent, and accompanied with that close and sultry weather which too often brings on sickness, in this passage. At such a time the worst consequences are to be apprehended; and commanders of ships cannot be too much upon their guard. It is necessary for them to purify the air between decks with fires and smoke, and to oblige their people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. The constant observance of these precautions on board the Resolution, was attended with such success, that the Captain had now fewer sick men than on either of his former voyages. This was the more remarkable, as, in consequence of the seams of the vessel having opened so wide as to admit the rain

(u) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 8—28.

when it fell, there was scarcely a man who could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabbins by the water that came through the sides. When settled weather returned, the caulkers were employed in repairing these defects, by caulking the decks and inside weather-works of the ship; for the humanity of our Commander would not trust the workmen over the sides, while the Resolution was at sea. On the first of September, our Navigators crossed the equator (*w*). While, on the eighth, Captain Cook was near the eastern coast of Brazil, he was at considerable pains to settle its longitude, which, till some better astronomical observations are made on shore in that country, he concluded to be thirty-five degrees and a half, or thirty-six degrees West, at most. As our people proceeded on their voyage, they frequently saw, in the night, those luminous marine animals which have formerly been mentioned and described. Some of them appeared to be considerably larger than any which the Captain had met with before; and sometimes they were so numerous, that hundreds of them were visible at the same moment.

(*w*) This was in the longitude of 27° 38' West.

On the eighteenth of October, the Resolution came to an anchor in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope; and the usual compliments having been paid to Baron Plettenberg the Governor, Captain Cook immediately applied himself to his customary operations. Nothing remarkable occurred till the evening of the thirty-first, when a tempest arose from the South-east, which lasted three days, and which was so violent, that the Resolution was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. The effects of the storm were sensibly felt by our people on shore; for their tents and observatory were torn to pieces, and their astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage. On the third of November, the tempest ceased, and the next day the English were enabled to resume their different employments. It was not till the tenth of the month that Captain Cook had the satisfaction of seeing the Discovery arrive in the bay, and effect her junction with the Resolution. She had sailed from England on the first of August, and would have reached the Cape of Good Hope a week sooner, if she had not been driven from the coast by the late storm. Every assistance was immediately given to put her into a proper condition for proceeding on the voyage. While the necessary preparations for the future navigation were completing, a disaster happened with regard to the cattle which had been carried out in the Resolution. They had been conveyed on shore for the purpose of grazing. The bull, and two cows, with their calves, had been sent to graze along with some other cattle; but Captain Cook was advised to keep the sheep, which were sixteen in number, close to the tents, where they were penned up every evening. During the night preceding the fourteenth, some dogs having gotten in among them, forced them out of the pen, killed four, and dispersed the rest. Six of them were recovered the next day; but the two rams, and two of the finest ewes in the whole flock, were amongst those which were missing. Baron Plettenberg being at this time in the country, our Commander applied to Mr. Hemmy, the Lieutenant Governor, and to the fiscal, for redress; and both these Gentlemen promised to use their endeavours for the recovery of the lost sheep. It is the boast of the Dutch, that the Police at the Cape is so carefully executed, that it is scarcely possible for a slave, with all his cunning and knowledge of the country, to effectuate his escape. Nevertheless, Captain Cook's sheep evaded all the vigilance of the fiscal's officers and people. At length, after much trouble and expence, by employing some of the meanest and lowest scoundrels in the place, he recovered all but the two ewes, of which he never could hear the least tidings. The character given of the fellows to whom the Captain was obliged to have recourse, by the person who recommended their being applied to, was, that for a ducatoon they would cut their Master's throat, burn the house over his head, and bury him and the whole family in the ashes. During the stay of our Voyagers at the Cape, some of the officers, accompanied by Mr. Anderson, made a short excursion into the neighbouring country. This Gentleman, as usual, was very diligent in recording every thing which appeared to him worthy of observation. His remarks, however, in the present case, will be deemed of little consequence, compared with the full, accurate, and curious account of the Cape of Good Hope, with which Dr. Sparrman hath lately favoured the literary world. With respect to Captain Cook, besides the unavoidable care which lay upon him, in providing his ships with whatever was requisite for the commodious and successful prosecution of the voyage, his attention was eminently directed to scientific objects. He was anxious to ascertain the currents, the variations of the compass, and the latitude and longitude of the places to which he came. The observations which he collected, and recorded in his journal, while he was at the Cape of Good Hope, will be esteemed of the greatest importance by judicious navigators (*x*). After the disaster which had happened to the sheep, it may well be supposed that our Commander did not long trust on shore those which remained. Accordingly, he gave orders to have them, and the other cattle, conveyed on board as fast as possible. He made an addition, also, to the original stock, by the purchase of two young bulls, two heifers, two young stone-horses, two mares, two rams, several ewes and goats, and some rabbits and poultry. All these animals were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring Islands; and, indeed, for any other places, in the course of the voyage, where the leaving of any of them might be of service

(*x*) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 29—30.

service to posterity. In the supplies which were provided at the Cape, Captain Cook paid a particular regard to the nature and extent of his undertaking. As it was impossible to tell when, or where, he might meet with a place which could so amply contribute to his necessities, he thought proper to lay in such a store of provisions for both ships, as would be sufficient to last them for two years and upwards.

Our Commander having given a copy of his instructions to Captain Clerke, and an order directing him how to proceed in case of a separation, weighed from Table Bay on the thirtieth of November, though it was not till the third of December that he got clear of the land. On the sixth, the ships passed through several spots of water, nearly of a red colour. When some of this was taken up, it was found to contain a large quantity of small animals, of a reddish hue, and which the microscope discovered to resemble a cray-fish. As our Navigators pursued their course to the South-east, a very strong gale, which they had from the westward, was followed by a mountainous sea, in consequence of which the Resolution rolled and tumbled so much, that the cattle on board were preserved with the utmost difficulty. Soon after, several of the goats, especially the males, together with some sheep, died, notwithstanding all the care to prevent it that was exercised by our people. This misfortune was chiefly owing to the coldness of the weather, which now began to be felt in the most sensible manner. On the twelfth, land was seen, which, upon a nearer approach, was found to consist of two Islands. That which lies most to the South, and is the largest, was judged by Captain Cook to be about fifteen leagues in circuit. The northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit; and the two Islands are at the distance of five leagues from each other (y). As the ships passed through the channel between them, our Voyagers could not discover, with the assistance of their best glasses, either tree or shrub on either of them. They seemed to have a rocky and bold shore, and their surface is for the most part composed of barren mountains, the summits and sides of which were covered with snow. These two Islands, together with four others, which lie from nine to twelve degrees of longitude more to the East, and nearly in the same latitude, had been discovered by Captains Marion du Fresne, and Crozet, French navigators, in January 1772, on their passage, in two ships, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands. As no names had been assigned to them in a chart of the Southern Ocean, which Captain Crozet communicated to Captain Cook in 1775, our Commander distinguished the two larger ones by calling them PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLANDS, after his Majesty's fourth son. To the other four, with a view of commemorating the discoverers, he gave name of MARION'S and CROZET'S ISLANDS. Though it was now the middle of summer in this hemisphere, the weather was not less severe than what is generally met with in England in the very depth of winter. Instead, however, of being discouraged by this circumstance, the Captain shaped his course in such a manner as to pass to the southward of Marion's and Crozet's Islands, that he might get into the latitude of land which had been discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen, another French navigator. It was part of our Commander's instructions to examine whether a good harbour might not here be found. As our Voyagers, on the twenty-fourth, were steering to the eastward, a fog clearing up a little, which had involved them for some time, and which had rendered their navigation both tedious and dangerous, land was seen, bearing South-south-east. Upon a nearer approach, it was found to be an Island of considerable height, and about three leagues in circuit. Another Island, of the same magnitude, was soon after discovered, and in a short space a third, besides some smaller ones. At times, as the fog broke away, there was the appearance of land over the small Islands, and Captain Cook entertained thoughts of steering for it, by running in between them. But, on drawing nearer, he found that, so long as the weather continued foggy, this would be a perilous attempt. For if there should be no passage, or if our people should meet with any sudden danger, there was such a prodigious sea, breaking on all the shores in a frightful surf, that it would have been impossible for the vessels to be gotten off. At the same time, the Captain saw another Island; and, as he did not know how many more might succeed, he judged it prudent, in order to avoid getting entangled among unknown lands in a thick fog, to wait for clearer weather. The Island last mentioned is a high round rock, which was named BLIGH'S CAP (z). Our Commander had received some very slight information concerning it at Teneriffe, and his sagacity in tracing it was such as immediately led him to determine that it was the same that Monsieur de Kerguelen had called the Isle of Rendezvous. His reason for giving it that name is not very apparent; for nothing can rendezvous upon it but fowls of the air, it being certainly inaccessible to every other animal. The weather beginning to clear up, Captain Cook steered in for the land, of which a faint view had been obtained in the morning. This was Kerguelen's Land. No sooner had our Navigators gotten off Cape François, than they observed the coast, to the southward, to be much indented by projecting points and bays; from which circumstance they were sure of finding a good harbour. Accordingly, such a harbour was speedily discovered, in which the ships came to an anchor on the twenty-fifth, being Christmas Day. Upon landing, our Commander found the shore almost entirely covered with penguins and other birds, and with seals. The latter, which were not numerous, having been unaccustomed to visitors, were so insensible of

(y) The largest Island lies in latitude $46^{\circ} 53'$ South, and in longitude $37^{\circ} 46'$ East; and the smaller one in latitude $46^{\circ} 4'$ South, and in $38^{\circ} 8'$ East longitude.

(z) The latitude of Bligh's Cap is $48^{\circ} 29'$ South, and its longitude $68^{\circ} 40'$ East.

fear, that as many as were wanted, for the purpose of making use of their fat or blubber, were killed without difficulty. Fresh water was so plentiful, that every gully afforded a large stream; but not a single tree or shrub, or the least sign of it, could be met with, and but very little herbage of any sort. Before Captain Cook returned to his ship, he ascended the first ridge of rocks, that rise in a kind of amphitheatre, above one another, in hopes of obtaining a view of the country; in which, however, he was disappointed; for, previously to his reaching the top, there came on so thick a fog, that he could scarcely find his way down again. In the evening, the seine was hauled at the head of the harbour, but only half a dozen small fish were caught. As no better success attended a trial which was made the next day with hook and line, the only resource for fresh provision was in birds, the store of which was inexhaustible. The people having wrought hard for two days, and nearly completed their water, the Captain allowed them the twenty-seventh, as a day of rest, to celebrate Christmas. Many of them, in consequence of this indulgence, went on shore, and made excursions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and desolate in the highest degree. One of them, in his ramble, discovered, and brought to our Commander, in the evening, a quart bottle, fastened with some wire to a projecting rock on the North side of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inscription:

*Ludovico XV. Galliarum
rege et d. (a) de Boynes
regi a Secretis ad Res
maritimas annis 1772 et
1773.*

(a) The (d.) is doubtless a contraction for the word *Domino*. Monsieur de Boynes was then the Secretary of the French Marine.

It was clear, from this inscription, that our English Navigators were not the first who had been in the place. As a memorial of our people's having touched at the same harbour, Captain Cook wrote, as follows, on the other side of the parchment:

*Naves Resolution
et Discovery
de Rege Magnæ Britanniae,
Decembris 1776.*

He then put it again into a bottle, together with a silver two-penny piece of 1772. Having covered the mouth of the bottle with a leaden cap, he placed it, the next morning, in a pile of stones erected for the purpose, upon a little eminence on the North shore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was first found. In this position it cannot escape the notice of any European, whom accident or design may bring into the port. Here the Captain displayed the British flag, and named the place CHRISTMAS HARBOUR, from our Voyagers having arrived in it on that festival. After our Commander had finished the business of the inscription, he went in his boat round the harbour, to examine what the shore afforded. His more particular object was to look for drift-wood; but he did not find a single piece throughout the whole extent of the place. On the same day, accompanied by Mr. King, his second Lieutenant, he went upon Cape François, with the hope, that, from this elevation, he might obtain a view of the sea-coast, and of the adjoining Islands. But when he had gotten up, he found that every distant object below him was obscured in a thick fog. The land on the same plain, or of a greater height, was sufficiently visible, and appeared naked and desolate in the highest degree; some hills to the southward excepted, which were covered with snow. On the twenty-ninth, Captain Cook departed from Christmas Harbour, and proceeded to range along the coast, with a view of discovering its position and extent. In pursuing his course, he met with several promontories and bays, together with a peninsula, all of which he has described and named, chiefly in honour of his various friends. Such was the danger of the navigation, that the ships had more than once a very narrow escape. On the same day, another harbour was discovered, in which the vessels came to an anchor for one night. Here the Captain, Mr. Gore, and Mr. Bayley went on shore, to examine the country, which they found, if possible, more barren and desolate than the land that lies about Christmas harbour: and yet, if the least fertility were any where to be expected, it ought to have existed in this place, which is completely sheltered from the bleak and predominating southerly and westerly winds. Our Commander observed, with regret, that there was neither food nor covering for cattle of any sort; and that, if he left any, they must inevitably perish. Finding no encouragement to continue his researches, he weighed anchor and put to sea on the thirtieth, having given to the harbour the name of PORT PALLISER (b). On the same day he came to a point, which proved to be the very eastern extremity of Kerguelen's Land (c). In a large bay, near this point, there was a prodigious quantity of sea-weed, some of which is of a most extraordinary length. It seemed to be same kind of vegetable production that Sir Joseph Banks had formerly distinguished by the appellation of *Fucus Giganteus*. Although the stem

(b) It is situated in the latitude of 49° 3' South, and the longitude of 69° 37' East.

(c) This point, which Captain Cook called Cape Digby, is situated in the latitude of 49° 23' South, and the longitude is of 70° 34' East.

is not much thicker than a man's hand, Capt. Cook thought himself well warranted to say, that the length of part of it grows to sixty fathoms and upward. The result of the examination of Kerguelen's Land was, that the quantity of latitude which it occupies doth not much exceed one degree and a quarter. Its extent, from East to West, still remains undecided. At its first discovery, it was probably supposed to belong to a southern continent; but, in fact, it is an Island, and that of no great extent (*d*). If our Commander had not been unwilling to deprive Monsieur Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name, he would have been disposed, from its sterility, to call it the Island of Desolation. It should here be mentioned, that Monsieur de Kerguelen made two visits to the coast of this country; one in 1772, and another in 1773. With the first of these voyages Captain Cook had only a very slight acquaintance, and to the second he was totally a stranger; so that he scarcely had any opportunity of comparing his own discoveries with those of the French Navigator. Monsieur de Kerguelen was peculiarly unfortunate, in having done but little to complete what he had begun; for though he discovered a new land, he could not, in two expeditions to it, once bring his ships to an anchor upon any part of its coasts. Captain Cook had either fewer difficulties to struggle with, or was more successful in surmounting them. During the short time in which our Voyagers lay in Christmas Harbour, Mr. Anderson lost no opportunity of searching the country in every direction. Perhaps no place, hitherto discovered, under the same parallel of latitude, affords so scanty a field for a natural historian. All that could be known in the space of time allotted him, and probably all that will ever be worthy to be known, was collected by this Gentleman. A verdure, which had been seen at a little distance from the shore, gave our people the flattering expectation of meeting with a variety of herbage: but in this they were greatly deceived. On landing, it was perceived that the lively colour which had imposed upon them, was occasioned only by one small plant, not unlike some sorts of *Saxifrage*. It grows in large spreading tufts, a considerable way up the hills. The whole catalogue of plants does not exceed sixteen or eighteen, including several kinds of moss, and a beautiful species of lichen, which rises higher up from the rocks than the rest of the vegetable productions. There is not the appearance of a shrub in the whole country. Nature has been somewhat more bountiful in furnishing it with animals; though, strictly speaking, they are not inhabitants of the place, being all of the marine kind. In general, the land is only used by them for breeding, and as a resting-place. Of these animals the most considerable are seals; being of that sort which is called the Urine Seal. The birds, which have already been mentioned as very numerous, chiefly consist of penguins, ducks, petrels, albatrosses, shags, gulls and sea swallows. Penguins, which are far superior in number to the rest, are of three kinds, one of which had never been seen by any of our Voyagers before. The rocks, or foundations of the hills, are principally composed of that dark blue, and very hard stone, which seems to be one of the most universal productions of nature. Nothing was discovered that had the least appearance of ore or metal (*e*).

(*d*) Kerguelen, who was acquainted with nearly fourscore leagues of its coast, says, that he has reason to believe that it is about two hundred leagues in circuit.

From this desolate coast Captain Cook took his departure on the thirty-first, intending, agreeably to his instructions, to touch next at New Zealand; that he might obtain a recruit of water, take in wood, and make hay for the cattle. Their number was now considerably diminished; for two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and several of the goats, had died while our Navigators were employed in exploring Kerguelen's Land. For some time they had fresh gales, and tolerably clear weather. But on the third of January, 1777, the wind veered to the North, where it continued eight days, and was attended with so thick a fog, that the ships ran above three hundred leagues in the dark. Occasionally the weather would clear up, and give our people a sight of the sun; but this happened very seldom, and was always of short continuance. However, amidst all the darkness produced by the fog, the vessels, though they seldom saw each other, were so fortunate, in consequence of frequently firing guns as signals, that they did not lose company. On the twelfth, the northerly winds ended in a calm (*f*). This was succeeded, in a little time, by a wind from the southward, which brought on a rain, that continued for twenty-four hours. At the end of the rain, the wind freshened, and veering to the West and North-west, was followed by fair and clear weather. Nothing very remarkable occurred to our Voyagers till the twenty-fourth, when they discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land; and, on the twenty-sixth, the ships came to an anchor in Adventure Bay. Captain Cook, as soon as he had anchored, ordered the boats to be hoisted out; in one of which he went himself, to look for the most commodious place for obtaining the necessary supplies. Wood and water were found in abundance, and in places sufficiently convenient; but grass, which was most wanted, was scarce, and, at the same time, very coarse. Necessity, however, obliged our people to take up with such as could be procured. On the twenty-eighth, the English who were employed in cutting wood were agreeably surprized with a visit from some of the natives. They consisted of eight men and a boy, who approached our Voyagers not only without fear, but with the most perfect confidence and freedom. There was only a single person among them who had any thing which bore the least appearance of a weapon, and that was no more than a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. These people were quite naked, and wore no kind of ornaments; unless

(*e*) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 52-53.

(*f*) The ships were then in latitude 48° 40' South, and in longitude 110° 26' East.

unless some large punctures or ridges raised in different parts of their bodies, either in strait or curved lines, may be considered in that light. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and the faces of some of them were painted with the same composition. Every present which Captain Cook made them they received without the least appearance of satisfaction. Of bread and elephant fish, which were offered them, they refused to taste, but shewed that they were fond of birds as an article of food. Two pigs, which the Captain had brought on shore, having come within their reach, they seized them by the ears, as a dog would have done, and would have carried them off immediately, apparently with no other intention than to kill them. Our Commander being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of the Indians had in his hands, he signified, by signs, his wishes to that purpose. His intimations so far succeeded, that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards. There was but little reason to commend his dexterity; for, after repeated trials, he was still very wide from his object. Omai, to convince the natives how much our weapons were superior to theirs, then fired his musquet at the mark, by which they were so greatly terrified, that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the English to quiet their minds, they ran instantly into the woods. After the retreat of the Indians, Captain Cook, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to observe what passed, ordered the two pigs, being a boar and a sow, to be carried about a mile within the head of the bay, and saw them left there, by the side of a fresh-water brook. It was, at first, his benevolent intention to make an additional present to Van Diemen's Land, of a young bull and cow, together with some sheep and goats. But, upon reflection, he laid aside this design; being persuaded that the natives would destroy them, from their incapacity of entering into his views with regard to the improvement of their country. As pigs are animals which soon become wild, and are fond of the thickest cover of the woods, there was the greater probability of their being preserved. For the accommodation of the other cattle an open place must have been chosen; in which situation they could not possibly have been concealed many days. On the twenty-ninth, about twenty of the inhabitants, men and boys, joined Captain Cook and such of his people as had landed with him, without manifesting the least sign of fear or distrust. It was remarkable, that one of the Indians was conspicuously deformed; nor was he more distinguished by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his gestures, and the humour of his speeches, which had the appearance of being intended for the entertainment of our Voyagers. Unfortunately, the language in which he spake to them was wholly unintelligible. To each of the present group the Captain gave a string of beads and a medal, which they seemed to receive with some satisfaction. On iron, and on iron tools, they appeared to set no value. There was reason to believe that they were even ignorant of fish-hooks; and yet it is difficult to suppose that a people who inhabit a sea-coast, and who were not observed to derive any part of their sustenance from the productions of the ground, should be unacquainted with some mode of catching fish. However, they were never seen to be thus employed; nor was any canoe or vessel discovered by which they could go upon the water. Though they had rejected the kind of fish which had been offered them, it was evident that shell-fish made a part of their food. After Captain Cook had left the shore, several women and children made their appearance, and were introduced to Lieutenant King by some of the men that attended them. These females (a *Kangaroo* skin excepted, which was tied over their shoulders, and seemed to be intended to support their infants) were as naked and as black as the men, and had their bodies marked with scars in the same manner. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought to be pretty; but a less favourable report was made of the women, and especially of those who were advanced in years. Some of the Gentlemen, however, belonging to the Discovery, as our Commander was informed, paid their addresses, and made liberal offers of presents, which were rejected with great disdain. It is certain that this gallantry was not very agreeable to the men: for an elderly man, as soon as he observed it, ordered the women to retire. The order was obeyed; but, on the part of some of the females, with the appearance of a little reluctance. On the present occasion, Captain Cook made some proper and pertinent reflections, which I shall deliver in his own words. "This conduct," says he, "of Europeans among Savages, to their women, is highly blameable; as it creates a jealousy in their men, that may be attended with consequences fatal to the success of the common enterprize, and to the whole body of adventurers, without advancing the private purpose of the individual, or enabling him to gain the object of his wishes. I believe it has generally been found, amongst uncivilized people, that where the women are easy of access, the men are the first to offer them to strangers; and that, where this is not the case, neither the allurements of presents, nor the opportunity of privacy, will be likely to have the desired effect. This observation, I am sure, will hold good throughout all the parts of the South Sea where I have been. Why then should men act so absurd a part, as to risk their own safety, and that of all their companions, in pursuit of a gratification which they have no probability of obtaining?" While our Navigators were at Van Diemen's Land, they were successful in obtaining a plentiful crop of grass for their cattle, and such as was far more excellent

(g) Adventure Bay is in the latitude of $43^{\circ} 21' 20''$ South, and in the longitude of $147^{\circ} 29'$ East.

excellent than what they had met with at their first going on shore. The quantity collected was judged by the Captain to be sufficient to last till his arrival in New Zealand. Van Diemen's Land had been visited twice before. That name had been given it by Tasman, who discovered it in 1642; from which time it had escaped all notice of European Navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in 1773. It is well known, that it is the southern point of New Holland, which is by far the largest Island in the world; indeed, so large an Island as almost to deserve the appellation of a continent. While Captain Cook was at this country, he neglected nothing which could promote the knowledge of science and navigation. Here, as every where else, he settled the latitude and longitude of places (g); marked the variations of the compass, and recorded the nature of the tides. He corrected, likewise, an error of Captain Furneaux, with respect to the situation of Maria's Islands; on which subject he hath candidly remarked, that his own idea is not the result of a more faithful, but merely of a second examination. Mr. Anderson, during the few days in which the ships remained in Adventure Bay, exerted his usual diligence in collecting as full an account as could be obtained, in so short a period of time, of the natural productions and the inhabitants of the country. Little can be said concerning either the personal activity or genius of the natives. The first they do not seem to possess in any remarkable degree; and, to all appearance, they have less of the last than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego. Their not expressing that surprize which might have been expected, from their seeing men so much unlike themselves, and things to which they had hitherto been utter strangers; their indifference for the presents of our people; and their general inattention; were sufficient testimonies that they were not endued with any acuteness of understanding. What the ancient poets tell us of *Fauns* and *Satyrs* living in hollow trees, is realized at Van Diemen's Land. Some wretched constructions of sticks covered with bark, and which did not deserve the name of huts, were indeed found near the shore; but these seemed only to have been erected for temporary purposes. The most comfortable habitations of the natives were afforded by the largest trees. These had their trunks hollowed out by fire, to the height of six or seven feet; and there was room enough in them for three or four persons to sit round a hearth, made of clay. At the same time, these places of shelter are durable; for the people take care to leave one side of the tree sound, which is sufficient to keep it in luxuriant growth. The inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land are undoubtedly from the same stock with those of the northern parts of New Holland. Their language, indeed, appeared to be different; but how far the difference extended, our Voyagers could not have an opportunity of determining. With regard to the New Hollanders in general, there is reason to suppose, that they originally came from the same place with all the Indians of the South Sea (h).

On the thirtieth of January, 1777, Captain Cook sailed from Adventure Bay, and on the twelfth of February came to an anchor at his old station of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand. Being unwilling to lose any time, he commenced his operations that very afternoon. By his order, several of the empty water casks were immediately landed, and a place was begun to be cleared for setting up the two observatories, and the erection of tents to accommodate a guard, and the rest of the company, whose business might require them to remain on shore. Our Navigators had not long been at anchor, before a number of canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships. However, very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as the Captain was well known to them all, and they could not be insensible how liberally he had behaved to them on former occasions. There was one man in particular, whom he had treated with remarkable kindness, during the whole of his last stay in this place; and yet, neither professions of friendship, nor presents, could prevail upon him to enter the Resolution. There was a real cause for this shyness on the part of the New Zealanders. A dreadful event had happened to some of Captain Furneaux's crew, while he lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, after he had finally separated from Captain Cook, in the former voyage. Ten men, who had been sent out in the large cutter to gather wild greens for the ship's company, were killed in a skirmish with the natives. What was the cause of the quarrel could not be ascertained, as not one of the company survived to relate the story. Lieutenant Burney, who was ordered to go in search of them, found only some fragments of their bodies, from which it appeared, that they had been converted into the food of the inhabitants. It was the remembrance of this event, and the fear of its being revenged, which now rendered the New Zealanders so fearful of entering the English vessels. From the conversation of Omai, who was on board the Adventure when the melancholy affair happened, they knew that it could not be unknown to Captain Cook. The Captain, therefore, judged it necessary, to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of his friendship, and that he should not disturb them on account of the catastrophe. It was most probably in consequence of this assurance, that they soon laid aside all manner of restraint and distrust. In the mean while, the operations for refitting the ships, and for obtaining provisions, were carried on with great vigour. For the protection of the party on shore, our Commander appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen; with whom Mr. King, and two or three petty officers, constantly remained. A boat was never sent

(h) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 91—116.

to a considerable distance without being armed, or without being under the direction of such officers as might be depended upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives. In Captain Cook's former visits to this country, he had never made use of such precautions; nor was he now convinced of their absolute necessity. But, after the tragical fate of the crew of the Adventure's boat in this sound, and of Captain Marion du Fresne, and some of his people, in the Bay of Islands (in 1772), it was impossible to free our Navigators from all apprehensions of experiencing a similar calamity. Whatever suspicions the inhabitants might at first entertain, that their acts of barbarity would be revenged, they very speedily became so perfectly easy upon the subject, as to take up their residence close to our Voyagers; and the advantage of their coming to live with the English was not inconsiderable. Every day, when the weather would permit, some of them went out to catch fish, and our people generally obtained, by exchanges, a good share of the produce of their labours, in addition to the supply which was afforded by our own nets and lines. Nor was there a deficiency of vegetable refreshments; to which was united spruce-beer for drink; so that if the seeds of the scurvy had been contracted by any of the crew, they would speedily have been removed by such a regimen. The fact, however, was, that there were only two invalids upon the sick lists in both ships. Curiosities, fish, and women were the articles of commerce supplied by the New Zealanders. The two first always came to a good market; but the latter did not happen, at this time, to be an acceptable commodity. Our seamen had conceived a dislike to these people, and were either unwilling or afraid to associate with them; the good effect of which was, that our Commander knew no instance of a man's quitting his station, to go to the habitations of the Indians. A connection with women it was out of Captain Cook's power to prevent; but he never encouraged it, and always was fearful of its consequences. Many, indeed, are of opinion, that such an intercourse is a great security among savages. But if this should ever be the case with those who remain and settle among them, it is generally otherwise with respect to travellers and transient visitors. In such a situation as was that of our Navigators, a connection with the women of the natives betrays more men than it saves. "What else," says the Captain, "can reasonably be expected, since all their views are selfish, without the least mixture of regard or attachment? My own experience, at least, which hath been pretty extensive, hath not pointed out to me one instance to the contrary." Amongst the persons who occasionally visited the English, was a Chief of the name of Kahoora, who, as Captain Cook was informed, had headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and had himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. This man our Commander was strongly solicited to put to death, even by some of the natives; and Omai was particularly eager and violent upon the subject. To these solicitations the Captain paid not the least degree of attention. He even admired Kahoora's courage, and was not a little pleased with the confidence with which he had put himself into his power. Kahoora had placed his whole safety in the declarations that Captain Cook had uniformly made to the New Zealanders; which were, that he had always been a friend to them all, and would continue to be so, unless they gave him cause to act otherwise; that as to their inhuman treatment of our people, he should think no more of it, the transaction having happened long ago, and when he was not present; but that, if ever they made a second attempt of the same kind, they might rest assured of feeling the weight of his resentment. While our Commander, on the sixteenth, was making an excursion for the purpose of collecting food for his cattle, he embraced the opportunity to enquire, as accurately as possible, into the circumstances which had attended the melancholy fate of our countrymen. Omai was his interpreter on this occasion. The result of the enquiry was, that the quarrel first took its rise from some thefts, in the commission of which the natives were detected; that there was no premeditated plan of bloodshed; and that if these thefts had not, unfortunately, been too hastily resented, no mischief would have happened. Kahoora's greatest enemies, and even the very men that had most earnestly solicited his destruction, confessed, at the same time, that he had no intention of quarrelling with Captain Furneaux's people, and much less of killing any of them, till the fray had actually commenced. Captain Cook continued, in this his last visit to New Zealand, the solicitude he had formerly shewn to be of some essential future service to the country. To one Chief he gave two goats, a male and female, with a kid; and to another two pigs, a boar and a sow. Although he obtained a promise from both these Chiefs, that they would not kill the animals which had been presented to them, he could not venture to place any great reliance upon their assurances. It was his full intention, on his present arrival in Queen Charlotte's Sound, to have left not only goats and hogs, but sheep, together with a young bull and two heifers. The accomplishment, however, of this resolution depended either upon his finding a Chief who was powerful enough to protect and keep the cattle, or upon his meeting with a place where there might be a probability of their being concealed from those who would ignorantly attempt to destroy them. Neither of these circumstances happened to be conformable to his wishes. At different times he had left in New Zealand ten or a dozen hogs, besides those which had been put on shore by Captain Furneaux. It will, therefore, be a little extraordinary, if this race of animals should not increase and be preserved either in a wild

or a domestic state, or in both. Our Commander was informed, that Tiratou, a popular Chief among the natives, had a number of cocks and hens, and one sow, in his separate possession. With regard to the gardens which had formerly been planted, though they had almost entirely been neglected, and some of them destroyed, they were not wholly unproductive. They were found to contain cabbages, onions, leeks, purslain, radishes, mustard, and a few potatoes. The potatoes, which had first been brought from the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly meliorated by change of soil; and, with proper cultivation, would be superior to those produced in most other countries. A great addition of knowledge was obtained, during this voyage, with respect to the productions of New Zealand, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants. The zeal of Captain Cook upon the subject was admirably seconded by the sedulous diligence of Mr. Anderson, who omitted no opportunity of collecting every kind and degree of information. I shall only so far trespass on the patience of my readers, as to mention a few circumstances tending to delineate the character of the natives. They seem to be a people perfectly satisfied with the little they already possess; nor are they remarkably curious either in their observations or their enquiries. New objects are so far from striking them with such a degree of surprise as might naturally be expected, that they scarcely fix their attention even for a moment. In the arts with which they are acquainted, they shew as much ingenuity, both in invention and execution, as any uncivilized nations under similar circumstances. Without the least use of those tools which are formed of metal, they make every thing that is necessary to procure their subsistence, clothing, and military weapons; and all this is done by them with a neatness, a strength, and a convenience that are well adapted to the accomplishment of the several purposes they have in view. No people can have a quicker sense of an injury done to them than the New Zealanders, or be more ready to resent it: and yet they want one characteristic of true bravery; for they will take an opportunity of being insolent when they think that there is no danger of their being punished. From the number of their weapons, and their dexterity in using them, it appears that war is their principal profession. Indeed, their public contentions are so frequent, or rather so perpetual, that they must live under continual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other. From their horrid custom of eating the flesh of their enemies, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar satisfaction, it would be natural to suppose that they must be destitute of every humane feeling, even with regard to their own party. This, however, is not the case: for they lament the loss of their friends with a violence of expression which argues the most tender remembrance of them. At a very early age, the children are initiated into all the practices, whether good or bad, of their fathers; so that a boy or girl, when only nine or ten years old, can perform the motions, and imitate the frightful gestures, by which the more aged are accustomed to inspire their enemies with terror. They can keep, likewise, the strictest time in their song; and it is with some degree of melody that they sing the traditions of their forefathers, their actions in war, and other subjects. The military achievements of their ancestors the New Zealanders celebrate with the highest pleasure, and spend much of their time in diversions of this sort, and in playing upon a musical instrument, which partakes of the nature of a flute. With respect to their language, it is far from being harsh or disagreeable, though the pronunciation of it is frequently guttural; nor, if we may judge from the melody of some kinds of their songs, is it destitute of those qualities which fit it to be associated with music. Of its identity with the languages of the other Islands throughout the South Sea fresh proofs were exhibited during the present voyage. At the request of Omai, Captain Cook consented to take with him two youths from New Zealand. That they might not quit their native country under any deluding ideas of visiting it again, the Captain took care to inform their parents, in the strongest terms, that they would never return. This declaration seemed, however, to make no kind of impression. The father of the youngest lad resigned him with an indifference which he would scarcely have shewn at parting with his dog, and even stripped the boy of the little clothing he possessed, delivering him quite naked into the hands of our voyagers. This was not the case with the mother of the other youth. She took her leave of him with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child on such an occasion; but she soon resumed her cheerfulness, and went away wholly unconcerned (*i*).

(i) Cook's Voy.
age, *ubi supra*,
p. 118—163.

On the twenty-fifth of the month, Captain Cook stood out of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and by the twenty-seventh got clear of New Zealand. No sooner had the ships lost sight of the land, than the two young adventurers from that country, one of whom was nearly eighteen years of age, and the other about ten, began deeply to repent of the step they had taken. It was the experience of the sea-sickness which gave this turn to their reflections; and all the soothing encouragement the English could think of, was but of little avail. They wept, both in public and in private, and made their lamentation in a kind of song, that seemed to be expressive of the praises of their country and people, from which they were to be separated for ever. In this disposition they continued for many days: but as their sea-sickness wore off, and the tumult of their minds subsided, the fits of lamentation became less and less frequent, and at length entirely ceased. By degrees, their native country

(k) Mangeea lies
in the latitude of
21° 57' South,
and in the lon-
gitude of 201°
53' East.

country and their friends were forgotten, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to our Navigators as if they had been born in England. In the prosecution of the voyage, Captain Cook met with unfavourable winds; and it was not till the twenty-ninth of March that land was discovered. It was found to be an inhabited Island, the name of which, as was learned from two of the natives, who came off in a canoe, is Mangeea. Our Commander examined the coast with his boats, and had a short intercourse with some of the inhabitants. Not being able to find a proper harbour for bringing the ships to an anchorage, he was obliged to leave the country unvisited, though it seemed capable of supplying all the wants of our Voyagers. The Island of Mangeea is full five leagues in circuit, and of a moderate and pretty equal height (k). It has, upon the whole, a pleasing aspect, and might be made a beautiful spot by cultivation. The inhabitants, who appeared to be both numerous and well fed, seemed to resemble those of Otaheite and the Marquesas in the beauty of their persons; and the resemblance, as far as could be judged in so short a compass of time, takes place with respect to their general disposition and character. From the coast of Mangeea our Commander sailed in the afternoon of the thirtieth, and on the next day land was again seen, within four leagues of which the ships arrived on the first of April. Our people could then pronounce it to be an Island, nearly of the same appearance and extent with that which had so lately been left. Some of the natives speedily put off in their canoes, and three of them were persuaded to come on board the Resolution; on which occasion, their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their ease, and felt no kind of apprehension that they should be detained, or ill used. In a visit from several others of the inhabitants, they manifested a dread of approaching near the cows and horses; nor could they form the least conception of their nature. But the sheep and goats did not, in their opinion, surpass the limits of their ideas; for they gave our Navigators to understand that they knew them to be birds. As there is not the most distant resemblance between a sheep or goat, and any winged animal, this may be thought to be almost an incredible example of human ignorance. But it should be remembered, that, excepting hogs, dogs, and birds, these people were strangers to the existence of any other land animals. In a farther intercourse with the natives, who had brought a hog, together with some plantains and cocoa-nuts, they demanded a dog from our Voyagers, and refused every thing besides which was offered in exchange. One of the Gentlemen on board happened to have a dog and a bitch, which were great nuisances in the ship; and these he might now have disposed of in a manner that would have been of real future utility to the Island. But he had no such views in making them the companions of his voyage. Omai, however, with a good-nature that reflects honour upon him, parted with a favourite dog which he had brought from England; and with this acquisition the people departed highly satisfied. On the third of April, Captain Cook dispatched Mr. Gore, with three boats, to endeavour to get upon the Island. Mr. Gore himself, Omai, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Burney, were the only persons that landed. The transactions of the day, of which Mr. Anderson drew up an ingenious and entertaining account, added to the stock of knowledge gained by our Navigators, but did not accomplish Captain Cook's principal object. Nothing was procured by the Gentlemen, from the Island, that supplied the wants of the ships. In this expedition, Omai displayed that turn for exaggeration, with which travellers have so frequently been charged. Being asked by the natives concerning the English, their ships, their country, and the arms they made use of, his answers were not a little marvellous. He told these people that our country had ships as large as their Island; on board of which were instruments of war (describing our guns) of such dimensions, that several persons might sit within them. At the same time, he assured the inhabitants that one of these guns was sufficient to crush their whole Island at a single shot. Though he was obliged to acknowledge that the guns on board the vessels upon their coast were but small, he contrived, by an explosion of gunpowder, to inspire them with a formidable idea of their nature and effect. It is probable that this representation of things contributed to the preservation of the Gentlemen, in their enterprize on shore; for a strong disposition to retain them had been shewn by the natives. It seemed destined that this day should give Omai more occasions than one of bearing a principal part in its transactions. The Island, though never visited by Europeans before, happened to have other strangers residing in it; and it was entirely owing to Omai's having attended on the expedition, that a circumstance so curious came to the knowledge of the English. Scarcely had he been landed upon the beach, when he found, among the crowd which had assembled there, three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. That at the distance of about two hundred leagues from those Islands, an immense, unknown ocean intervening, with the wretched boats their inhabitants are known to make use of, and fit only for a passage where sight of land is scarcely ever lost, such a meeting, at such a place, so accidentally visited, should occur, may well be regarded as one of those unexpected situations, with which the writers of feigned adventures love to surprize their readers. When events of this kind really happen in common life, they deserve to be recorded for their singularity. It may easily be supposed with what mutual surprize and satisfaction this interview of Omai with his countrymen was attended. Twelve years before, about twenty persons in number, of both sexes, had

had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring Island of Ulitea. A violent storm having arisen, which drove them out of their course, and their provisions being very scanty, they suffered incredible hardships, and the greatest part of them perished by famine and fatigue. Four men only survived, when the boat overfet, and then the destruction of this small remnant appeared to be inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the side of the vessel, which they continued to do for some days, when they were providentially brought within sight of the people of this Island, who immediately sent out canoes, and brought them on shore. The three men who now survived, expressed a strong sense of the kind treatment they had received; and so well satisfied were they with their present situation, that they refused an offer which was made them of being conveyed to their native country. A very important instruction may be derived from the preceding narrative. It will serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the Islands of the South Sea though lying remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other, may have originally been peopled. Similar adventures have occurred in the history of navigation and shipwrecks. The Island on which Messieurs Gore, Anderson, Burney, and Omai, had landed, is called Wateoo by the natives, and is a beautiful spot, having a surface composed of hills and plains, which are covered with a verdure rendered extremely pleasant by the diversity of its hues (l). Its inhabitants are very numerous; and many of the young men were perfect models in shape; besides which, they had complexions as delicate as those of the women, and appeared to be equally amiable in their dispositions. In their manners, their general habits of life, and their religious ceremonies and opinions, these Islanders have a near resemblance to the people of Otaheite and its neighbouring isles; and their language was well understood, both by Omai and the two New Zealanders. The next place visited by Captain Cook was a small Island, called Wennooa ette, or Otakootaia (m), to which Mr. Gore was sent, at the head of a party, who procured about a hundred cocoa-nuts for each ship, and some grass, together with a quantity of the leaves and branches of young trees, for the cattle. Though, at this time, no inhabitants were found in Wennooa-ette, yet, as there remained indubitable marks of its being, at least, occasionally frequented, Mr. Gore left a hatchet, and several nails, to the full value of what had been taken away. On the fifth, our Commander directed his course for Harvey's Island, which was only at the distance of fifteen leagues, and where he hoped to procure some refreshments. This Island had been discovered by him, in 1773, during his last voyage, when no traces were discerned of its having any inhabitants. It was now experienced to be well peopled, and by a race of men who appeared to differ much, both in person and disposition, from the natives of Wateoo. Their behaviour was disorderly and clamorous; their colour was of a deeper cast; and several of them had a fierce and rugged aspect. It was remarkable, that not one of them had adopted the practice, so generally prevalent among the people of the Southern Ocean, of puncturing or *tattooing* their bodies. But, notwithstanding this singularity, the most unequivocal proofs were exhibited of their having the same common origin; and their language, in particular, approached still nearer to the dialect of Otaheite, than that of Wateoo, or Mangeea. No anchorage for the ships being found in Harvey's Island, Captain Cook quitted it without delay.

The Captain being thus disappointed at all the Islands he had met with, since his leaving New Zealand, and his progress having unavoidably been retarded by unfavourable winds, and other unforeseen circumstances, it became impossible to think of doing any thing this year in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere, from which he was still at so great a distance, though the season for his operations there was already begun. In this situation, it was absolutely necessary, in the first place, to pursue such measures as were most likely to preserve the cattle that were on board. A still more capital object was to save the stores and provisions of the ships, that he might the better be enabled to prosecute his discoveries to the North, which could not now be commenced till a year later than was originally intended. If he had been so fortunate as to have procured a supply of water, and of grass, at any of the Islands he had lately visited, it was his purpose to have stood back to the South, till he had met with a westerly wind. But the certain consequence of doing this, without such a supply, would have been the loss of all the cattle; while, at the same time, not a single advantage would have been gained with regard to the grand ends of the voyage. He determined, therefore, to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where he was sure of being abundantly provided. In pursuing his course, agreeably to this resolution, our Commander, on the fourteenth, reached Palmerston Island, where, and at a neighbouring Islet, both of which were uninhabited, some little relief was obtained. The boats soon procured a load of scurvy-grass and young cocoa-nut trees, which was a feast for the cattle; and the same feast, with the addition of palm-cabbage, and the tender branches of the *Wharra* tree, was continued for several days. On the sixteenth, Omai, being on shore with the Captain, caught, with a scoop-net, in a very short time, as much fish as served the whole party for dinner, besides sending a quantity to both the ships. Birds, too, and particularly men-of-war and tropic birds, were plenti-

(l) Wateoo lies in the latitude of 20° 1' South, and in the longitude of 201° 45' East, and is about six leagues in circumference.

(m) It lies in the latitude of 19° 15' South, and in the longitude of 201° 37' East.

fully obtained; so that our Navigators had sumptuous entertainment. Omai acted as cook upon the occasion. The fish and the birds he dressed with heated stones, after the manner of his country; and performed the operation with a dexterity and good humour which were greatly to his credit. From the Islet before mentioned, twelve hundred cocoa-nuts were procured, which, being equally divided among the crew, were of great use to them, both on account of the juice and the kernel. There is no water in the Islets which are comprehended under the name of Palmerston Island. If that article could be obtained, and good anchorage could be accomplished within the reef, Captain Cook would prefer this Island to any of the uninhabited ones, for the mere purpose of refreshment. The quantity of fish that might be caught, would be sufficient; and a ship's company could roam about, unmolested by the petulance of the inhabitants. Different opinions have been entertained concerning the formation of the low Islands in the great ocean. From the observations which our Commander now made, he was convinced that such Islands are formed from shoals, or coral banks, and, consequently, that they are always increasing. His reasons for embracing this hypothesis, are related by him, in his Voyage, with his usual good sense and sagacity.

(n) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 167—
224.

After leaving Palmerston's Island, Captain Cook steered to the West, with a view of making the best of his way to Annamooka. During his course, the showers were so copious, that our Navigators saved a considerable quantity of water. Finding that a greater supply could be obtained by the rain, in one hour, than could be gotten by distillation in a month, the Captain laid aside the still, as a thing which was attended with more trouble than profit. At this time, the united heat and moisture of the weather, in addition to the impossibility of keeping the ships dry, threatened to be noxious to the health of our people. It was, however, remarkable, that neither the constant use of salt food, nor the vicissitudes of climate, were productive of any evil effects. Though the only material refreshment our Voyagers had received, since their leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was that which they had procured at New Zealand, there was not, as yet, a single sick person on board. This happy situation of things was undoubtedly owing to the unremitting attention of our Commander, in seeing that no circumstance was neglected which could contribute to the preservation of the health of his company (n). On the twenty-eighth of April, Captain Cook touched at the Island of Komango; and, on the first of May, he arrived at Annamooka. The station he took was the very same which he had occupied when he visited the country three years before; and it was probably, almost in the same place where Tasman, the first discoverer of this and some of the neighbouring Islands, anchored in 1643. A friendly intercourse was immediately opened with the natives, and every thing was settled to the Captain's satisfaction. He received the greatest civilities from Toobou, the Chief of Annamooka; and Taipa, a Chief from the Island of Komango, attached himself to the English in so extraordinary a manner, that, in order to be near them in the night, as well as in the day, he had a house brought on men's shoulders, a full quarter of a mile, and placed close to the shed which was occupied by our party on shore. On the sixth, our Commander was visited by a great Chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, and who was falsely represented, by Tapia, to be the King of all the Friendly Isles. The only interruption to the harmony which subsisted between our people and the natives of Annamooka, arose from the thievish disposition of many of the inhabitants. They afforded frequent opportunities of remarking how expert they were in the business of stealing. Even some of the Chiefs did not think the profession unbecoming their dignity. One of them was detected in carrying a bolt out of the ship, concealed under his clothes; for which Captain Cook sentenced him to receive a dozen lashes, and kept him confined till he had paid a hog for his liberty. After this act of justice, our Navigators were no longer troubled with thieves of rank: but their servants, or slaves, were still employed in the dirty work; and upon them a flogging seemed to make no greater impression than it would have done upon the main-mast. When any of them happened to be caught in the act, so far were their masters from interceding in their favour, that they often advised our Gentlemen to kill them. This, however, being a punishment too severe to be inflicted, they generally escaped without being punished at all; for of the shame, as well as of the pain of corporal chastisement, they appeared to be equally insensible. At length, Captain Clerke invented a mode of treatment, which was thought to be productive of some good effect. He put the thieves into the hands of the barber, and completely shaved their heads. In consequence of this operation, they became objects of ridicule to their own countrymen; and our people, by keeping them at a distance, were enabled to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their rogueries.

The Island of Annamooka being exhausted of its articles of food, Captain Cook proposed, on the eleventh, to proceed directly for Tongataboo. From this resolution, however, he was diverted, at the instance of Feenou, who warmly recommended, in preference to it, an Island, or rather a group of Islands, called Hapae, lying to the North-east. There, he assured our Voyagers, they could be plentifully supplied with every refreshment, in the easiest manner; and he enforced his advice by engaging to attend them thither in person. Accordingly, Hapae was made choice of for the next station; and the examination of it

became an object with the Captain, as it had never been visited by any European ships. On the seventeenth, our Commander arrived at Hapae, where he met with a most friendly reception from the inhabitants, and from Earoupa, the Chief of the Island. During the whole stay of our Navigators, the time was spent in a reciprocation of presents, civilities, and solemnities. On the part of the natives were displayed single combats with clubs, wrestling and boxing matches, female combatants, dances performed by men, and night entertainments of singing and dancing. The English, on the other hand, gave pleasure to the Indians by exercising the Marines, and excited their astonishment by the exhibition of fire works. After curiosity had, on both sides, been sufficiently gratified, Captain Cook applied himself to the examination of Hapae, Lefooga, and other neighbouring Islands. As the ships were returning, on the thirty-first, from these Islands to Annamooka, the Resolution was very near running full upon a low sandy Isle, called Pootoo Pootooa, surrounded with breakers. It fortunately happened, that the men had just been ordered upon deck to put the vessel about, and were most of them at their stations; so that the necessary movements were executed not only with judgment, but also with alertness. This alone saved the ship and her company from destruction. "Such hazardous situations," says the Captain, "are the unavoidable companions of the man who goes upon a voyage of discovery." During our Commander's expedition to Hapae, he was introduced to Poulaho, the real King of the Friendly Isles; in whose presence it instantly appeared how groundless had been Feenou's pretensions to that character. Feenou, however, was a Chief of great note and influence. By Poulaho Captain Cook was invited to pass over to Tongataboo, which request he complied with, after he had touched, for two or three days, at Annamooka. In the passage, the Resolution was insensibly drawn upon a large flat, on which lay innumerable coral rocks, of different depths, below the surface of the water. Notwithstanding all the care and attention of our people to keep her clear of them, they could not prevent her from striking on one of these rocks. The same event happened to the Discovery; but fortunately, neither of the ships stuck fast, or received any damage. On the tenth of June, Captain Cook arrived at Tongataboo, where the King was waiting for him upon the beach, and immediately conducted him to a small, but neat house, which, he was told, was at his service, during his stay in the Island. The house was situated a little within the skirts of the woods, and had a fine large area before it; so that a more agreeable spot could not have been provided. Our Commander's arrival at Tongataboo was followed by a succession of entertainments, similar to those which had occurred at Hapae, though somewhat diversified in circumstances, and exhibited with additional splendour. The pleasure, however, of the visit was occasionally interrupted by the thieveries of many of the inhabitants. Nothing could prevent their plundering our Voyagers, in every quarter; and they did it in the most daring and insolent manner. There was scarcely any thing which they did not attempt to steal; and yet, as the crowd was always great, the Captain would not permit the centinels to fire, lest the innocent should suffer with the guilty. Captain Cook, on the nineteenth, made a distribution of the animals which he had selected as presents for the principal men of the Island. To Poulaho, the King, he gave a young English bull and cow, together with three goats; to Mareewagee, a Chief of consequence, a Cape ram and two ewes [CC]; and to Feenou a horse and a mare. Omai, at the same time, was instructed to represent the importance of these animals, and to explain, as far as he was capable of doing it, the manner in which they should be preserved and treated. Even the generosity of the Captain was not without its inconveniences. It soon appeared that some were dissatisfied with the allotment of the animals; for, next morning, two kids and two turkey-cocks were missing. As our Commander could not suppose that this was an accidental loss, he determined to have them again. The first step he took was to seize on three canoes that happened to be alongside the ships; after which, he went on shore, and having found the King, his brother, Feenou, and some other Chiefs, he immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand, that they must remain under restraint till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the rest of the things which, at different times, had been stolen from our Voyagers, should be restored. This bold step of Captain Cook was attended with a very good effect. Some of the articles which had been lost were instantly brought back, and such good assurances were given with regard to the remainder, that, in the afternoon, the Chiefs were released. It was a happy circumstance, with respect to this transaction, that it did not abate the future confidence of Poulaho and his friends in the Captain's kind and generous treatment. On the fifth of July was an eclipse of the sun, which, however, in consequence of unfavourable weather, was very imperfectly observed. Happily, the disappointment was of little consequence, as the longitude was more than sufficiently determined by lunar observations^(o). Captain Cook sailed from Tongataboo on the tenth, and, two days after, came to an anchor at the Island of Middleburgh, or Eooa, as it is called by the inhabitants. Here he was immediately visited by Taooa, the Chief,

[CC] *A Cape ram and two ewes.* As none of the natives took the least notice or care of the three sheep allotted to Mareewagee, Captain Cook afterwards ordered them to be carried back to the ships. Besides

the animals above-mentioned, he left in the Island a young boar, and three young sows, of the English breed; and two rabbits, a buck and a doe.

with

^(o) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 225—328.

with whom he had formerly been acquainted. The intercourse now renewed was friendly in the highest degree, both with Taoofa and the rest of the natives; and our Commander endeavoured to meliorate their condition by planting a pine-apple, and sowing the seeds of melons, and other vegetables, in the Chief's plantation. To this he was encouraged by a proof that his past endeavours had not been wholly unsuccessful. He had, one day, served up to him at his dinner, a dish of turnips, being the produce of the seeds which he had left at Eooa in his last voyage.

The stay which Captain Cook made at the Friendly Islands was between two and three months; during which time, some accidental differences excepted, there subsisted the utmost cordiality between the English and the natives. These differences were never attended with any fatal consequences; which happy circumstance was principally owing to the unremitting attention of the Captain, who directed all his measures with a view to the prevention of such quarrels as would be injurious either to the inhabitants or to his own people. So long as our Navigators stayed at the Islands, they expended very little of their sea provisions, subsisting, in general, upon the produce of the country, and carrying away with them a quantity of refreshments sufficient to last till their arrival at another station, where they could depend upon a fresh supply. It was a singular pleasure to our Commander, that he possessed an opportunity of adding to the happiness of these good Indians, by the useful animals which he left among them. Upon the whole, the advantages of having touched at the Friendly Islands were very great; and Captain Cook reflected upon it with peculiar satisfaction, that these advantages were obtained without retarding, for a single moment, the prosecution of the great object of his voyage; the season for proceeding to the North having been previously lost. Besides the immediate benefits which both the natives and the English derived from their mutual intercourse on the present occasion, such a large addition was now made to the geographical knowledge of this part of the Pacific Ocean, as may render no small service to future navigators. Under the denomination of the Friendly Islands, must be included not only the group at Hapae, but all those Islands that have been discovered nearly under the same meridian, to the North, as well as some others, which, though they have never hitherto been seen by any European voyagers, are under the dominion of Tongataboo. From the information which our Commander received, it appears that this Archipelago is very extensive. Above one hundred and fifty Islands were reckoned up by the natives, who made use of bits of leaves to ascertain their number; and Mr. Anderson, with his usual diligence, procured all their names. Fifteen of them are said to be high or hilly, and thirty-five of them large. Concerning the size of the thirty-two which were unexplored, it can only be mentioned, that they must be larger than Annamooka, which was ranked amongst the smaller Isles. Several, indeed, of those which belong to this latter denomination, are mere spots, without inhabitants. Sixty-one of these Isles have their proper places and names marked upon the chart of the Friendly Islands, and the sketch of the harbour of Tongataboo, which are given in the Voyage. Captain Cook had not the least doubt but that Prince William's Islands, discovered and so named by Tasman, were comprehended in the list furnished by the natives. He had also good authority for believing, that Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands, two of Captain Wallis's discoveries in 1765, were included in the same list; and that they were under the sovereignty of Tongataboo, which is the grand seat of government. It must be left to future navigators to extend the geography of this part of the South Pacific Ocean, by ascertaining the exact situation and size of nearly a hundred Islands, in the neighbourhood, which our Commander had no opportunity of exploring. During the present visit to the Friendly Islands, large additions were made to the knowledge which was obtained, in the last voyage, of the natural history and productions of the country, and the manners and customs of its inhabitants. Though it does not fall within the plan of this narrative to enter into a detail of the particulars recorded, I cannot help taking notice of the explanation which Captain Cook has given of the thievish disposition of the natives. It is an explanation which reflects honour upon his sagacity, humanity, and candour; and therefore I shall relate it in his own words: "The only defect," says he, "fullying their character, that we know of, is a propensity to thieving; to which we found those of all ages, and both sexes, addicted; and to an uncommon degree. It should, however, be considered, that this exceptionable part of their conduct seemed to exist merely with respect to us; for, in their general intercourse with one another, I had reason to be of opinion, that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps less so) than in other countries, the dishonest practices of whose worthless individuals are not supposed to authorize any indiscriminate censure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances should be made for the foibles of these poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whose minds we overpowered with the glare of objects, equally new to them as they were captivating. Stealing, among the civilized nations of the world, may well be considered as denoting a character deeply stained with moral turpitude, with avarice unrestrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other Islands which we visited, the thefts, so frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be

“ be fairly traced to less culpable motives. They seemed to arise solely from an intense
 “ curiosity or desire to possess something which they had not been accustomed to before;
 “ and belonging to a sort of people so different from themselves. And, perhaps, if it were
 “ possible, that a set of beings, seemingly as superior in our judgment, as we are in theirs,
 “ should appear amongst us, it might be doubted, whether our natural regard to justice
 “ would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That I have assigned
 “ the true motive for their propensity to this practice, appears from their stealing every
 “ thing indiscriminately at first sight, before they could have the least conception of
 “ converting their prize to any one useful purpose. But, I believe, with us, no person
 “ would forfeit his reputation, or expose himself to punishment, without knowing, before
 “ hand, how to employ the stolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering disposition of
 “ these Islanders, though certainly disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, was the
 “ means of affording us some information as to the quickness of their intellects.” With
 respect to the religion of these Indians, Mr. Anderson maintains, that they have very proper
 sentiments concerning the immateriality and immortality of the soul; and thinks himself
 sufficiently authorized to assert, that they do not worship any thing which is the work of
 their own hands, or any visible part of the creation. The language of the Friendly
 Islands has the greatest imaginable conformity with that of New Zealand, of Wateoo,
 and Mangeea. Several hundreds of the words of it were collected by Mr. Anderson; and,
 amongst these, are terms that express numbers reaching to a hundred thousand. Beyond
 this limit they never went, and probably were not able to go farther; for it was observed,
 that when they had gotten thus far, they commonly used a word which expresses an inde-
 finite number. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Captain Cook, during his whole stay at
 the Friendly Islands, neglected nothing which could be the subject of astronomical and
 nautical observation. Hence the latitude and longitude of the different places he touched
 at, the variations of the needle, and the state of the tides, are recorded for the improvement
 of science, and the benefit of future navigators (p).

On the seventeenth of July, our Commander took his final leave of the Friendly Islands,
 and resumed his voyage. An eclipse was observed in the night between the twentieth and
 the twenty-first; and on the eighth of August, land was discovered. Some of the inhabi-
 tants, who came off in canoes, seemed earnestly to invite our people to go on shore; but
 Captain Cook did not think proper to run the risk of losing the advantage of a fair wind,
 for the sake of examining an Island which appeared to be of little consequence. Its name,
 as was learned from the natives, who spake the Otaheite language, is Toobouai (q). Pursuing
 his course, the Captain reached Otaheite on the twelfth, and steered for Oheitepeha Bay,
 with an intention to anchor there, in order to draw what refreshments he could from the
 South-east part of the Island, before he went down to Matavai. Omai's first reception
 amongst his countrymen was not entirely of a flattering nature. Though several persons
 came on board who knew him, and one of them was his brother-in-law, there was
 nothing remarkably tender or striking in their meeting. An interview which Omai had,
 on the thirteenth, with his sister, was agreeable to the feelings of nature; for their meeting
 was marked with expressions of tender affection, more easy to be conceived than described.
 In a visit, likewise, which he received from an aunt, the old Lady threw herself at his feet,
 and plentifully bedewed them with tears of joy. Captain Cook was informed by the
 natives, that, since he was last at the Island, in 1774, two ships had been twice in Oheitepeha
 Bay, and had left animals in the country. These, on farther enquiry, were found to be
 hogs, dogs, goats, one bull, and a ram. That the vessels which had visited Otaheite were
 Spanish, was plain from an inscription that was cut upon a wooden cross, standing at some
 distance from the front of a house which had been occupied by the strangers. On the
 transverse part of the cross was inscribed,

Christus vincit.

And on the perpendicular part,

Carolus III. imperat. 1774.

Our Commander took this occasion to preserve the memory of the prior visits of the
 English, by inscribing, on the other side of the post,

*Georgius tertius Rex,
 Annis 1767,
 1769, 1773, 1774, & 1777.*

Whatever might be the intentions of the Spaniards in their visits to the Island, it ought to
 be remembered to their honour, that they had behaved so well to the inhabitants, as
 always to be spoken of in the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration.

VOL. IV.

3 H

Captain

(p) Cook, *ubi*
supra, p. 355.
 359. 367—370.
 385, 386. 404,
 405. 414—421.

(q) Toobouai is
 situated in the
 latitude of 23°
 25' South, and in
 the longitude of
 210° 37' East.
 Its greatest ex-
 tent is not above
 five or six miles.

Captain Cook had at this time an important affair to settle. As he knew that he could now be furnished with a plentiful supply of cocoa-nuts, the liquor of which is an excellent and wholesome beverage, he was desirous of prevailing upon his people to consent to their being abridged, during their stay at Otaheite and the neighbouring Islands, of their stated allowance of spirits to mix with water. But as this stoppage of a favourite article, without assigning some reason for it, might occasion a general murmur, he thought it most prudent to assemble the ship's company, and to make known to them the design of the voyage, and the extent of the future operations. To animate them in undertaking with cheerfulness and perseverance what lay before them, he took notice of the rewards offered by Parliament, to such of his Majesty's subjects as should first discover a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in any direction whatever, in the northern hemisphere; and also to such as should first penetrate beyond the eighty-ninth degree of northern latitude. The Captain made no doubt, he told them, that he should find them willing to co-operate with him in attempting, as far as might be possible, to become entitled to one or both of these rewards; but that to give the best chance of success, it would be necessary to observe the utmost œconomy in the expenditure of the stores and provisions, particularly the latter, as there was no probability of getting a supply, any where, after leaving these Islands. He strengthened his argument by reminding them, that, in consequence of the opportunity's having been lost of getting to the North this summer, the voyage must last at least a year longer than had originally been supposed. He entreated them to consider the various obstructions and difficulties they might still meet with, and the aggravated hardships they would endure, if it should be found necessary to put them to short allowance, of any species of provisions, in a cold climate. For these very substantial reasons, he submitted to them, whether it would not be better to be prudent in time, and, rather than to incur the hazard of having no spirits left, when such a cordial would most be wanted, to consent to give up their grog now, when so excellent a liquor as that of cocoa-nuts could be substituted in its place. In conclusion, our Commander left the determination of the matter entirely to their own choice. This speech, which certainly partook much of the nature of true eloquence, if a discourse admirably calculated for persuasion be entitled to that character, produced its full effect on the generous minds of English seamen. Captain Cook had the satisfaction of finding, that his proposal did not remain a single moment under consideration; being unanimously and immediately approved of, without the least objection. By our Commander's order, Captain Clerke made the same proposal to his people; to which they, likewise, agreed. Accordingly, grog was no longer served, excepting on Saturday nights; when the companies of both ships had a full allowance of it, that they might drink the healths of their friends in England.

On the twenty-fourth, Captain Cook quitted the South-east part of Otaheite, and resumed his old station in Matavai Bay. Immediately upon his arrival, he was visited by Otoo, the King of the whole Island, and their former friendship was renewed; a friendship which was continued without interruption, and cemented by a perpetual succession of civilities, good offices, and entertainments. One of our Commander's first objects was to dispose of all the European animals which were in the ships. Accordingly, he conveyed to Oparre, Otoo's place of residence, a peacock and hen; a turkey cock and hen; one gander, and three geese; a drake, and four ducks. The geese and ducks began to breed before our Navigators left their present station. There were already at Otoo's, several goats, and the Spanish bull; which was one of the finest animals of the kind that was ever seen. To the bull Captain Cook sent the three cows he had on board, together with a bull of his own; to all which were added the horse and mare, and the sheep that had still remained in the vessels. The Captain found himself lightened of a very heavy burthen, in having disposed of these passengers. It is not easy to conceive the trouble and vexation which had attended the conveyance of this living cargo, through such various hazards, and to so immense a distance. But the satisfaction which our Commander felt, in having been so fortunate as to fulfil his Majesty's humane designs, in sending such valuable animals, to supply the wants of two worthy nations, afforded him an ample recompence for the many anxious hours he had passed, before this subordinate object of his voyage could be carried into execution. At this time a war was on the point of breaking out, between the inhabitants of Eimeo and those of Otaheite; and by the latter Captain Cook was requested to take a part in their favour. With this request, however, though enforced by frequent and urgent solicitations, the Captain, according to his usual wisdom, refused to comply. He alledged, that, as he was not thoroughly acquainted with the dispute, and the people of Eimeo had never offended him, he could not think himself at liberty to engage in hostilities against them. With these reasons Otoo and most of the Chiefs appeared to be satisfied; but one of them, Towha, was so highly displeased, that our Commander never afterward recovered his friendship. Upon the present occasion Captain Cook had full and undeniable proof that the offering of human sacrifices forms a part of the religious institutions of Otaheite. Indeed, he was a witness to a solemnity of this kind; the process of which he has particularly described, and has related it with the just sentiments of indignation and abhorrence. The unhappy victim, who was now offered to the object of worship,

seemed to be a middle-aged man, and was said to be one of the lowest class of the people. But the Captain could not learn, after all his enquiries, whether the wretch had been fixed upon, on account of his having committed any crime which was supposed to be deserving of death. It is certain that a choice is generally made either of such guilty persons for the sacrifices, or of common, low fellows, who stroll about, from place to place, without any visible methods of obtaining an honest subsistence. Those who are devoted to suffer, are never apprized of their fate till the blow is given that puts an end to their being. Whenever, upon any particular emergency, one of the great Chiefs considers a human sacrifice to be necessary, he pitches upon the victim, and then orders him to be suddenly fallen upon and killed, either with clubs or stones. Although it should be supposed, that no more than one person is ever devoted to destruction on any single occasion, at Otaheite, it will still be found that these occurrences are so frequent, as to cause a shocking waste of the human race; for our Commander counted no less than forty-nine skulls of former victims, lying before the *Morai* where he had seen another added to the number. It was apparent, from the freshness of these skulls, that no great length of time had elapsed, since the wretches to whom they belonged had been offered upon the altar of blood. There is reason to fear, that this custom is as extensive as it is horrid. It is highly probable that it prevails throughout the widely-diffused Islands of the Pacific Ocean; and Captain Cook had particular evidence of its subsisting at the Friendly Islands. To what an extent the practice of human sacrifices was carried in the ancient world, is not unknown to the learned. Scarcely any nation was free from it in a certain state of society; and, as religious reformation is one of the last efforts of the human mind, the practice may be continued, even when the manners are otherwise far removed from savage life. It may have been a long time before civilization has made such a progress as to deprive superstition of its cruelty, and to divert it from barbarous rites to ceremonies, which, though foolish enough, are comparatively mild, gentle, and innocent. On the fifth of September, an accident happened, which, though slight in itself, was of some consequence from the situation of things. A young ram of the Cape breed, which had been lambed and brought up with great care on board the ship, was killed by a dog. Desirous as Captain Cook was of propagating so useful a race, among the Society Islands, the loss of a ram was a serious misfortune. It was the only one he had of that breed; and of the English breed a single ram was all that remained. Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, on the fourteenth, mounted on horseback, and took a ride round the plain of Matavai, to the great surprise of a large number of the natives, who attended upon the occasion, and gazed upon the Gentlemen with as much astonishment as if they had been Centaurs. What the two Captains had begun, was afterwards repeated every day, by one and another of our people; notwithstanding which, the curiosity of the Otaheitans still continued unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with these animals, after they had seen the use which was made of them. Not all the novelties, put together, which European visitors had carried amongst the inhabitants, inspired them with so high an idea of the greatness of distant nations. Though Captain Cook would not take a part in the quarrels between the Islands, he was ready to protect his particular friends, when in danger of being injured. Towha, who commanded the expedition against Eimeo, had been obliged to submit to a disgraceful accommodation. Being full of resentment on account of his not having been properly supported, he was said to have threatened, that, as soon as the Captain should leave the Island, he would join his forces to those of Tiaraboo, and attack Otoo at Matavai or Oparre. This induced our Commander to declare, in the most public manner, that he was determined to espouse the interest of his friend, against any such combination; and that whoever presumed to assault him, should feel the weight of his heavy displeasure, when he returned again to Otaheite. Captain Cook's declaration had probably the desired effect; for, if Towha had formed hostile intentions, no more was heard of the matter.

The manner in which our Commander was freed from a rheumatic complaint, that consisted of a pain extending from the hip to the foot, deserves to be recorded. Otoo's mother, his three sisters, and eight other women, went on board for the express purpose of undertaking the cure of his disorder. He accepted of their friendly offer, had a bed spread for them on the cabin floor, and submitted himself to their directions. Being desired to lay himself down amongst them, then, as many of them as could get round him began to squeeze him with both hands, from head to foot, but more particularly in the part where the pain was lodged, till they made his bones crack, and his flesh became a perfect mummy. After undergoing this discipline about a quarter of an hour, he was glad to be released from the women. The operation, however, gave him immediate relief; so that he was encouraged to submit to another rubbing-down before he went to bed; the consequence of which was, that he was tolerably easy all the succeeding night. His female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning, and again in the evening; after which his pains were entirely removed, and the cure was perfected. This operation, which is called *Romee*, is universally practised among these Islanders; being sometimes performed by the men, but more generally by the women. Captain Cook, who now had come to the resolution of departing soon from Otaheite, accompanied, on the twenty-seventh,

seventh, Otoo to Oparre, and examined the cattle and poultry, which he had consigned to his friend's care at that place. Every thing was in a promising way, and properly attended. The Captain procured from Otoo four goats; two of which he designed to leave at Ulietea, where none had yet been introduced; and the other two he proposed to reserve for the use of any Islands he might chance to meet with in his passage to the North. On the next day, Otoo came on board, and informed our Commander, that he had gotten a canoe, which he desired him to carry home, as a present to the *Earee rabie no Pretane*. This, he said, was the only thing he could send which was worthy of his Majesty's acceptance. Captain Cook was not a little pleased with Otoo, for this mark of his gratitude; and the more, as the thought was entirely his own. Not one of our people had given him the least hint concerning it; and it shewed that he was fully sensible to whom he stood indebted for the most valuable presents that he had received. As the canoe was too large to be taken on board, the Captain could only thank him for his good intentions; but it would have given him a much greater satisfaction if his present could have been accepted. During this visit of our Voyagers to Otaheite, such a cordial friendship and confidence subsisted between them and the natives, as never once to be interrupted by any untoward accident. Our Commander had made the Chiefs fully sensible, that it was their interest to treat with him on fair and equitable terms, and to keep their people from plundering or stealing. So great was Otoo's attachment to the English, that he seemed pleased with the idea of their having a permanent settlement at Matavai; not considering that from that time he would be deprived of his kingdom, and the inhabitants of their liberties. Captain Cook had too much gratitude and regard for these Islanders, to wish that such an event should ever take place. Though our occasional visits may, in some respects, have been of advantage to the natives, he was afraid that a durable establishment among them, conducted as most European establishments amongst Indian nations have unfortunately been, would give them just cause to lament that they had been discovered by our Navigators. It is not, indeed, likely that a measure of this kind should at any time seriously be adopted, because it cannot serve either the purposes of public ambition, or private avarice; and, without such inducements, the Captain has ventured to pronounce that it will never be undertaken.

From Otaheite our Voyagers sailed, on the thirtieth, to Eimeo, where they came to an anchor, on the same day. At this Island, the transactions which happened were, for the most part, very unpleasant. A goat, which was stolen, was recovered without any extraordinary difficulty, and one of the thieves was, at the same time, surrendered; being the first instance of the kind that our Commander had met with in his connections with the Society Islands. The stealing of another goat was attended with an uncommon degree of perplexity and trouble. As the recovery of it was a matter of no small importance, Captain Cook was determined to effect this at any rate; and accordingly he made an expedition cross the Island, in the course of which he set fire to six or eight houses, and burnt a number of war canoes. At last, in consequence of a peremptory message to Maheine, the Chief of Eimeo, that not a single canoe should be left in the country, or an end be put to the contest, unless the animal in his possession should be restored, the goat was brought back. This quarrel was as much regretted on the part of the Captain, as it could be on that of the natives. It grieved him to reflect, that, after refusing the pressing solicitations of his friends at Otaheite to favour their invasion of this Island, he should find himself so speedily reduced to the necessity of engaging in hostilities against its inhabitants; and in such hostilities as, perhaps, had been more injurious to them than Towha's expedition. On the eleventh of October, the ships departed from Eimeo, and the next day arrived at Owharre harbour, on the West side of Huaheine. The grand business of our Commander at this Island was the settlement of Omai. In order to obtain the consent of the Chiefs of the Island, the affair was conducted with great solemnity. Omai dressed himself very properly on the occasion; brought with him a suitable assortment of presents; went through a variety of religious ceremonies; and made a speech, the topics of which had been dictated to him by our Commander. The result of the negociation was, that a spot of ground was assigned him, the extent of which, along the shore of the harbour, was about two hundred yards; and its depth, to the foot of the hill, somewhat more. A proportionable part of the hill was included in the grant. This business having been adjusted in a satisfactory manner, the Carpenters of both ships were employed in building a small house for Omai, in which he might secure his European commodities. At the same time, some of the English made a garden for his use, in which they planted shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetable articles. All of these Captain Cook had the satisfaction of seeing in a flourishing state before he left the Island. At Huaheine Omai found a brother, a sister, and a brother-in law, by whom he was received with great regard and tenderness. But though these people were faithful and affectionate in their attachment to him, the Captain discovered, with concern, that they were of too little consequence in the Island to be capable of rendering him any positive service. They had not either authority or influence to protect his person or property; and, in such a situation, there was reason to apprehend, that he might be in danger of being stripped of all his possessions, as soon as he should cease to be supported by the power of the English. To prevent

prevent this evil, if possible, our Commander advised him to conciliate the favour and engage the patronage and protection of two or three of the principal Chiefs, by a proper distribution of some of his moveables; with which advice he prudently complied. Captain Cook, however, did not entirely trust to the operations of gratitude, but had recourse to the more forcible motive of intimidation. With this view, he took every opportunity of signifying to the inhabitants, that it was his intention to return to the Island again, after being absent the usual time; and that, if he did not find Omai in the same state of security in which he left him, all those whom he should then discover to have been his enemies should feel the weight of his resentment. As the natives had now formed an opinion that their country would be visited by the ships of England at stated periods, there was ground to hope that this threatening declaration would produce no inconsiderable effect. When Omai's house was nearly finished, and many of his moveables were carried ashore, a box of toys excited the admiration of the multitude in a much higher degree than articles of a more useful nature. With regard to his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, drinking-mugs, glasses, and the whole train of domestic accommodations, which in our estimation are so necessary and important, scarcely any one of his countrymen would condescend to look upon them. Omai himself, being sensible that these pieces of English furniture would be of no great consequence in his present situation, wisely sold a number of them, among the people of the ships, for hatchets, and other iron tools, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world, and would give him a more distinguished superiority over those with whom he was to pass the remainder of his days. Omai's family, when he settled at Huaheine, consisted of eight or ten persons; if that can be called a family, to which a single female did not as yet belong, nor was likely to belong, unless its master should become less volatile. There was nothing in his present temper which seemed likely to dispose him to look out for a wife; and, perhaps, it is to be apprehended, that his residence in England had not contributed to improve his taste for the sober felicity of a domestic union with some woman of his own country. The European weapons of Omai consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouch-box; a fowling-piece; two pair of pistols; and two or three swords or cutlasses. With the possession of these warlike implements, he was highly delighted; and it was only to gratify his eager desire for them, that Captain Cook was induced to make him such presents. The Captain would otherwise have thought it happier for him to be without fire-arms, or any European weapons, lest an imprudent use of them (and prudence was not his most distinguished talent) should rather encrease his dangers than establish his superiority. Though it was no small satisfaction to our Commander to reflect, that he had brought Omai safe back to the very spot from which he had been taken, this satisfaction was, nevertheless, somewhat diminished by the consideration, that his situation might now be less desirable than it was before his connection with the English. It was to be feared, that the advantages which he had derived from his visit to England would place him in a more hazardous state with respect to his personal safety. Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were overbalanced by his good-nature and his gratitude. He had a tolerable share of understanding, but it was not accompanied with application and perseverance; so that his knowledge of things was very general, and in most instances imperfect; nor was he a man of much observation. He would not, therefore, be able to introduce many of the arts and customs of England among his countrymen, or greatly to improve those to which they have long been habituated. Captain Cook, however, was confident that he would endeavour to bring to perfection the fruits and vegetables which had been planted in the garden. This of itself would be no small acquisition to the natives. But the greatest benefit which these Islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels, will be in the animals that are left upon them; and which, had it not been for his coming to England, they might probably never have obtained. When these multiply, of which Captain Cook thought there was little reason to doubt, Otaheite, and the Society Islands, will equal, if not exceed, any country in the known world, for plenty of provisions. Before our Commander sailed from Huaheine, he had the following inscription cut on the outside of Omai's house:

Georgius Tertius, Rex, 2 Novembris, 1777.

*Naves { Resolution, Jac. Cook, Pr.
 { Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr.*

On the same day, Omai took his final leave of our Navigators, in doing which he bade farewell to all the officers in a very affectionate manner. He sustained himself with a manly resolution till he came to Captain Cook, when his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and he continued to weep all the time that the boat was conveying him to shore. Not again to resume the subject, I shall here mention, that when the Captain was at Ulietea, a fortnight after this event, Omai sent two men with the satisfactory intelligence, that he remained undisturbed by the people of Huaheine, and that every thing succeeded well with him, excepting in the loss of his goat, which had died in kidding. This intelligence was accompanied with a request that another goat might be given him, together with two axes.

Our Commander esteeming himself happy in having an additional opportunity of serving him, dispatched the messengers back with the axes, and a couple of kids, male and female, which were spared for him out of the Discovery. The fate of the two youths who had been brought from New Zealand must not be forgotten. As they were extremely desirous of continuing with our people, Captain Cook would have carried them to England with him, if there had appeared the most distant probability of their ever being restored to their own country. Tiarooa, the eldest of them, was a very well-disposed young man, with strong natural sense, and a capacity of receiving any instruction. He seemed to be fully convinced of the inferiority of New Zealand to these Islands, and resigned himself, though not without some degree of reluctance, to end his days, in ease and plenty, in Huaheine. The other had formed so strong an attachment to our Navigators, that it was necessary to take him out of the ship, and carry him ashore by force. This necessity was the more painful, as he was a witty, smart boy; and, on that account, a great favourite on board. Both these youths became a part of Omai's family.

Whilst our Voyagers were at Huaheine, the atrocious conduct of one particular thief occasioned so much trouble, that the Captain punished him more severely than he had ever done any culprit before. Besides having his head and beard shaved, he ordered both his ears to be cut off, and then dismissed him. It can scarcely be reflected upon without regret, that our Commander should have been compelled to such an act of severity. On the third of November, the ships came to an anchor in the harbour of Ohamaneno, in the Island of Ulietea. The observatories being set up on the sixth, and the necessary instruments having been carried on shore, the two following days were employed in making astronomical observations. In the night between the twelfth and thirteenth, John Harrison, a Marine, who was sentinel at the observatory, deserted, taking with him his arms and accoutrements. Captain Cook exerted himself, on this occasion, with his usual vigour. He went himself in pursuit of the deserter, who, after some evasion on the part of the inhabitants, was surrendered. He was found sitting between two women, with the musquet lying before him; and all the defence he was able to make was, that he had been enticed away by the natives. As this account was probably the truth, and as it appeared besides, that he had remained upon his post till within ten minutes of the time when he was to have been relieved, the punishment which the Captain inflicted upon him was not very severe. Some days after, a still more troublesome affair happened, of the same nature. On the morning of the twenty-fourth, the Captain was informed that a midshipman, and a seaman, both belonging to the Discovery, were missing; and it soon appeared that they had gone away in a canoe, in the preceding evening, and had now reached the other end of the Island. As the midshipman was known to have expressed a desire of remaining at these Islands, it was evident that he and his companion had gone off with that intention. Though Captain Clerke immediately set out in quest of them, with two armed boats, and a party of marines, his expedition proved fruitless, the natives having amused him the whole day with false intelligence. The next morning an account was brought that the deserters were at Otaha. As they were not the only persons in the ships who wished to spend their days at these favourite Islands, it became necessary, for the purpose of preventing any farther desertion, to recover them at all events. Captain Cook, therefore, in order to convince the inhabitants that he was in earnest, resolved to go after the fugitives himself; to which measure he was determined, from having observed, in repeated instances, that the natives had seldom offered to deceive him with false information. Agreeably to this resolution, the Captain set out, the next morning, with two armed boats, being accompanied by Oreo, the Chief of Ulietea, and proceeded immediately to Otaha. But when he had gotten to the place where the deserters were expected to be found, he was acquainted that they were gone over to Bolabola. Thither our Commander did not think proper to follow them, having determined to pursue another measure, which he judged would more effectually answer his purpose. This measure was, to put the Chief's son, daughter, and son-in-law, into confinement, and to detain them till the fugitives should be restored. As to Oreo, he was informed, that he was at liberty to leave the ship whenever he pleased, and to take such methods as he esteemed best calculated to get our two men back; that, if he succeeded, his friends should be released; if not, that Captain Cook was resolved to carry them away with him. The Captain added, that the Chief's own conduct, as well as that of many of his people, in assisting the runaways to escape, and in enticing others to follow them, would justify any step that could be taken to put a stop to such proceedings. In consequence of this explanation of our Commander's views and intentions, Oreo zealously exerted himself to recover the deserters; for which purpose he dispatched a canoe to Bolabola, with a message to Opoony, the Sovereign of that Island, acquainting him with what had happened, and requesting him to seize the two fugitives, and send them back. The messenger, who was no less a person than the father of Pootoe, Oreo's son-in-law, came, before he set out, to Captain Cook, to receive his commands; which were, not to return without the runaways, and to inform Opoony, that, if they had left Bolabola, he must dispatch canoes in pursuit of them, till they should finally be restored. These vigorous measures were, at length, successful. On the twenty-eighth, the deserters were brought

brought back; and, as soon as they were on board, the three prisoners were released. Our Commander would not have acted so resolutely on the present occasion, had he not been peculiarly solicitous to save the son of a brother officer from being lost to his country. While this affair was in suspense, some of the natives, from their anxiety on account of the confinement of the Chief's relations, had formed a design of a very serious nature; which was no less than to seize upon the persons of Captain Clerke and Captain Cook. With regard to Captain Clerke, they made no secret of speaking of their scheme, the day after it was discovered. But their first and grand plan of operations was to lay hold of Captain Cook. It was his custom to bathe, every evening, in fresh water; in doing which he frequently went alone, and always without arms. As the inhabitants expected him to go, as usual, on the evening of the twenty-sixth, they had determined at that time to make him a prisoner. But he had thought it prudent, after confining Oreo's family, to avoid putting himself in their power; and had cautioned Captain Clerke, and the officers, not to venture themselves far from the ships. In the course of the afternoon, the Chief asked Captain Cook, three several times, if he would not go to the bathing-place; and when he found, at last, that the Captain could not be prevailed upon, he went off, with all his people. He was apprehensive, without doubt, that the design was discovered; though no suspicion of it was then entertained by our Commander, who imagined that the natives were seized with some sudden fright, from which, as usual, they would quickly recover. On one occasion, Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore were in particular danger. A party of the inhabitants, armed with clubs, advanced against them; and their safety was principally owing to Captain Clerke's walking with a pistol in his hand, which he once fired. The discovery of the conspiracy, especially so far as respected Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, was made by a girl, whom one of the officers had brought from Huaheine. On this account, those who were charged with the execution of the design were so greatly offended with her, that they threatened to take away her life, as soon as our Navigators should leave the Island: but proper methods were pursued for her security. It was a happy circumstance that the affair was brought to light; since such a scheme could not have been carried into effect, without being, in its consequences, productive of much distress and calamity to the natives. Whilst Captain Cook was at Ulietea, he was visited by his old friend Oree, who, in the former voyages, was Chief, or rather Regent, of Huaheine. Notwithstanding his now being, in some degree, reduced to the rank of a private person, he still preserved his consequence; never appeared without a numerous body of attendants; and was always provided with such presents as indicated his wealth, and were highly acceptable.

The last of the Society Islands to which our Commander sailed, was Bolabola, where he arrived on the eighth of December. His chief view in passing over to this Island was to procure from its Monarch, Opoony, an anchor which Mons. de Bougainville had lost at Otaheite, and which had been conveyed to Bolabola. It was not from a want of anchors that Captain Cook was desirous of making the purchase, but to convert the iron of which it consisted into a fresh assortment of trading articles, these being now very much exhausted. The Captain succeeded in his negotiation, and amply rewarded Opoony for giving up the anchor. Whilst our Commander was at Bolabola, he received an account of those military expeditions of the people of this country, which he had heard much of in each of his three voyages, and which had ended in the complete conquest of Ulietea and Otaha. The Bolabola men, in consequence of these enterprizes, were in the highest reputation for their valour; and, indeed, were deemed so invincible as to be objects of terror to all the neighbouring Islands. It was an addition to their fame that their country was of such small extent; being not more than eight leagues in compass, and not half so large as Ulietea. Captain Cook continued to the last his zeal for furnishing the natives of the South Sea with useful animals. At Bolabola, where there was already a ram, which had originally been left by the Spaniards at Otaheite, he carried ashore an ewe, that had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope; and he rejoiced in the prospect of laying a foundation, by this present, for a breed of sheep in the Island. He left also at Ulietea, under the care of Oreo, an English boar and sow, and two goats. It may, therefore, be regarded as certain, that not only Otaheite, but all the neighbouring Islands, will, in a few years, have their race of hogs considerably improved; and it is probable, that they will be stocked with all the valuable animals, which have been transported thither by their European visitors. When this shall be accomplished, no part of the world will equal these Islands, in the variety and abundance of the refreshments which they will be able to afford to Navigators; nor did the Captain know any place that excelled them, even in their present state.

It is an observation of great importance, that the future felicity of the inhabitants of Otaheite, and the Society Islands, will not a little depend on their continuing to be visited from Europe. Our Commander could not avoid expressing it as his real opinion, that it would have been far better for these poor people, never to have known our superiority in the accommodations and arts which render life comfortable, than, after once knowing it, to be again left and abandoned to their original incapacity of improvement. If the intercourse between them and us should wholly be discontinued, they cannot be restored to that happy mediocrity in which they lived before they were first discovered. It seemed to Cap-
tain

tain Cook that it was become, in a manner, incumbent upon the Europeans to visit these Islands once in three or four years, in order to supply the natives with those conveniences which we have introduced among them, and for which we have given them a predilection. Perhaps they may heavily feel the want of such occasional supplies, when it may be too late to go back to their old and less perfect contrivances; contrivances which they now despise, and which they have discontinued since the introduction of ours. It is, indeed, to be apprehended, that by the time that the iron tools, of which they had become possessed, are worn out, they will have almost lost the knowledge of their own. In this last voyage of our Commander, a stone hatchet was as rare a thing among the inhabitants as an iron one was eight years before; and a chissel of bone or stone was not to be seen. Spike-nails had succeeded in their place; and of spike-nails the natives were weak enough to imagine that they had gotten an inexhaustible store. Of all our commodities, axes and hatchets remained the most unrivalled; and they must ever be held in the highest estimation through the whole of the Islands. Iron tools are so strikingly useful, and are now become so necessary to the comfortable existence of the inhabitants, that, should they cease to receive supplies of them, their situation, in consequence of their neither possessing the materials, nor being trained up to the art of fabricating them, would be rendered completely miserable. It is impossible to reflect upon this representation of things without strong feelings of sympathy and concern. Sincerely is it to be wished, that such may be the order of events, and such the intercourse carried on with the southern Islanders, that, instead of finally suffering by their acquaintance with us, they may rise to a higher state of civilization, and permanently enjoy blessings far superior to what they had heretofore known.

Amidst the various subordinate employments which engaged the attention of Captain Cook and his associates, the great objects of their duty were never forgotten. No opportunity was lost of making astronomical and nautical observations; the consequence of which was, that the latitude and longitude of the places where the ships anchored, the variations of the compass, the dips of the needle, and the state of the tides, were ascertained with an accuracy that forms a valuable addition to philosophical science, and will be of eminent service to future navigators. Our Commander was now going to take his final departure from Otaheite and the Society Islands. Frequently as they had been visited, it might have been imagined that their religious, political, and domestic regulations, manners, and customs, must, by this time, be thoroughly understood. A great accession of knowledge was undoubtedly gained in the present voyage; and yet it was confessed, both by Captain Cook and Mr. Anderson, that their accounts of things were still imperfect in various respects; and that they continued strangers to many of the most important institutions which prevail among the natives. There was one part of the character of several of these people, on which the well-regulated mind of the Captain would not permit him to enlarge.

"Too much," says he, "seems to have been already known, and published in our former relations, about some of the modes of life, that made Otaheite so agreeable an abode to many on board our ships; and if I could now add any finishing strokes to a picture, the outlines of which have been already drawn with sufficient accuracy, I should still have hesitated to make this journal the place for exhibiting a view of licentious manners, which could only serve to disgust those for whose information I write (r)." From Mr. Anderson's account of the Otaheitans, it appears, that their religious system is extensive, and, in various instances, singular. They do not seem to pay respect to one God as possessing pre-eminence, but believe in a plurality of divinities, all of whom are supposed to be very powerful. In different parts of the Island, and in the neighbouring Islands, the inhabitants choose those deities for the objects of their worship, who, they think, are most likely to protect them, and to supply all their wants. If, however, they are disappointed in their expectations, they esteem it no impiety to change their divinity, by having recourse to another, whom they hope to find more propitious and successful. In general, their notions concerning Deity are extravagantly absurd. With regard to the soul, they believe it, according to Mr. Anderson, to be both immaterial and immortal; but he acknowledges, that they are far from entertaining those sublime expectations of future happiness which the Christian Revelation affords, and which even reason alone, duly exercised, might teach us to expect (s).

(s) *Ibid.* p. 162
—165.

(r) Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 1—14c.

Although seventeen months had elapsed since Captain Cook's departure from England, during which time he had not, upon the whole, been unprofitably employed, he was sensible that, with respect to the principal object of his instructions, it was now only the commencement of his voyage; and that, therefore, his attention was to be called anew, to every circumstance which might contribute towards the safety of his people, and the ultimate success of the expedition. Accordingly, he had examined into the state of the provisions, whilst he was at the Society Islands; and, as soon as he had left them, and had gotten beyond the extent of his former discoveries, he ordered a survey to be taken of all the Boatswain's and Carpenter's stores which were in the ships, that he might be fully informed of their quantity and condition; and, by that means, know how to use them to the greatest advantage. It was on the eighth of December, the very day on which he had touched there, that our Commander sailed from Bolabola. In the night between the twenty-second and twenty-third, he crossed the line, in the longitude of 203° 15' East; and

and on the twenty-fourth, land was discovered, which was found to be one of those low uninhabited Islands that are so frequent in this ocean. Here our Voyagers were successful in catching a large quantity of turtle, which supplied them with an agreeable refreshment; and here, on the twenty-eighth, an eclipse of the sun was observed by Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, and Captain Cook. On account of the season of the year, the Captain called the land where he now was, and which he judged to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, CHRISTMAS ISLAND (*t*). By his order, several cocoa-nuts and yams were planted, and some melon-seeds sown, in proper places; and a bottle was left, containing this inscription:

(*t*) The West side of it, on which the eclipse was observed, lies in the latitude of $1^{\circ} 59'$ North, and in the longitude of $202^{\circ} 30'$ East.

Georgius Tertius, Rex, 31 Decembris, 1777.

Naves { *Resolution, Jac. Cook, Pr.*
 { *Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr. (u)*

(*u*) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 179^{2d} 189.

On the Second of January, 1778, the ships resumed their course to the northward, and though several evidences occurred of the vicinity of land, none was discovered till the eighteenth, when an Island made its appearance, bearing North-east by East. Soon after, more land was seen, lying towards the North, and entirely detached from the former. The succeeding day was distinguished by the discovery of a third Island, in the direction of West-north-west, and as far distant as the eye could reach. In steering towards the second Island, our Voyagers had some doubt whether the land before them was inhabited; but this matter was speedily cleared up, by the putting off of some canoes from the shore, containing from three to six men each. Upon their approach, the English were agreeably surprised to find, that they spoke the language of Otaheite, and of the other countries which had lately been visited. These people were at first fearful of going on board; but when, on the twentieth, some of them took courage, and ventured to do it, they expressed an astonishment, on entering the ship, which Captain Cook had never experienced in the natives of any place, during the whole course of his several voyages. Their eyes continually flew from object to object; and, by the wildness of their looks and gestures, they fully manifested their entire ignorance with relation to every thing they saw, and strongly marked to our Navigators, that, till this time, they had never been visited by Europeans, or been acquainted with any of our commodities, excepting iron. Even with respect to iron, it was evident that they had only heard of it, or, at most, had known it in some small quantity, brought to them at a distant period; for all they understood concerning it was, that it was a substance much better adapted to the purposes of cutting, or the boring of holes, than any thing their own country produced. Their ceremonies on entering the ship, their gestures and motions, and their manner of singing, were similar to those which our Voyagers had been accustomed to see in the places lately visited. There was, likewise, a farther circumstance in which these people perfectly resembled the other Islanders; and that was, in their endeavouring to steal whatever came within their reach; or rather to take it openly, as what would either not be repented, or not hindered. The English soon convinced them of their mistake, by keeping such a watchful eye over them, that they afterwards were obliged to be less active in appropriating to themselves every object that struck upon their fancy, and excited the desire of possession. One order given by Captain Cook at this Island was, that none of the boats crews should be permitted to go on shore; the reason of which was, that he might do every thing in his power to prevent the importation of a fatal disease, which, unhappily, had already been communicated in other places. With the same view, he directed that all female visitors should be excluded from the ships. Another necessary precaution, taken by the Captain, was a strict injunction, that no person, known to be capable of propagating disorder, should be sent upon duty out of the vessels. Thus zealous was the humanity of our Commander, to prevent an irreparable injury from being done to the natives. There are men who glory in their shame, and who do not care how much evil they communicate. Of this there was an instance at Tongataboo, in the Gunner of the Discovery, who had been stationed on shore to manage the trade for that ship; and who, though he was well acquainted with his own situation, continued to have connections with different women. His companions expostulated with him without effect, till Captain Clerke, hearing of the dangerous irregularity of his conduct, ordered him on board. If I knew the rascal's name, I would hang it up, as far as lies in my power, to everlasting infamy.

Mr. Williamson being sent with the boats to search for water, and attempting to land, the inhabitants came down in such numbers, and were so violent in their endeavours to seize upon the oars, muskets, and, in short, every thing they could lay hold of, that he was obliged to fire, by which one man was killed. This unhappy circumstance was not known to Captain Cook till after he had left the Island; so that all his measures were directed as if nothing of the kind had happened. When the ships were brought to an anchor, our Commander went on shore; and at the very instant of his doing it, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and continued in that humble posture, till, by expressive signs, he prevailed upon them to rise. Other ceremonies followed; and the next day a trade was set on foot for hogs and potatoes, which the people of the Island gave

in exchange for nails and pieces of iron, formed into something like chissels. So far was any obstruction from being met with in watering, that, on the contrary, the inhabitants assisted our men in rolling the casks to and from the pool; and readily performed whatever was required. Affairs thus going on to the Captain's satisfaction, he made an excursion into the country, accompanied by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Webber, the former of whom was as well qualified to describe with the pen, as the latter was to represent with his pencil, whatever might occur worthy of observation. In this excursion, the Gentlemen, among other objects that called for their attention, found a *Morai*, a particular description of which, together with drawings of it, are given in the Voyage. On the return of our Commander, he had the pleasure of finding that a brisk trade for pigs, fowls, and roots was carrying on with the greatest good order, and without any attempt to cheat, or steal, on the part of the natives. The rapacious disposition they at first displayed, was entirely corrected by their conviction that it could not be exercised with impunity. Among the articles which they brought to barter, the most remarkable was a particular sort of cloak and cap, that might be reckoned elegant, even in countries where dress is eminently the object of attention. The cloak was richly adorned with red and yellow feathers, which in themselves were highly beautiful, and the newness and freshness of which added not a little to their beauty. On the twenty-second, a circumstance occurred, which gave the English room to suspect that the people of the Island are eaters of human flesh. Not, however, to rest the belief of the existence of so horrid a practice on the foundation of suspicion only, Captain Cook was anxious to enquire into the truth of the fact, the result of which was its being fully confirmed. An old man, in particular, who was asked upon the subject, answered in the affirmative, and seemed to laugh at the simplicity of such a question. His answer was equally affirmative on a repetition of the enquiry; and he added that the flesh of men was excellent food, or, as he expressed it, "favoury eating." It is understood that enemies slain in battle are the sole objects of this abominable custom. The Island at which our Voyagers had now touched, was called Atooi by the natives. Near it was another Island, named Oneecheow, where our Commander came to an anchor on the twenty-ninth of the month. The inhabitants were found to resemble those of Atooi in their dispositions, manners, and customs; and proofs, too convincing, appeared that the horrid banquet of human flesh is here as much relished, amidst plenty, as it is at New Zealand. From a desire of benefiting these people, by furnishing them with additional articles of food, the Captain left with them a ram-goat and two ewes, a boar and sow pig of the English breed, and the seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions. These benevolent presents would have been made to Atooi, the larger Island, had not our Navigators been unexpectedly driven from it by stress of weather. Though the soil of Oneecheow seemed, in general, poor, it was observable, that the ground was covered with shrubs and plants, some of which perfumed the air with a more delicious fragrantcy than what Captain Cook had met with at any other of the countries that had been visited by him in this part of the world.

It is a curious circumstance, with regard to the Islands in the Pacific Ocean which the late European voyages have added to the geography of the globe, that they have generally been found to lie in groups, or clusters. The single intermediate Islands, which have as yet been discovered, are few in proportion to the others; though there are probably many more of them that are still unknown, and may serve as steps, by which the several clusters are, in some degree, connected together. Of the Archipelago now first visited, there were five only with which our Commander became at this time acquainted. The names of these, as given by the natives, were Woahoo, Atooi, Oneecheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoora. To the whole group Captain Cook gave the appellation of SANDWICH ISLANDS, in honour of his great friend and patron, the Earl of Sandwich [DD]. Concerning the Island of Atooi, which is the largest of the five, and which was the principal scene of the Captain's operations, he collected, in conjunction with Mr. Anderson, a considerable degree of information. The land, as to its general appearance, does not in the least resemble any of the Islands that our Voyagers had hitherto visited within the tropic, on the South side of the equator; excepting so far as regards its hills near the centre, which slope gently towards the sea. Hogs, dogs, and fowls, were the only tame or domestic animals that were here found; and these were of the same kind with those which exist in the countries of the South Pacific Ocean. Among the inhabitants (who are of a middle stature, and firmly made), there is a more remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure of both sexes, than our Commander had observed in most other places. They appeared to be blest with a frank and chearful disposition; and, in Captain Cook's opinion, they are equally free from the fickle levity which distinguishes the natives of Otaheite, and the sedate cast discernible amongst many of those of Tongataboo. It is a very pleasing circumstance in their character, that they pay a particular attention to their women, and readily lend assistance to their wives, in the tender offices of maternal duty. On all occasions, they seemed to be

[DD] *The Earl of Sandwich.*] The Islands that were seen by Captain Cook, are situated in the latitude of $21^{\circ} 30'$ and $22^{\circ} 15'$ North, and between the longitude of $199^{\circ} 20'$ and $201^{\circ} 30'$ East. It was in consequence of seventy-two sets of lunar observations that the longitude was determined.

deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority; being alike strangers to the preposterous pride of the more polished Japanese, and of the ruder Greenlander. Contrary to the general practice of the countries that had hitherto been discovered in the Pacific Ocean, the people of the Sandwich Islands have not their ears perforated; nor have they the least idea of wearing ornaments in them, though, in other respects, they are sufficiently fond of adorning their persons. In every thing manufactured by them there is an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity; and the elegant form and polish of some of their fishing-hooks could not be exceeded by any European artist, even if he should add all his knowledge in design to the number and convenience of his tools. From what was seen of their agriculture, sufficient proofs were afforded that they are not novices in that art; and that the quantity and goodness of their vegetable productions may as much be attributed to skilful culture, as to natural fertility of soil. Amidst all the resemblances between the natives of Atooi, and those of Otaheite, the coincidence of their languages was the most striking; being, almost word for word, the same. Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered by the Spaniards, at an early period, they would undoubtedly have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of them as refreshing places to their ships, which sail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. Happy, too, would it have been for Lord Anson, if he had known that there existed a group of Islands, half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could effectually have been supplied, and the different hardships to which he was exposed have been avoided (zv).

(zv) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 179-252.

On the second of February, our Navigators pursued their course to the northward, in doing which the incidents they met with were almost entirely of a nautical kind. The long-looked for coast of New Albion was seen on the seventh of March, the ships being then in the latitude of $44^{\circ} 33'$ North, and in the longitude of $235^{\circ} 20'$ East. As the vessels ranged along the West side of America, Captain Cook gave names to several capes and head-lands which appeared in sight. At length, on the twenty-ninth, the Captain came to an anchor at an inlet where the appearance of the country differed much from what had been seen before; being full of mountains, the summits of which were covered with snow; while the valleys between them, and the grounds on the sea-coast, high as well as low, were covered, to a considerable breadth, with high, straight trees, which formed a beautiful prospect, as of one vast forest (x). It was immediately found that the coast was inhabited; and there soon came off to the Resolution three canoes, containing eighteen of the natives; who could not, however, be prevailed upon to venture themselves on board. Notwithstanding this, they displayed a peaceable disposition; shewed great readiness to part with any thing they had, in exchange for what was offered them; and expressed a stronger desire for iron than for any other of our commercial articles, appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. From these favourable circumstances, our Voyagers had reason to hope that they should find this a comfortable station to supply all their wants, and to make them forget the hardships and delays which they had experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds, and boisterous weather, almost ever since their arrival upon the coast of America (y). The ships having happily found an excellent inlet, the coasts of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people who were disposed to maintain a friendly intercourse with strangers, Captain Cook's first object was to search for a commodious harbour; and he had little trouble in discovering what he wanted. A trade having immediately commenced, the articles which the inhabitants offered to sale were the skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, raccoons, polecats, martins; and, in particular, of the sea-otters. To these were added, besides the skins in their native shape, garments made of them; another sort of clothing, formed from the bark of a tree; and various different pieces of workmanship. But of all the articles brought to market, the most extraordinary were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of their flesh; some of which had evident marks of their having been upon the fire. The things which the natives took in exchange for their commodities, were knives, chisels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads did not strike their imaginations; and cloth of every sort they rejected. Though commerce, in general, was carried on with mutual honesty, there were some among these people who were as much inclined to thievery as the Islanders in the Southern Ocean. They were, at the same time, far more dangerous thieves; for, possessing sharp iron instruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, the moment that the backs of the English were turned. The dexterity with which they conducted their operations of this nature, frequently eluded the most cautious vigilance. Some slighter instances of deception, in the way of traffic, Captain Cook thought it better to bear with than to make them the foundation of a quarrel; and to this he was the rather determined, as the English articles were now reduced to objects of a trifling nature. In the progress of the commerce, the natives would deal for nothing but metal; and, at length, brass was so eagerly sought for, in preference to iron, that, before our Navigators quitted the place, scarcely a bit of it was left in the ships, excepting what belonged to the necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button; bureaus were deprived of their furniture; copper kettles, tin cannisters, candlesticks, and whatever of the

(x) When this land was seen, the ships were in the latitude $49^{\circ} 29'$ North, and the longitude of $232^{\circ} 29'$ East.

(y) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 253. 258. 264-267.

the like kind could be found, all went to wreck; so that these Americans became possessors of a greater medley and variety of things from our people, than any other nation that had been visited in the course of the voyage. Of all the uncivilized tribes which our Commander had met with in his several navigations, he never found any who had such strict notions of their having a right to the exclusive property of every thing which their country produces, as the inhabitants of the Sound where he was now stationed. At first, they wanted to be paid for the wood and water that were carried on board; and had the Captain been upon the spot, when these demands were made, he would certainly have complied with them: but the workmen, in his absence, maintained a different opinion, and refused to submit to any such claims. When some grass, which appeared to be of no use to the natives, was wanted to be cut, as food for the few goats and sheep which still remained on board, they insisted that it should be purchased, and were very unreasonable in their terms; notwithstanding which, Captain Cook consented to gratify them, as far as he was able. It was always a sacred rule with him never to take any of the property of the people whom he visited, without making them an ample compensation.

The grand operation of our Navigators, in their present station, was to put the ships into a complete repair for the prosecution of the expedition. While this business was carrying on, our Commander took the opportunity of examining every part of the Sound; in the course of which he gained a farther knowledge of the inhabitants, who, in general, received him with great civility. In one instance he met with a surly Chief, who could not be softened with presents, though he condescended to accept of them. The females of the place over which he presided, shewed a more agreeable disposition; for some of the young women expeditiously dressed themselves in their best apparel, and, assembling in a body, welcomed the English to their village, by joining in a song, which was far from being harsh or disagreeable. On another occasion, the Captain was entertained with singing. Being visited by a number of strangers, on the twenty-second of April, as they advanced towards the ships, they all stood up in their canoes, and began to sing. Some of their songs, in which the whole body joined, were in a slow, and others in a quicker time; and their notes were accompanied with the most regular motions of their hands; or with beating in concert, with their paddles, on the sides of the canoes; to which were added other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song, they continued silent for a few moments, and then began again, sometimes pronouncing the word *Hooee!* forcibly as a chorus. Among the natives of the country, there was one Chief who attached himself to our Commander in a particular manner. Captain Cook having, at parting, bestowed upon him a small present, received, in return, a beaver skin, of much greater value. This called upon the Captain to make some addition to his present, with which the Chief was so much pleased, that he insisted on our Commander's acceptance of the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore; and of which he was particularly fond. Admiring this instance of generosity, and desirous that he should not suffer by his friendship, the Captain gave him a new broad sword, with a brass hilt; the possession of which rendered him completely happy (z).

On Captain Cook's first arrival in this inlet, he had honoured it with the name of KING GEORGE'S SOUND; but he afterwards found that it is called NOOTKA by the natives (a). During his stay in the place, he displayed his usual sagacity and diligence, in conjunction with Mr. Anderson, in collecting every thing that could be learned concerning the neighbouring country and its inhabitants; and the account is interesting, as it exhibits a picture of productions, people, and manners very different from what had occurred in the Southern Ocean. I can only, as on former occasions, slightly advert to a few of the more leading circumstances. The climate, so far as our Navigators had experience of it, was found to be in an eminent degree milder than that on the East coast of America, in the same parallel of latitude; and it was remarkable that the thermometer, even in the night, never fell lower than 42°; while in the day it frequently rose to 60°. With regard to trees, those of which the woods are chiefly composed, are the Canadian pine, the white cypress, and the wild pine, with two or three different sorts of pine that are less common. In the other vegetable productions there appeared but little variety: but it is to be considered that, at so early a season, several might not yet have sprung up; and that many more might be concealed from our Voyagers, in consequence of the narrow sphere of their researches. Of the land animals, the most common were bears, deer, foxes, and wolves. The sea animals which were seen off the coast, were whales, porpoises, and seals. Birds, in general, are not only rare as to the different species, but very scarce as to numbers; and the few which are to be met with are so shy, that, in all probability, they are continually harrassed by the natives; either to eat them as food, or to get possession of their feathers, which are used as ornaments. Fish are more plentiful in quantity than birds, but were not found in any great variety; and yet, from several circumstances, there was reason to believe, that the variety is considerably increased at certain seasons. The only animals that were observed of the reptile kind were snakes and water-lizards; but the insect tribe seemed to be more numerous. With respect to the inhabitants of the country, their persons are generally under the common stature; but not slender in proportion, being usually pretty full or plump, though without being muscular. From their bringing to sale human skulls and bones,

(z) Cook, *supra*, p. 269—286.

(a) The entrance of the Sound is situated in the East corner of Hope Bay, in the latitude of 49° 33' North, and in the longitude of 233° 12' East.

bones, it may justly be inferred that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty; notwithstanding which, it does not follow that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity: for the circumstance now mentioned only marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilized men, in every age, and in every part of the globe. Our Navigators had no reason to complain of the disposition of the natives, who appeared to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; rather phlegmatic in the usual cast of their tempers, but quick in resenting what they apprehend to be an injury, and easily permitting their anger to subside. Their other passions, and especially their curiosity, seemed to lie in some measure dormant; one cause of which may be found in the indolence that, for the most part, is prevalent amongst them. The chief employments of the men are those of fishing, and of killing land or sea-animals, for the sustenance of their families; while the women are occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, or in other domestic offices. It must be mentioned to their honour, that they were always properly clothed, and behaved with the utmost decorum; justly deserving all commendation, for a bashfulness and modesty becoming their sex: and this was the more meritorious in them, as the male inhabitants discovered no sense of shame. In their manufactures and mechanic arts, these people have arrived to a greater degree of extent and ingenuity, both with regard to the design and the execution, than could have been expected from their natural disposition, and the little progress to which they have arrived in general civilization. Their dexterity, in particular, with respect to works of wood, must principally be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools, which are in universal use amongst them, and in the application of which they are very dexterous. Whence they have derived their knowledge of iron, was a matter of speculation with Captain Cook. The most probable opinion is, that this and other metals may have been introduced by way of Hudson's Bay and Canada, and thus successively have been conveyed across the continent, from tribe to tribe. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that these metals may sometimes be brought, in the same manner, from the North-western parts of Mexico [EE]. The language of Nootka is by no means harsh or disagreeable; for it abounds, upon the whole, rather with what may be called labial and dental, than with guttural sounds. A large vocabulary of it was collected by Mr. Anderson. Whilst Captain Cook was at Nootka Sound, great attention was paid by him, as usual, to astronomical and nautical subjects. The observations which he had an opportunity of making were, indeed, so numerous, as to form a very considerable addition to geographical and philosophical science (b).

(b) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 288.
291. 293. 294.
296. 298. 300.
301. 309. 310.
318. 319. 325.
329. 330. 332.
334. 337—340.

On the twenty-sixth, the repairs of the ships having been completed, every thing was ready for the Captain's departure. When, in the afternoon of that day, the vessels were upon the point of sailing, the mercury in the barometer fell unusually low; and there was every other presage of an approaching storm, which might reasonably be expected to come from the southward. This circumstance induced our Commander in some degree to hesitate, and especially as night was at hand, whether he should venture to sail, or wait till the next morning. But his anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of losing the present opportunity of getting out of the Sound, made a greater impression upon his mind than any apprehension of immediate danger. He determined, therefore, to put to sea at all events; and accordingly carried his design into execution that evening. He was not deceived in his expectations of a storm. Scarcely were the vessels out of the Sound before the wind increased to a strong gale, with squalls and rain, accompanied by so dark a sky, that the length of the ships could not be seen. Happily the wind took a direction that blew our Navigators from the coast; and though, on the twenty-seventh, the tempest rose to a perfect hurricane, and the Resolution sprang a leak, no material damage ensued. In the prosecution of the Voyage to the North, and back again to the Sandwich Islands, the facts that occurred were chiefly of a nautical kind. Minutely to record these, is not the purpose of the present work, and indeed, would extend it to an unreasonable length. Recourse must be had to the Voyage at large, for a detail of every circumstance in which Captain Cook, as a Navigator, was concerned. In that Voyage will be found a full and exact account of the coasts which he passed, the capes and promontories to which he gave names, the bays which he entered, the islands he discovered, the traverses he made, the latitudes and longitudes that were settled by him, and the variations that happened in the wind and the weather. From this long and important navigation, I can only select some few incidents, that may be accommodated to the taste and expectations of the generality of readers. One thing it is not improper here to observe; which is, that the Captain, in his passage along the coast of America, kept at a distance from that coast, whenever the wind blew strongly upon it, and sailed on till he could approach it again with safety. Hence several great gaps were left unexplored, and particularly between the latitudes of 50° and 55°. The exact situation, for instance, of the

[EE] From the North-western parts of Mexico.] Two silver spoons, of a construction similar to what may sometimes be seen in Flemish pictures of still life, were procured here by Mr. Gore, who bought them

from a native, who wore them, tied together with a leathern thong, as an ornament round his neck. Mr. Gore gave the spoons to Sir Joseph Banks.

supposed Straits of Anian was not ascertained. Every one who is acquainted with the character of our Commander will be sensible, that if he had lived to return again to the North in 1779, he would have endeavoured to explore the parts which had been left unexamined. The first place at which Captain Cook landed, after his departure from Nootka Sound, was at an Island, of eleven or twelve leagues in length, the South-west point of which lies in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 49'$ North, and the longitude of $216^{\circ} 58'$ East. Here, on the eleventh of May, at the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the shore, he left a bottle, with a paper in it, on which were inscribed the names of the ships, and the date of the discovery. Together with the bottle, he enclosed two silver two-penny pieces of his Majesty's coin, which had been struck in 1772. These, with many others, had been given him by the Reverend Dr. Kaye, the present Dean of Lincoln; and our Commander, as a mark of his esteem and regard for that learned and respectable Gentleman, named the Island, after him, KAYE'S ISLAND. At an inlet, where the ships came to an anchor, on the twelfth, and to which Captain Cook gave the appellation of PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND, he had an opportunity not only of stopping the leak which the Resolution had sprung in the late storm, and of prosecuting his nautical and geographical discoveries, but of making considerable additions to his knowledge of the inhabitants of the American coast. From every observation which was made concerning the persons of the natives of this part of the coast, it appeared that they had a striking resemblance to those of the Esquimaux and Greenlanders. Their canoes, their weapons, and their instruments for fishing and hunting, are likewise exactly the same, in point of materials and construction, that are used in Greenland. The animals in the neighbourhood of Prince William's Sound are, in general, similar to those which are found at Nootka. One of the most beautiful skins here offered to sale, was, however, that of a small animal, which seemed to be peculiar to the place. Mr. Anderson was inclined to think that it is the animal which is described by Mr. Pennant, under the name of the *Casan* Marmot. Among the birds seen in this country, were the white-headed eagle; the shag; and the *Alcedo*, or great king-fisher, the colours of which were very fine and bright. The humming-bird, also, came frequently and flew about the ship, while at anchor; but it can scarcely be supposed that it can be able to subsist here during the severity of winter. Water-fowl, upon the whole, are in considerable plenty; and there is a species of diver, about the size of a partridge, which seems peculiar to the place. Torsk and halibut were almost the only kinds of fish that were obtained by our Voyagers. Vegetables, of any sort, were few in number; and the trees were chiefly the Canadian and spruce pine, some of which were of a considerable height and thickness. The beads and iron that were found among the people of the coast, must undoubtedly have been derived from some civilized nation: and yet there was ample reason to believe, that our English navigators were the first Europeans with whom the natives had ever held a direct communication. From what quarter, then, had they gotten our manufactures? Most probably, through the intervention of the more inland tribes, from Hudson's Bay, or the settlements on the Canadian lakes. This, indeed, must certainly have been the case, if iron was known amongst the inhabitants of this part of the American coast, prior to the discovery of it by the Russians, and before there was any traffic with them carried on from Kamtschatka. From what was seen of Prince William's Sound, Captain Cook judged that it occupied, at least, a degree and a half of latitude, and two of longitude, exclusively of the arms or branches, the extent of which is not known (c).

(c) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 286. 341. 349, 350. 354. 362, 366. 371. 376, 377. 378. 380.

Some days after leaving this Sound, our Navigators came to an inlet, from which great things were expected. Hopes were strongly entertained, that it would be found to communicate either with the sea to the North, or with Baffin's or Hudson's Bay to the East; and accordingly, it became the object of very accurate and serious examination. The Captain was soon persuaded that the expectations formed from it were groundless; notwithstanding which, he persisted in the search of a passage, more, indeed, to satisfy other people, than to confirm his own opinion. In consequence of a complete investigation of the inlet, indubitable marks occurred of its being a river. This river, without seeing the least appearance of its source, was traced by our Voyagers, as high as the latitude of $61^{\circ} 30'$, and the longitude of 210° , being seventy leagues from its entrance. During the course of the navigation, on the first of June, Lieutenant King was ordered on shore, to display the royal flag, and to take possession of the country in his Majesty's name. The Lieutenant, at the same time, buried in the ground a bottle, containing some pieces of English coin, of the year 1772, and a paper, on which the names of the ships were inscribed, and the date of the present discovery. The great river now discovered, promises to vie with the most considerable ones already known; and, by itself and its branches, lies open to a very extensive inland communication. If, therefore, the knowledge of it should be of future service, the time which was spent in exploring it ought the less to be regretted. But to Captain Cook, who had a much greater object in view, the delay that was hence occasioned was a real loss, because the season was advancing apace. It was, however, a satisfaction to him to reflect, that if he had not examined this very considerable inlet, it would have been assumed, by speculative fabricators of geography, as a fact, that there was a passage through it to the North

North Sea, or to Baffin's or Hudson's Bay. Perhaps, too, it would have been marked, on future maps of the world, with greater precision, and more certain signs of reality, than the invisible, because imaginary, Straits of de Fuca, and de Fonte. In describing the inlet, our Commander had left a blank which was not filled up with any particular name; and, therefore, the Earl of Sandwich directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called COOK'S RIVER. All the natives who were met with, during the examination of this river, appeared, from every mark of resemblance, to be of the same nation with the inhabitants of Prince William's Sound; but from the people of Nootka, or King George's Sound, they essentially differed, both in their persons and their language. The only things which were seen among them, that were not of their own manufacture, were a few glass beads, the iron points of their spears, and knives of the same metal. Whencesoever these articles might be derived, it was evident that they had never had any immediate intercourse with the Russians; since, if that had been the case, our Voyagers would scarcely have found them clothed in such valuable skins as those of the sea-otter. A very beneficial fur-trade might undoubtedly be carried on with the inhabitants of this vast coast. But, without a practicable northern passage, the situation is too remote to render it probable that Great Britain should hence ever derive any material advantage; though it is impossible to say, with certainty, how far the spirit of commerce, for which the English nation is so eminently distinguished, may extend [FF]. The most valuable, or rather the only valuable skins, which Captain Cook saw on the West side of America, were those of the sea-otter; for as to the skins of all the other animals of the country, and especially of the foxes and martins, they seemed to be of an inferior quality (d). (d) Cook, *ubi supra*, p. 384. 386. 396-401.

It was on the sixth of June that our Navigators got clear of Cook's river. Proceeding in the course of their discoveries, when they were sailing, on the nineteenth, amidst the group of Islands which were called by Beering, Schumagin's Islands, Captain Clerke fired three guns, and brought to, expressing, by the proper signals, that he wished to speak with Captain Cook. At this our Commander was not a little alarmed; and, as no apparent danger had been remarked in the passage through the channel where the vessels now were, it was apprehended that some accident, such as springing a leak, must have happened. On Captain Clerke's coming on board the Resolution, he related that several of the natives had followed his ship; that one of them had made many signs, taking off his cap, and bowing after the manner of Europeans; and that, at length, he had fastened to a rope, which was handed down to him, a small thin wooden case or box. Having delivered his parcel safe, and spoken something, accompanied with more signs, the canoes dropped astern, and left the Discovery. On opening the box, a piece of paper was found, folded up carefully, upon which something was written, that was reasonably supposed to be in the Russian language. To the paper was prefixed the date 1778, and in the body of the note there was a reference to the year 1776. Although no person on board was learned enough to decypher the alphabet of the writer, his numerals sufficiently marked that others had preceded our Voyagers in visiting this dreary part of the globe; and the prospect of soon meeting with men who were united to them in ties somewhat closer than those of our common nature, and who were not strangers to the arts and commerce of civilized life, could not but afford a sensible satisfaction to people who, for such a length of time, had been conversant with the savages of the Pacific Ocean, and of the North American continent. Captain Clerke was, at first, of opinion that some Russians had been shipwrecked; but no such idea occurred to Captain Cook. He rather thought that the paper contained a note of information, left by some Russian traders, to be delivered to the next of their countrymen who should arrive; and that the natives, seeing the English pass, and supposing them to be Russians, had resolved to bring off the note. Accordingly, our Commander pursued his voyage, without enquiring farther into the matter. On the twenty-first, amongst some hills, on the main land, that towered above the clouds to a most amazing height, one was discovered to have a *volcano*, which continually threw up vast columns of black smoke. It doth not stand far from the coast; and it lies in the latitude of $54^{\circ} 48'$, and the longitude of $195^{\circ} 45'$. This mountain was rendered remarkable by its figure, which is a complete cone; and the volcano is at the very summit. While, in the afternoon of the same day, during a calm of three hours, the English were fishing with great success for halibuts, a small canoe, conducted by one man, came to them from an Island in the neighbourhood. On approaching the ship, he took off his cap, and bowed, as the native had done, who had visited the Discovery a day or two before. From the acquired politeness of these people, as well as from the note already mentioned, it was evident that the Russians must have a communication and traffic with them; and of this a fresh proof occurred in the present visiter; for he wore a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth, or stuff, under the gut-shirt or frock of his own country. In the prosecution of the voyage, on the twenty-sixth, there was so thick a fog, that our Navigators could not

[FF] *May extend.*] Several ships have been fitted out from our settlements in India, as well as in England, on the speculation of this fur-trade. However, little benefit hath hitherto accrued from it, excepting

to the proprietors of the first vessel; the cargo which it carried having lowered the price of furs extremely in the China market.

see a hundred yards before them; notwithstanding which, as the weather was moderate, the Captain did not intermit his course. At length, however, being alarmed at the sound of breakers on one side of the ship, he immediately brought her to, and came to an anchor; and the Discovery, by his order, did the same. A few hours after, the fog having in some degree cleared away, it appeared that both the vessels had escaped a very imminent danger. Providence, in the dark, had conducted them between rocks which our Commander would not have ventured to pass through in a clear day, and had conveyed them to an anchoring-place, as good as he could possibly have fixed upon, had the choice been entirely at his option. On the twenty-seventh, our Voyagers reached an Island, that is known by the name of *Oonalashka* [GG]; the inhabitants of which behaved with a degree of politeness uncommon to savage tribes. A young man, who had overset his canoe, being obliged by this accident to come on board the ship, went down into Captain Cook's cabin, upon the first invitation, without expressing the least reluctance or uneasiness. His own clothes being wet, the Captain gave him others, in which he dressed himself with as much ease as any Englishman could have done. From the behaviour of this youth, and that of some of the rest of the natives, it was evident that these people were no strangers to Europeans, and to several of their customs. There was something, however, in the English ships that greatly excited their attention; for such as could not come off in canoes, assembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them. In one instance it was apparent that the inhabitants were so far from having made any progress in politeness, that they were still immersed in the most savage manners. For as our Commander was walking along the shore, on the twenty-ninth, he met with a group of them, of both sexes, who were seated on the grass, at a repast, consisting of raw fish, which they seemed to eat with as much relish as persons in civilized life would experience from a turbot, served up in the richest sauce. Soon after the vessels had come to an anchor at Oonalashka, a native of the Island brought on board such another note as had been given to Captain Clerke. He presented it to Captain Cook; but, as it was written in the Russian language, and could be of no use to the English, though it might be of consequence to others, the Captain returned it to the bearer, and dismissed him with a few presents; for which he expressed his thanks by making several

(e) Capt. Cook's
Voyage, ubi
supra, p. 403.
423—424.

low bows as he retired (e). On the second of July, our Voyagers put to sea from Oonalashka; and, pursuing their course of navigation and discovery, came, on the sixteenth, within sight of a promontory, near which our Commander ordered Lieutenant Williamson to land, that he might see what direction the coast took beyond it, and what the country produced. Accordingly, Mr. Williamson went on shore, and reported, on his return, that having landed on the point, and climbed the highest hill, he found that the farthest part of the coast in sight bore nearly North. At the same time, he took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, and left a bottle, in which was enclosed a piece of paper, containing an inscription of the names of the ships, together with the date of the discovery. To the promontory he gave the name of Cape NEWENHAM (f). The land, as far as Mr. Williamson could see, produces neither tree nor shrub; but the lower grounds were not destitute of grass, and of some other plants, very few of which were in flower.

(f) It is a rocky point, of tolerable height, situated in the latitude of $58^{\circ} 42'$, and in the longitude of $197^{\circ} 36'$.

When our Navigators, on the third of August, had advanced to the latitude of $62^{\circ} 34'$, a great loss was sustained by them in the death of Mr. Anderson, the Surgeon of the Resolution, who had been lingering under a consumption for more than twelve months. He was a young man of a cultivated understanding and agreeable manners, and was well skilled in his own profession; besides which, he had acquired a considerable degree of knowledge in other branches of science. How useful an assistant he was to Captain Cook, hath often appeared in the present narrative, and is fully displayed in the Voyage at large. Had his life been spared, the public would undoubtedly have received from him such communications, on various parts of the natural history of the several places that had been visited, as would justly have entitled him to very high commendation. The proofs of his abilities that now remain, will hand down the name of *Anderson*, in conjunction with that of *Cook*, to posterity [HH]. Soon after he had breathed his last, land having been seen at a distance, which was supposed to be an Island, our Commander honoured it with the appellation of ANDERSON'S ISLAND. The next day he removed Mr. Law, the Surgeon of the Discovery, into the Resolution, and appointed Mr. Samwell, the Surgeon's first Mate of the Resolution, to be Surgeon of the Discovery. On the ninth, Captain Cook came to an anchor under a point of land, to which he gave the name of CAPE PRINCE OF WALES, and which is remarkable by being the most western extremity of America hitherto explored (g). This extremity is distant from the eastern Cape of Siberia only thirteen

(g) Cook, ubi
supra, p. 426.
433. 440. 441.
444.
Cape Prince of
Wales is situated
in the latitude
of $65^{\circ} 46'$, and
in the longi-
tude of $191^{\circ} 45'$.

[GG] That is known by the name of *Oonalashka*. The harbour of *Samgamooda*, on the North side of Oonalashka, in which Captain Cook came to an anchor, is situated in the latitude of $53^{\circ} 55'$ North, and in the longitude of $193^{\circ} 30'$ East.

[HH] In conjunction with that of *Cook*, to posterity. Mr. Anderson left his papers to Sir Joseph Banks; but the Admiralty took possession of the larger part of

them, and there they are still retained. Such parts as related solely to natural history were delivered by Captain King to Sir Joseph; who wishes to add his testimony to the excellence of Mr. Anderson's character, to the utility of his observations, and to the great probability that, if he had survived, he would have given to the world something which would have done him credit.

leagues;

leagues: and thus our Commander had the glory of ascertaining the vicinity of the two continents, which had only been conjectured from the reports of the neighbouring Asiatic inhabitants, and the imperfect observations of the Russian navigators (b). Resuming his course on the tenth, Captain Cook anchored in a bay, the land of which was at first supposed to be a part of the Island of Alaschka, which is laid down in Mr. Stæhlin's map. But, from the figure of the coast; from the situation of the opposite shore of America; and from the longitude, the Captain soon began to think that it was more probably the country of the Tschutski, on the eastern extremity of Asia, which had been explored by Beering in 1728. In the result it appeared that this was in fact the case. Our Commander became fully satisfied, in the farther progress of his voyage, that Mr. Stæhlin's map must be erroneous; and he had the honour of restoring the American continent to that space which the geographer now mentioned had occupied with his imaginary Island of Alaschka. From the Bay of St. Lawrence, belonging to the country of the Tschutski, our Navigators steered, on the eleventh, to the East, in order to get nearer to the coast of America. After that, proceeding to the North, they reached, on the seventeenth, the latitude of $70^{\circ} 33'$ (i). On this day, a brightness was perceived in the northern horizon, like that which is reflected from ice, and is commonly called the *blink*. This was at first but little noticed, from a supposition that there was no probability of meeting with ice so soon: and yet, the sharpness of the air, and the gloominess of the weather, had, for two or three days past, seemed to indicate a sudden change. In about an hour's time, the sight of a large field of ice left Captain Cook no longer in doubt with regard to the cause of the brightness of the horizon. The ships, in the same afternoon, being then in the latitude of $70^{\circ} 41'$, were close to the edge of the ice, and not able to stand on any farther. On the eighteenth, when the vessels were in the latitude of $70^{\circ} 44'$, the ice on the side of them was as compact as a wall, and was judged to be at least ten or twelve feet in height. Farther to the North, it appeared to be much higher. Its surface was extremely rugged, and in different places there were seen upon it pools of water. A prodigious number of sea-horses lay upon the ice; and some of them, on the nineteenth, were procured for food, there being at this time a want of fresh provisions. When the animals were brought to the vessels, it was no small disappointment to many of the seamen, who had feasted their eyes for several days with the prospect of eating them, to find that they were not sea-cows, as they had supposed, but sea-horses. This disappointment would not have been occasioned, or the difference known, had there not happened to be one or two sailors on board who had been in Greenland, and who declared what these animals were, and that it never was customary to eat of them. Such, however, was the anxiety for a change of diet, as to overcome this prejudice. Our Voyagers lived upon the sea-horses as long as they lasted; and there were few who did not prefer them to the salt meat. Captain Cook continued, to the twenty-ninth, to traverse the Icy Sea beyond Beering's Strait, in various directions, and through numberless obstructions and difficulties. Every day the ice increased, so as to preclude all hopes of attaining, at least during the present year, the grand object of the voyage. Indeed, the season was now so far advanced, and the time in which the frost was expected to set in was so near at hand, that it would have been totally inconsistent with prudence, to have made any farther attempts, till the next summer, at finding a passage into the Atlantic. The attention, therefore, of our Commander was now directed to other important and necessary concerns. It was of great consequence to meet with a place where our Navigators might be supplied with wood and water. But the point which principally occupied the Captain's thoughts was, how he should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the same time, to be in a condition to return to the North, in farther search of a passage, in the ensuing summer (k). Before Captain Cook proceeded far to the South, he employed a considerable time in examining the sea and coasts in the neighbourhood of Beering's Strait, both on the side of Asia and America. In this examination, he ascertained the accuracy of Beering, so far as he went; demonstrated the errors with which Stæhlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago abounds; and made large additions to the geographical knowledge of this part of the world. "It reflects," as Mr. Coxe justly observes, "the highest honour even on the British name, that our great Navigator extended his discoveries much farther in one expedition, and at so great a distance from the point of his departure, than the Russians accomplished in a long series of years, and in parts belonging or contiguous to their own empire (l)."

(i) The longitude was $197^{\circ} 41'$.

(k) Cook's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 452-456, 455, 456, 457, 466.

(l) Coxe's Comparative View of the Russian Discoveries, p. 16.

(b) Coxe's Comparative View of the Russian Discoveries, with those made by Captains Cook and Clerke, p. 15, 16.

On the second of October, our Voyagers came within sight of the Island of Oonalashka, and anchored the next day in Samganoodah harbour. Here the first concern was to put the ships under the necessary repair; and, while the Carpenters were employed in this business, one third of the people had permission, by turns, to go and collect the berries with which the Island abounds, and which, though now beginning to be in a state of decay, did not a little contribute, in conjunction with spruce-beer, effectually to eradicate every seed of the scurvy that might exist in either of the vessels. Such a supply of fish was likewise procured, as not only served for present consumption, but afforded a quantity to be carried out to sea; so that hence a considerable saving was made of the provisions of

the ships, which was at this time an object of no small importance. Captain Cook, on the eighth, received, by the hands of an Oonalashka man, named Derramoushk, a very singular present, which was that of a rye loaf, or rather a pye in the form of a loaf, for it enclosed some salmon, highly seasoned with pepper. This man had the like present for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of the two Captains, written in a character which none on board could understand. It was natural to suppose, that the presents came from some Russians in the neighbourhood; and therefore a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter, were sent to these unknown friends in return; it being rightly judged that such articles would be more acceptable than any thing besides which it was in the power of our Navigators to bestow. Corporal Lediard of the Marines [II], an intelligent man, was, at the same time, directed to accompany Derramoushk, for the purpose of gaining farther information; and with orders, if he met with any Russians, that he should endeavour to make them understand that our Voyagers were Englishmen, and the friends and allies of their nation. On the tenth, the Corporal returned with three Russian seamen, or furriers, who, with several others, resided at Egoochshac, where they had a dwelling-house, some store-houses, and a sloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of these men was either Master or mate of this vessel; another of them wrote a very good hand, and was acquainted with figures; and all of them were sensible and well-behaved persons, who were ready to give Captain Cook every possible degree of information. The great difficulty in the reception and communication of intelligence, arose from the want of an interpreter. On the fourteenth, a Russian landed at Oonalashka, whose name was Erasim Gregorioff Sin Ismyloff, and who was the principal person among his countrymen in this and the neighbouring Islands. Besides the intelligence which our Commander derived from his conversations with Ismyloff, and which were carried on by signs, assisted by figures and other characters, he obtained from him the sight of two charts, and was permitted to copy them. Both of them were manuscripts, and bore every mark of authenticity. The first included the *Penshinskian* Sea; the coast of Tartary, down to the latitude of 41° ; the Kuril Islands; and the peninsula of Kamtschatka. But it was the second chart that was the most interesting to Captain Cook; for it comprehended all the discoveries made by the Russians to the eastward of Kamtschatka, towards America; which, however, exclusively of the Voyages of Beering and Tschirikoff, amounted to little or nothing. Indeed, all the people with whom the Captain conversed at Oonalashka, agreed in assuring him, over and over again, that they knew of no other Islands, besides those which were laid down upon this chart; and that no Russians had ever seen any part of the continent of America to the northward, excepting that which lies opposite to the country of the Tschutkis. When, on the twenty-first, Mr. Ismyloff took his final leave of the English Navigators, our Commander entrusted to his care a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which was enclosed a chart of all the northern coasts the Captain had visited. It was expected that there would be an opportunity of sending this letter, in the ensuing spring, to Kamtschatka or Okotsk, and that it would reach Petersburg during the following winter. Mr. Ismyloff, who faithfully and successfully discharged the trust our Commander had reposed in him, seemed to possess abilities that might entitle him to a higher station in life than that which he

[II] *Corporal Lediard of the marines.*] This Corporal Lediard is an extraordinary man, something of whose history cannot fail of being entertaining to my readers. In the winter of 1786, he set out on the singular undertaking of walking across the continent of America; for the accomplishment of which purpose, he determined to travel by the way of Siberia, and to procure a passage from that country to the opposite American coast. Being an American by birth, and having no means of raising the money necessary for his expences, a subscription was raised for him by Sir Joseph Banks, and some other Gentlemen, amounting, in the whole, to a little more than fifty pounds. With this sum he proceeded to Hamburgh, from which place he went to Copenhagen, and thence to Petersburg, where he arrived in the beginning of March, 1787. In his journey from Copenhagen to Petersburg, finding that the gulph of Bothnia was not frozen over, he was obliged to walk round the whole of it, by Tornæo. At Petersburg he stayed till the twenty-first of May, when he obtained leave to accompany a convoy of military stores, which at that time was proceeding to Mr. Billings, who had been his ship-mate in Captain Cook's Voyage, and who was then employed by the Empress of Russia, for the purpose of making discoveries in Siberia, and on the North-west coast of America. With this convoy Mr. Lediard set out, and in August reached the city of Irkutsk in Siberia. After that, he proceeded to the town of Yakutsk, where he met with Captain Billings. From this place he went back to Irkutsk, to spend a part of the winter; pro-

posing, in the spring, to return to Yakutsk, in order to proceed in the summer to Okotsk.

Hitherto Mr. Lediard had gone on prosperously, and flattered himself with the hopes of succeeding in his undertaking. But, in January last (1788) in consequence of an express from the Empress, he was arrested, and, in half an hour's time, carried away, under the guard of two soldiers and an officer, in a post sledge, for Moscow, without his clothes, money, and papers. From Moscow he was conveyed to the city of Moialoff in White Russia, and thence to the town of Tolochin in Poland. There he was informed, that her Majesty's orders were, that he was never to enter her dominions again without her express permission. During all this time, he suffered the greatest hardships, from sickness, fatigue, and want of rest; so that he was almost reduced to a skeleton. From Tolochin he made his way to Konigsberg, having had, as he says, a miserable journey, in a miserable country, in a miserable season, in miserable health, and a miserable purse; and disappointed of his darling enterprize. Mr. Lediard informs Sir Joseph Banks, to whom he sent, from time to time, a full account of his transactions, that, though he had been retarded in his pursuits by malice, he had not travelled totally in vain; his observations in Asia being, perhaps, as complete as a longer visit would have rendered them. From his last letter it appears, that he proposed to return, as speedily as possible, from Konigsberg to England.

For the preceding intelligence I am wholly indebted to the obliging information of Sir Joseph Banks.

occupied.

occupied. He had a considerable knowledge of astronomy, and was acquainted with the most useful branches of the mathematics. Captain Cook made him a present of an Hadley's octant; and, though it was probably the first he had ever seen, he understood, in a very short time, the various uses to which that instrument can be applied. While the ships lay at Oonalashka, our Voyagers did not neglect to make a diligent enquiry into the productions of the Island, and the general manners of the inhabitants. On these, as being in a great measure similar to objects which have already been noticed, it is not necessary to enlarge. There is one circumstance, however, so honourable to the natives, that it must not be omitted. They are, to all appearance, the most peaceable and inoffensive people our Commander had ever met with; and, with respect to honesty, they might serve as a pattern to countries that are in the highest state of civilization. A doubt is suggested, whether this disposition may not have been the consequence of their present subjection to the Russians. From the affinity which was found to subsist between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, and those of the inhabitants of Norton's Sound [KK] and Oonalashka, there is strong reason to believe, that all these nations are of the same extraction; and, if that be the case, the existence of a northern communication of some kind, by sea, between the West side of America and the East side, through Baffin's Bay, can scarcely be doubted; which communication, nevertheless, may effectually be shut up against ships, by ice and other impediments. While the vessels lay in Samganoodha harbour, Captain Cook exerted his usual diligence in making nautical and astronomical observations. All things, on the twenty-sixth, having been gotten ready for his departure, he put to sea on that day, and sailed for the Sandwich Islands; it being his intention to spend a few months there, and then to direct his course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to reach that country by the middle of May, in the ensuing summer (m).

On the twenty-sixth of November, when the ships had proceeded southward till they came to the latitude of $20^{\circ} 55'$, land was discovered, which proved to be an Island of the name of *Mowee*, that had not hitherto been visited. It is one of the group of the Sandwich Islands. As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these Islands, and experience had taught our Commander, that he could have no chance of succeeding in this object, if it were left to every man's discretion to traffic for what he pleased, and in what manner he pleased; the Captain published an order, prohibiting all persons from trading, excepting such as should be appointed by himself and Captain Clerke. Even these persons were enjoined to trade only for provisions and refreshments. While our Navigators lay off *Mowee*, which was for some days, a friendly intercourse was maintained with the inhabitants. Another Island was discovered on the thirtieth, which is called by the natives *Owhyhee*. As it appeared to be of greater extent and importance than any of the Islands which had yet been visited in this part of the world, Captain Cook spent nearly seven weeks in sailing round, and examining its coast. Whilst he was thus employed, the inhabitants came off, from time to time, in their canoes, and readily engaged in traffic with our Voyagers. In the conduct of this business, the behaviour of the Islanders was more entirely free from suspicion and reserve than our Commander had ever yet experienced. Not even the people of Otaheite itself, with whom he had been so intimately and repeatedly connected, had displayed such a full confidence in the integrity and good treatment of the English. Among the articles procured from the natives, was a quantity of sugar-cane. Upon a trial, Captain Cook found that a strong decoction of it produced a very palatable beer; on which account, he ordered some more to be brewed, for general use. When, however, the barrel was broached, not one of the crew would taste of the liquor. As the Captain had no motive in preparing this beverage, but that of sparing the rum and other spirits for a colder climate, he did not exert either authority or persuasion to prevail upon the men to change their resolution; for he knew that there was no danger of the scurvy, so long as a plentiful supply could be obtained of different vegetables. Nevertheless, that he might not be disappointed in his views, he gave orders that no grog should be served in the ships; and he himself, together with the officers, continued to make use of the sugar-cane beer, which was much improved by the addition of a few hops, that chanced to be still on board. There could be no reasonable doubt of its being a very wholesome liquor; and yet the inconsiderate crew alledged that it would be injurious to their health. No people are more averse to every kind of innovation than seamen, and their prejudices are extremely difficult to be conquered. It was, however, by acting contrary to these prejudices, and by various deviations from established practice, that Captain Cook had been enabled to preserve his men from that dreadful distemper, the scurvy, which, perhaps, has destroyed more of our sailors, in their peaceful voyages, than have fallen by the enemy in military expeditions. As the Captain was pursuing his examination of the coast of *Owhyhee*, it having fallen calm at one o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth of December, the *Resolution* was left to the mercy of a North-easterly swell,

(m) Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 486. 493—498. 501, 502. 506, 507. 509. 522—524, 525, 526.

[KK] And those of the inhabitants of Norton's Sound. Norton's Sound is a large inlet that extends to the northward as far as the latitude of $64^{\circ} 55'$, upon the

coast of which Lieutenant King had landed, by Captain Cook's order.

which

which impelled her fast towards the land; so that, long before day-break, lights were seen from the land, which was not more than a league distant. The night, at the same time, was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain. As soon as it was light, a dreadful surf, within half a league of the vessel, appeared breaking from the shore; and it was evident that our Navigators had been in the most perilous situation: nor was the danger yet over; for, in consequence of the veering of the wind, they were but just able to keep their distance from the coast. What rendered their situation more alarming was, that a rope of the main-top sail having given way, this occasioned the sail to be rent in two. In the same manner, the two top gallant sails gave way, though they were not half worn out. However, a favourable opportunity was seized of getting others to the yards; and the *Resolution* again proceeded in safety. On the sixteenth of January, 1779, canoes arrived in such numbers from all parts, that there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs, and other productions of the Island. It was a satisfactory proof of their friendly intentions, that there was not a single person amongst them who had with him a weapon of any kind; trade and curiosity alone appearing to be the motives which actuated their conduct. Among such multitudes, however, as, at times, were on board, it will not be deemed surprizing, that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of them took out of the *Resolution* a boat's rudder; and made off with it so speedily, that it could not be recovered. Captain Cook judged this to be a favourable opportunity of shewing to these people the use of fire-arms; and accordingly he ordered two or three musquets, and as many four-pounders, to be fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. It not being intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of the natives seemed to be more surprized than terrified. Mr. Bligh having been sent to examine a neighbouring bay, reported, on his return, that it had good anchorage and fresh water, and that it was in an accessible situation. Into this bay, therefore, the Captain resolved to carry the ships, in order to refit, and to obtain every refreshment which the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of the Indians retired on shore; but numbers of them requested permission to sleep on board; in which request, curiosity (at least with regard to several of them) was not their sole motive; for it was found, the next morning, that various things were missing; on which account our Commander determined not to entertain so many persons another night. On the seventeenth, the ships came to an anchor in the bay which had been examined by Mr. Bligh, and which is called *Karakakooa* by the inhabitants. At this time, the vessels continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded with a multitude of canoes. Captain Cook, in the whole course of his voyages, had never seen so numerous a body of people assembled in one place. For, besides those who had come off to the English in their canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. Our Navigators could not avoid being greatly impressed with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board that now lamented the want of success which had attended the endeavours of getting homeward, the last summer, by a northern passage. "To this disappointment," says the Captain, "we owed our having it in our power to revisit the *Sandwich Islands*, and to enrich our Voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed, in many respects, to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans, throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean (n)." Such is the sentence that concludes our Commander's journal: and the satisfaction with which this sentence appears to have been written, cannot fail of striking the mind of every reader. Little did Captain Cook then imagine, that a discovery which promised to add no small honour to his name, and to be productive of very agreeable consequences, should be so fatal in the result. Little did he think, that the Island of Owhyhee was destined to be the last scene of his exploits, and the cause of his destruction.

(n) Cook's Voyage, ubi supra, p. 532, 535, 536, 537, 538, 540—548, 549.

The reception which the Captain met with from the natives, on his proceeding to anchor in *Karakakooa Bay*, was flattering in the highest degree. They came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and by exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. Pareea, a young man of great authority, and Kaneena, another Chief, had already attached themselves to our Commander, and were very useful in keeping their countrymen from being troublesome. During the long cruize of our Navigators off the Island of Owhyhee, the inhabitants had almost universally behaved with great fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shewn the slightest propensity to theft: and this was a fact the more extraordinary, as those with whom our people had hitherto maintained any intercourse, were of the lowest rank, being either servants or fishermen. But, after the arrival of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in *Karakakooa Bay*, the case was greatly altered. The immense crowd of Islanders that blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunities of pilfering without risk of detection; but held out, even if they should be detected, a prospect of escaping with impunity, from the superiority of their numbers to that of the English. Another circumstance, to which the alteration in the conduct of the natives might be ascribed, arose from the presence and encouragement of their Chiefs, into whose possession the booty might be traced, and whom

there was reason to suspect of being the instigators of the depredations that were committed. Soon after the *Resolution* had gotten into her station, Pareea and Kaneena brought on board a third Chief, named Koah, who was represented as being a Priest, and as having, in his early youth, been a distinguished warrior. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayley and Mr. King, accompanied Koah on shore. Upon this occasion, the Captain was received with very peculiar and extraordinary ceremonies; with ceremonies that indicated the highest respect on the part of the natives, and which, indeed, seemed to fall little short of adoration. One of the principal objects that engaged our Commander's attention at Owhyhee, was the salting of hogs for sea-store; in which his success was far more compleat than had been attained in any former attempt of the same kind. It doth not appear that experiments relative to this subject had been made by the navigators of any nation before Captain Cook. His first trials were in 1774, during his second voyage round the world; when his success, though very imperfect, was, nevertheless, sufficient to encourage his farther efforts, in a matter of so much importance. As the present voyage was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ships were victualled, he was under a necessity of providing, by some such method, for the subsistence of the crews, or of relinquishing the prosecution of his discoveries. Accordingly, he lost no opportunity of renewing his attempts; and the event answered his most sanguine expectations. Captain King brought home with him some of the pork which was pickled at Owhyhee in January, 1779; and, upon its being tasted by several persons in England about Christmas 1780, it was found to be perfectly sound and wholesome (o). It seemed to be destined, that in every instance Captain Cook should excel all who had gone before him, in promoting the purposes of navigation. On the twenty-sixth, the Captain had his first interview with Terreeoboo, the King of the Island. The meeting was conducted with a variety of ceremonies, among which, the custom of making an exchange of names, which, amongst all the Islanders of the Pacific Ocean is the strongest pledge of friendship, was observed. When the formalities of the interview were over, our Commander carried Terreeoboo, and as many Chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the *Resolution*. They were received, on this occasion, with every mark of respect that could be shewn them; and, in return for a beautiful and splendid feathered cloak which the King had bestowed on Captain Cook, the Captain put a linen shirt on his Majesty, and girt his own hanger round him. In the progress of the intercourse which was maintained between our Voyagers and the natives, the quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the latter took away every apprehension of danger; so that the English trusted themselves among them at all times, and in all situations. The instances of kindness and civility which our people experienced from them were so numerous, that they could not easily be recounted. A society of Priests, in particular, displayed a generosity and munificence, of which no equal example had hitherto been given: for they furnished a constant supply of hogs and vegetables to our Navigators, without ever demanding a return, or even hinting at it in the most distant manner. All this was said to be done at the expence of a great man among them, who was at the head of their body, whose name was Kaoo, and who on other occasions manifested his attachment to the English. There was not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior Chiefs, or *Earees*, as with that of the Priests. Indeed, the satisfaction that was derived from the usual gentleness and hospitality of the inhabitants, was frequently interrupted by the propensity of many of them to stealing; and this circumstance was the more distressing, as it sometimes obliged our Commander and the other officers to have recourse to acts of severity, which they would willingly have avoided, if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them.

(o) An account of the process may be seen in Captain King's Voyage, p. 12.

Though the kind and liberal behaviour of the natives continued without remission, Terreeoboo, and his Chiefs, began, at length, to be very inquisitive about the time in which our Voyagers were to take their departure. Nor will this be deemed surprizing, when it is considered that, during sixteen days in which the English had been in the bay of Karakakooa, they had made an enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables. It did not appear, however, that Terreeoboo had any other view in his enquiries, than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing our Navigators with presents, suitable to the respect and kindness towards them which he had always displayed. For, on his being informed that they were to leave the Island in a day or two, it was observed that a kind of proclamation was immediately made, through the villages, requiring the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the King to present to the *Orono* (p), on his quitting the country. Accordingly, on the third of February, being the day preceding the time which had been fixed for the sailing of the ships, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and Mr. King to attend him to the place where Kaoo resided. On their arrival, they found the ground covered with parcels of cloth, at a small distance from which lay an immense quantity of vegetables; and near them was a large herd of hogs. At the close of the visit, the greater part of the cloth, and the whole of the hogs and vegetables, were given by Terreeoboo to the Captain and Mr. King; who were astonished at the value and magnificence of the present; for it far exceeded every thing of the kind which they had seen either at the

(p) *Orono* was a title of high honour, which had been bestowed on Captain Cook.

Friendly or Society Islands [LL]. Mr. King had in so high a degree conciliated the affections, and gained the esteem, of the inhabitants of Owhyhee, that, with offers of the most flattering nature, he was strongly solicited to remain in the country. Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whose son they supposed Mr. King to be, with a formal request that he might be left behind. To avoid giving a positive refusal to an offer which was so kindly intended, the Captain told them, that he could not part with Mr. King at that time, but that, on his return to the Island in the next year, he would endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction. Early, on the fourth, the ships sailed out of Karakakooa Bay, being followed by a large number of canoes. It was our Commander's design, before he visited the other Islands, to finish the survey of Owhyhee, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay he had just left. In case of not succeeding in this respect, he purposed to take a view of the South-east part of Mowee, where he was informed that he should find an excellent harbour (q).

The circumstances which brought Captain Cook back to Karakakooa Bay, and the unhappy consequences that followed, I shall give from Mr. Samwell's narrative of his death. This narrative was, in the most obliging manner, communicated to me in manuscript, by Mr. Samwell, with entire liberty to make such use of it as I should judge proper. Upon a perusal of it, its importance struck me in so strong a light, that I wished to have it separately laid before the world. Accordingly, with Mr. Samwell's concurrence, I procured its publication, that, if any objections should be made to it, I might be able to notice them in my own work. As the narrative hath continued for more than two years unimpeached and uncontradicted, I esteem myself fully authorized to insert it in this place, as containing the most complete and authentic account of the melancholy catastrophe, which, at Owhyhee, befel our illustrious Navigator and Commander. It shall be inserted below [MM].

(q) Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. iii. written by Mr. King, p. 1—31.

In

[LL] For it far exceeded every thing of the kind which they had seen at the Friendly or Society Islands. When the Resolution had sailed from Karakakooa Bay, Terreeoboo gave a fresh proof his friendship for Captain Cook, by sending after him a large present of hogs and vegetables.

[MM] It shall be inserted below.] "On the sixth, we were overtaken by a gale of wind; and the next night, the Resolution had the misfortune of springing the head of her foremast, in such a dangerous manner, that Captain Cook was obliged to return to Keragegooah (8), in order to have it repaired; for we could find no other convenient harbour on the Island. The same gale had occasioned much distress among some canoes, that had paid us a visit from the shore. One of them, with two men and a child on board, was picked up by the Resolution, and rescued from destruction: the men, having toiled hard all night, in attempting to reach the land, were so much exhausted, that they could hardly mount the ship's side. When they got upon the quarter-deck, they burst into tears, and seemed much affected with the dangerous situation from which they had escaped; but the little child appeared lively and cheerful. One of the Resolution's boats was also so fortunate as to save a man and two women, whose canoe had been upset by the violence of the waves. They were brought on board, and, with the others, partook of the kindness and humanity of Captain Cook.

"On the morning of Wednesday, the tenth, we were within a few miles of the harbour; and were soon joined by several canoes, in which appeared many of our old acquaintance, who seemed to have come to welcome us back. Among them was Coo, aha, a Priest: he had brought a small pig, and some cocoa nuts in his hand, which, after having chaunted a few sentences, he presented to Captain Clerke. He then left us, and hastened on board the Resolution, to perform the same friendly ceremony before Captain Cook. Having but light winds all that day, we could not gain the harbour. In the afternoon, a Chief of the first rank, and nearly related to Kariopoo, paid us a visit on board the Discovery. His name was Ka, mea: he was dressed in a very rich feathered cloak, which he seemed to have brought for sale, but would part with it for nothing except iron daggers. These, the Chiefs, some time before our departure, had preferred to every other article; for, having received a plentiful supply of hatchets and other tools, they began to collect a store of warlike instruments. Kameamea procured nine daggers

for his cloak; and, being pleased with his reception, he and his attendants slept on board that night. "In the morning of the eleventh of February, the ships anchored again in Keragegooah Bay, and preparation was immediately made for landing the Resolution's foremast. We were visited but by few of the Indians, because there were but few in the bay. On our departure, those belonging to other parts, had repaired to their several habitations, and were again to collect from various quarters, before we could expect to be surrounded by such multitudes as we had once seen in that harbour. In the afternoon, I walked about a mile into the country, to visit an Indian friend, who had, a few days before, come near twenty miles, in a small canoe, to see me, while the ship lay becalmed. As the canoe had not left us long before a gale of wind came on, I was alarmed for the consequence: however, I had the pleasure to find that my friend had escaped unhurt, though not without some difficulties. I take notice of this short excursion, merely because it afforded me an opportunity of observing, that there appeared no change in the disposition or behaviour of the inhabitants. I saw nothing that could induce me to think, that they were displeased with our return, or jealous of the intention of our second visit. On the contrary, that abundant good-nature which had always characterised them, seemed still to glow in every bosom, and to animate every countenance (9). The next day, February the twelfth, the ships were put under a taboo, by the Chiefs, a solemnity, it seems, that was requisite to be observed before Kariopoo, the King, paid his first visit to Captain Cook, after his return. He waited upon him the same day, on board the Resolution, attended by a large train, some of which bore the presents designed for Captain Cook; who received him in his usual friendly manner, and gave him several articles in return. This amicable ceremony being settled, the taboo was dissolved; matters went on in the usual train; and the next day, February the thirteenth, we were visited by the natives in great numbers: the Resolution's mast was landed, and the astronomical observatories erected on their former situation. I landed, with another Gentleman, at the town of Kavarooah, where we found a great number of canoes, just arrived from different parts of the Island, and the Indians busy in constructing temporary huts on the beach, for their residence during the stay of the ships. On our return on board the Discovery very, we learned, that an Indian had been detected

(9) Mr. King relates, that our Voyagers, upon coming to anchor, were surprised to find their reception very different from what it had been on their first arrival. He acknowledges, however, that the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, the next morning, came immediately to visit Captain Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with the English, are strong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct. "Things," says Mr. King, "went on in their usual quiet course, till the afternoon of the thirteenth." Voyage, ubi supra, p. 36, 37, 38.

(8) It is proper to take notice, that Mr. Samwell spells the names of several persons and places differently from what is done in the history of the voyage. For instance,

Karakakooa
he calls
Keragegooah
Terreeoboo,
Kariopoo;
Kowrowa,
Kavarooah;
Kameecabareea,
Kameekapo here;
Maiha maiha,
Ka, mea, mea.

In consequence of the barbarous disposition of the natives, the whole remains of Captain Cook could not be recovered. For, though every exertion was made for that purpose; though

“ in stealing the armourer’s tongs from the forge,
 “ for which he received a pretty severe flogging, and
 “ was sent out of the ship. Notwithstanding the
 “ example made of this man, in the afternoon another
 “ had the audacity to snatch the tongs and a
 “ chissel from the same place, with which he jumped
 “ overboard, and swam for the shore. The Master
 “ and a midshipman were instantly dispatched after
 “ him, in the small cutter. The Indian seeing
 “ himself pursued, made for a canoe; his country-
 “ men took him on board, and paddled as swift as
 “ they could towards the shore; we fired several
 “ muskets at them, but to no effect, for they soon
 “ got out of the reach of our shot. Pareah, one of
 “ the Chiefs, who was at that time on board the Discovery, understanding what had happened, immediately went ashore, promising to bring back the stolen goods. Our boat was so far distanced, in chasing the canoe which had taken the thief on board, that he had time to make his escape into the country. Captain Cook, who was then ashore, endeavoured to intercept his landing; but, it seems, that he was led out of the way by some of the natives, who had officiously intruded themselves as guides. As the Master was approaching near the landing-place, he was met by some of the Indians in a canoe: they had brought back the tongs and chissel, together with another article, that we had not missed, which happened to be the lid of the water-cask. Having recovered these things, he was returning on board, when he was met by the Resolution’s pinnace, with five men in her, who, without any orders, had come from the observatories to his assistance. Being thus unexpectedly reinforced, he thought himself strong enough to insist upon having the thief, or the canoe which took him in; delivered up as reprisals. With that view he turned back; and having found the canoe on the beach, he was preparing to launch it into the water, when Pareah made his appearance, and insisted upon his not taking it away, as it was his property. The officer not regarding him, the Chief seized upon him, pinioned his arms behind, and held him by the hair of his head; on which, one of the sailors struck him with an oar: Pareah instantly quitted the officer, snatched the oar out of the man’s hand, and snapped it in two across his knee. At length the multitude began to attack our people with stones. They made some resistance, but were soon overpowered, and obliged to swim for safety to the small cutter, which lay farther out than the pinnace. The officers, not being expert swimmers, retreated to a small rock in the water, where they were closely pursued by the Indians. One man darted a broken oar at the Master; but his foot slipping at the time, he missed him, which fortunately saved that officer’s life. At last, Pareah interfered, and put an end to their violence. The Gentlemen, knowing that his presence was their only defence against the fury of the natives, entreated him to stay with them, till they could get off in the boats; but that he refused, and left them. The Master went to seek assistance from the party at the observatories; but the midshipman chose to remain in the pinnace. He was very rudely treated by the mob, who plundered the boat of every thing that was loose on board, and then began to knock her to pieces, for the sake of the iron-work; but Pareah fortunately returned in time to prevent her destruction. He had met the other Gentleman on his way to the observatories, and, suspecting his errand, had forced him to return. He dispersed the crowd again, and desired the Gentlemen to return on board: they represented, that all the oars had been taken out of the boat; on which he brought some of them back, and the Gentlemen were glad to get off, without farther molestation. They had not proceeded far, before they were overtaken by Pareah, in a canoe: he delivered the Midshipman’s

“ cap, which had been taken from him in the scuffle, joined noses with them, in token of reconciliation, and was anxious to know, if Captain Cook would kill him for what had happened. They assured him of the contrary, and made signs of friendship to him in return. He then left them, and paddled over to the town of Kavarooah, and that was the last time we ever saw him. Captain Cook returned on board soon after, much displeased with the whole of this disagreeable business; and the same night sent a Lieutenant on board the Discovery to learn the particulars of it, as it had originated in that ship. It was remarkable, that in the midst of the hurry and confusion attending this affair, Kanynah (a Chief who had always been on terms particularly friendly with us) came from the spot where it happened, with a hog to sell on board the Discovery: it was of an extraordinary large size, and he demanded for it a pahowa, or dagger, of an unusual length. He pointed to us, that it must be as long as his arm. Captain Clerke not having one of that length, told him, he would get one made for him by the morning; with which being satisfied, he left the hog, and went ashore without making any stay with us. It will not be altogether foreign to the subject, to mention a circumstance, that happened to-day on board the Resolution. An Indian Chief asked Captain Cook at his table, if he was a *Tata Toa*; which means a fighting man, or a soldier. Being answered in the affirmative, he desired to see his wounds: Captain Cook held out his right-hand, which had a scar upon it, dividing the thumb from the finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bones. The Indian, being thus convinced of his being a *Toa*, put the same question to another Gentleman present, but he happened to have none of those distinguishing marks: the Chief then said, that he himself was a *Toa*, and shewed the scars of some wounds he had received in battle. Those who were on duty at the observatories, were disturbed, during the night, with shrill and melancholy sounds, issuing from the adjacent villages, which they took to be the lamentations of the women. Perhaps the quarrel between us, might have filled their minds with apprehensions for the safety of their husbands: but, be that as it may, their mournful cries struck the sentinels with unusual awe and terror.

“ To widen the breach between us, some of the Indians, in the night, took away the Discovery’s large cutter, which lay swamped at the buoy of one of her anchors: they had carried her off so quietly, that we did not miss her till the morning, Sunday, February the fourteenth. Captain Clerke lost no time in waiting upon Captain Cook, to acquaint him with the accident: he returned on board, with orders for the launch and small cutter to go, under the command of the second Lieutenant, and lie off the East point of the bay, in order to intercept all canoes that might attempt to get out; and, if he found it necessary, to fire upon them. At the same time, the third Lieutenant of the Resolution, with the launch and small cutter, was sent on the same service, to the opposite point of the bay; and the Master was dispatched in the large cutter, in pursuit of a double canoe, already under sail, making the best of her way out of the harbour. He soon came up with her, and by firing a few musquets, drove her on shore, and the Indians left her: this happened to be the canoe of Omea, a man who bore the title of Orono. He was on board himself, and it would have been fortunate, if our people had secured him, for his person was held as sacred as that of the King. During this time, Captain Cook was preparing to go ashore himself, at the town of Kavarooah, in order to secure the person of Kario-poo, before he should have time to withdraw himself to another part of the Island, out of our reach.

This

though negotiations and threatenings were alternately employed, little more than the principal part of his bones (and that with great difficulty) could be procured. By the possession of

(10) Mr. King acknowledges, that he was always fearful, that the degree of confidence which Captain Cook had acquired from his long and uninterrupted course of success, in his transactions with the natives of these seas, might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard. *Voyage, ubi supra, p. 55.*

" This appeared the most effectual step that could be
" taken on the present occasion, for the recovery of
" the boat.—It was the measure he had invariably
" pursued, in similar cases, at other Islands in these
" seas, and it had always been attended with the
" desired success: in fact, it would be difficult to
" point out any other mode of proceeding on these
" emergencies, likely to attain the object in view
" (10). We had reason to suppose, that the King
" and his attendants had fled when the alarm was
" first given: in that case, it was Captain Cook's in-
" tention to secure the large canoes which were
" hauled up on the beach. He left the ship about
" seven o'clock, attended by the Lieutenant of Ma-
" rines, a Serjeant, Corporal, and seven private
" men: the pinnace's crew were also armed, and
" under the command of Mr. Roberts. As they
" rowed towards the shore, Captain Cook ordered
" the launch to leave her station at the West point
" of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. This
" is a circumstance worthy of notice; for it clearly
" shews, that he was not unapprehensive of meeting
" with resistance from the natives, or unmindful of
" the necessary preparation for the safety of himself
" and his people. I will venture to say, that from
" the appearance of things just at that time, there
" was not one, beside himself, who judged that such
" precaution was absolutely requisite: so little did
" his conduct on the occasion, bear the marks of
" rashness, or a precipitate self-confidence! He
" landed, with the Marines, at the upper end of the
" town of Kavarooah: the Indians immediately
" flocked round, as usual, and shewed him the cus-
" tomary marks of respect, by prostrating themselves
" before him. There were no signs of hostilities, or
" much alarm among them. Captain Cook, how-
" ever, did not seem willing to trust to appearances;
" but was particularly attentive to the disposition of
" the Marines, and to have them kept clear of the
" crowd. He first enquired for the King's sons, two
" youths who were much attached to him, and ge-
" nerally his companions on board. Messengers
" being sent for them, they soon came to him, and
" informing him that their father was asleep, at a
" house not far from them, he accompanied them
" thither, and took the Marines along with them.
" As he passed along, the natives every where pro-
" strated themselves before him, and seemed to have
" lost no part of that respect they had always shewn
" to his person. He was joined by several Chiefs,
" among whom was Kanynah, and his brother
" Koohowroah. They kept the crowd in order,
" according to their usual custom; and, being igno-
" rant of his intention in coming on shore, frequently
" asked him, if he wanted any hogs, or other pro-
" visions: he told them that he did not, and that his
" business was to see the King. When he arrived at
" the house, he ordered some of the Indians to go in,
" and inform Kariopoo, that he waited without to
" speak with him. They came out two or three
" times, and instead of returning any answer from
" the King, presented some pieces of red cloth to
" him, which made Captain Cook suspect that he
" was not in the house: he therefore desired the
" Lieutenant of Marines to go in. The Lieutenant
" found the old man just awaked from sleep, and
" seemingly alarmed at the message; but he came
" out without hesitation. Captain Cook took him
" by the hand, and in a friendly manner asked him
" to go on board, to which he very readily consented.
" Thus far matters appeared in a favourable train,
" and the natives did not seem much alarmed or
" apprehensive of hostility on our side; at which
" Captain Cook expressed himself a little surprized,
" saying, that as the inhabitants of that town appeared
" innocent of stealing the cutter, he should not molest
" them, but that he must get the King on board.
" Kariopoo sat down before his door, and was sur-
" rounded by a great crowd: Kanynah and his bro-
" ther were both very active in keeping order among

" them. In a little time, however, the Indians were
" observed arming themselves with long spears, clubs,
" and daggers, and putting on thick mats, which
" they use as armour. This hostile appearance in-
" creased, and became more alarming, on the arrival
" of two men in a canoe from the opposite side of the
" bay, with the news of a Chief, called Kareemoo,
" having been killed by one of the Discovery's
" boats. In their passage across, they had also deli-
" vered this account to each of the ships. Upon that
" information, the women, who were sitting upon
" the beach at their breakfasts, and conversing fami-
" liarly with our people in the boats, retired, and a
" confused murmur spread through the crowd. An
" old Priest came to Captain Cook, with a cocoa-nut
" in his hand, which he held out to him as a present,
" at the same time singing very loud. He was often
" desired to be silent, but in vain: he continued im-
" portunate and troublesome, and there was no such
" thing as getting rid of him or his noise: it seemed
" as if he meant to divert their attention from his
" countrymen, who were growing more tumultuous,
" and arming themselves in every quarter. Captain
" Cook, being at the same time surrounded by a
" great crowd, thought his situation rather hazard-
" ous: he therefore ordered the Lieutenant of Ma-
" rines to march his small party to the water-side,
" where the boats lay within a few yards of the
" shore: the Indians readily made a lane for them to
" pass, and did not offer to interrupt them. The
" distance they had to go might be about fifty or
" sixty yards; Captain Cook followed, having hold
" of Kariopoo's hand, who accompanied him very
" willingly: he was attended by his wife, two sons,
" and several Chiefs. The troublesome old Priest
" followed, making the same savage noise. Keowa,
" the younger son, went directly into the pinnace,
" expecting his father to follow; but just as he arrived
" at the water-side, his wife threw her arms about
" his neck, and, with the assistance of two Chiefs,
" forced him to sit down by the side of a double
" canoe. Captain Cook expostulated with them,
" but to no purpose: they would not suffer the King
" to proceed, telling him, that he would be put to
" death if he went on board the ship. Kariopoo,
" whose conduct seemed entirely resigned to the will
" of others, hung down his head, and appeared much
" distressed.

" While the King was in this situation, a Chief,
" well known to us, of the name of Coho, was ob-
" served lurking near, with an iron dagger, partly
" concealed under his cloak, seemingly, with the
" intention of stabbing Captain Cook, or the Lieu-
" tenant of Marines. The latter proposed to fire at
" him, but Captain Cook would not permit it.
" Coho closing upon them, obliged the officer to
" strike him with his piece, which made him retire.
" Another Indian laid hold of the Serjeant's musquet,
" and endeavoured to wrench it from him, but was
" prevented by the Lieutenant's making a blow at
" him. Captain Cook, seeing the tumult increase,
" and the Indians growing more daring and resolute,
" observed, that if he were to take the King off by
" force, he could not do it without sacrificing the
" lives of many of his people. He then paused a
" little, and was on the point of giving his orders to
" reembark, when a man threw a stone at him;
" which he returned with a discharge of small shot
" (with which one barrel of his double piece was
" loaded). The man, having a thick mat before
" him, received little or no hurt: he brandished his
" spear, and threatened to dart it at Captain Cook,
" who being still unwilling to take away his life,
" instead of firing with ball, knocked him down with
" his musquet. He expostulated strongly with the
" most forward of the crowd, upon their turbulent
" behaviour. He had given up all thoughts of get-
" ting the King on board, as it appeared impracti-
" cable; and his care was then only to act on the
" defensive, and to secure a safe embarkation for his
" small

of them, our Navigators were enabled to perform the last offices to their eminent and unfortunate Commander. The bones, having been put into a coffin, and the service being read

(11) I have been informed, on the best authority, that, in the opinion of Captain Philips, who commanded the Marines, and whose judgment must be of the greatest weight, it is extremely doubtful whether any thing could successfully have been done to preserve the life of Captain Cook, even if no mistake had been committed on the part of the launch.

(12) "I have heard one of the Gentlemen who were present say, that the first injury he received was from a dagger, as it is represented in the Voyage; but, from the account of many others, who were also eyewitnesses, I am confident, in saying, that that he was first struck with a club. I was afterwards confirmed in this, by Kaireekoa, the Priest, who particularly mentioned the name of the man who gave him the blow, as well as that of the Chief who afterwards struck him with the dagger. This is a point not worth disputing about: I mention it, as being solicitous to be accurate in this account, even in circumstances, of themselves, not very material."

"small party, which was closely pressed by a body of several thousand people. Keowa, the King's son, who was in the pinnace, being alarmed on hearing the first firing, was, at his own entreaty, put on shore again; for even at that time, Mr. Roberts, who commanded her, did not apprehend that Captain Cook's person was in any danger: otherwise he would have detained the Prince, which, no doubt, would have been a great check on the Indians. One man was observed, behind a double canoe, in the action of darting his spear at Captain Cook, who was forced to fire at him in his own defence, but happened to kill another close to him, equally forward in the tumult: the Serjeant observing that he had missed the man he aimed at, received orders to fire at him, which he did, and killed him. By this time, the impetuosity of the Indians was somewhat repressed; they fell back in a body, and seemed staggered: but being pushed on by those behind, they returned to the charge, and poured a volley of stones among the Marines, who, without waiting for orders, returned it with a general discharge of musquetry, which was instantly followed by a fire from the boats. At this Captain Cook was heard to express his astonishment: he waved his hand to the boats, called to them to cease firing, and to come nearer in to receive the Marines. Mr. Roberts immediately brought the pinnace as close to the shore as he could, without grounding, notwithstanding the showers of stones that fell among the people: but —, the Lieutenant, who commanded in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of Captain Cook, withdrew his boat farther off, at the moment that every thing seems to have depended upon the timely exertions of those in the boats. By his own account, he mistook the signal: but be that as it may, this circumstance appears to me, to have decided the fatal turn of the affair, and to have removed every chance which remained with Captain Cook, of escaping with his life. The business of saving the Marines out of the water, in consequence of that, fell altogether upon the pinnace; which thereby became so much crowded, that the crew were, in a great measure, prevented from using their fire-arms, or giving what assistance they otherwise might have done, to Captain Cook; so that he seems, at the most critical point of time, to have wanted the assistance of both boats, owing to the removal of the launch. For, notwithstanding that they kept up a fire on the crowd, from the situation to which they removed in that boat, the fatal confusion which ensued on her being withdrawn, to say the least of it, must have prevented the full effect, that the prompt co-operation of the two boats, according to Captain Cook's orders, must have had, towards the preservation of himself and his people (11). At that time, it was to the boats alone, that Captain Cook had to look for his safety; for, when the Marines had fired, the Indians rushed among them, and forced them into the water, where four of them were killed: their Lieutenant was wounded, but fortunately escaped, and was taken up by the pinnace. Captain Cook was then the only one remaining on the rock: he was observed making for the pinnace, holding his left hand against the back of his head, to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musquet under the other arm. An Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity; for he stopped once or twice, as if undetermined to proceed. At last he advanced upon him unawares, and with a large club (12), or common stake, gave him a blow on the back of the head, and then precipitately retreated. The stroke seemed to have stunned Captain Cook: he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musquet. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron

VOL. IV.

dagger. He then fell into a bite of water about knee deep, where others crowded upon him, and endeavoured to keep him under: but struggling very strongly with them, he got his head up, and casting his look towards the pinnace, seemed to solicit assistance. Though the boat was not above five or six yards distant from him, yet from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems, it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water: he was, however, able to get his head up once more, and being almost spent in the struggle, he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it, when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They hauled him up lifeless on the rocks, where they seemed to take a savage pleasure in using every barbarity to his dead body, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage.

"I need make no reflection on the great loss we suffered on this occasion, or attempt to describe what we felt. It is enough to say, that no man was ever more beloved or admired: and it is truly painful to reflect, that he seems to have fallen a sacrifice merely for want of being properly supported; a fate, singularly to be lamented, as having fallen to his lot, who had ever been conspicuous for his care of those under his command, and who seemed, to the last, to pay as much attention to their preservation, as to that of his own life. If any thing could have added to the shame and indignation universally felt on this occasion, it was to find, that his remains had been deserted, and left exposed on the beach, although they might have been brought off. It appears, from the information of four or five Midshipmen, who arrived on the spot at the conclusion of the fatal business, that the beach was then almost entirely deserted by the Indians, who at length had given way to the fire of the boats, and dispersed through the town: so that there seemed no great obstacle to prevent the recovery of Captain Cook's body; but the Lieutenant returned on board without making the attempt. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this painful subject, and to relate the complaints and censures that fell on the conduct of the Lieutenant. It will be sufficient to observe, that they were so loud as to oblige Captain Clerke publicly to notice them, and to take the depositions of his accusers down in writing. The Captain's bad state of health and approaching dissolution, it is supposed, induced him to destroy these papers a short time before his death. It is a painful task, to be obliged to notice circumstances, which seem to reflect upon the character of any man. A strict regard to truth, however, compelled me to the insertion of these facts, which I have offered merely as facts, without presuming to connect with them any comment of my own: esteeming it the part of a faithful historian, "to extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in malice." The fatal accident happened at eight o'clock in the morning, about an hour after Captain Cook landed. It did not seem, that the King, or his sons, were witnesses to it; but it is supposed that they withdrew in the midst of the tumult. The principal actors were the other Chiefs, many of them the King's relations and attendants: the man who stabbed him with the dagger was called Nooah. I happened to be the only one who collected his person, from having on a former occasion mentioned his name in the journal I kept. I was induced to take particular notice of him, more from his personal appearance than any other consideration, though he was of high rank, and a near relation of the King: he was stout and tall, with a fierce look and demeanour, and one who united in his figure the two qualities of strength

3 O

"and

read over to them, were committed to the deep, on the twenty-first, with the usual military honours. What were the feelings of the companies of both the ships, on this occasion, must be left to the world to conceive; for those who were present know, that it is not in the power of any pen to express them. A promotion of officers followed the decease of Captain Cook. Captain Clerke having succeeded of course to the command of the expedition, removed on board the Resolution. By him Mr. Gore was appointed Captain of the Discovery, and the rest of the Lieutenants obtained an addition of rank, in their proper order. Mr. Harvey, a Midshipman, who had been in the last as well as the present voyage, was promoted to the vacant Lieutenantcy (r).

(r) King's Voyage, *ubi supra*, p. 59—64. 68, 76, 77. 8c, 81.

Not long after Captain Cook's death, an event occurred in Europe, which had a particular relation to the voyage of our Navigator, and which was so honourable to himself, and to the great nation from whom it proceeded, that it is no small pleasure to me to be able to lay the transaction somewhat at large before my readers. What I refer to is, the letter which was issued, on the nineteenth of March, 1779, by Monsieur Sartine, Secretary of the Marine Department at Paris, and sent to all the Commanders of French ships. The rescript was as follows: "Captain Cook, who sailed from Plymouth in July, 1776, on board the Resolution, in company with the Discovery, Captain Clerke, in order to make some discoveries on the coasts, islands, and seas of Japan and California, being on the point of returning to Europe; and such discoveries being of general utility to all nations, it is the King's pleasure, that Captain Cook shall be treated as a Commander of a neutral and allied power, and that all Captains of armed vessels, &c. who may meet that famous Navigator, shall make him acquainted with the King's orders on this behalf, but, at the same time, let him know, that on his part he must refrain from all hostilities (s)." By the Marquis of Condorcet we are informed, that this measure originated in the liberal and enlightened mind of that excellent Citizen and Statesman, Monsieur Turgot. "When war," says the Marquis, "was declared between France and England, M. Turgot saw how honourable it would be to the French nation, that the vessel of Captain Cook should be treated with respect at sea. He composed a memorial, in which he proved, that honour, reason, and even interest, dictated this act of respect for humanity; and it was in consequence of this memorial, the author of which was unknown during his life, that an order was given not to treat as an enemy, the common benefactor of every European nation (t)." Whilst great praise is due to Monsieur Turgot, for having suggested the adoption of a measure which hath contributed so much to the reputation of the French Government, it must not be forgotten, that the first thought of such a plan of conduct was probably owing to Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Thus much, at least, is certain, that this eminent Philosopher, when Ambassador at Paris from the United States of America, preceded the Court of France in issuing a similar requisition; a copy of which cannot fail of being acceptable to the reader.

(s) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlix. p. 209.

(t) Condorcet's Life of M. Turgot, p. 263, English translation.

"and agility, in a greater degree, than ever I remembered to have seen before in any other man. His age might be about thirty, and by the white scurf on his skin, and his sore eyes, he appeared to be a hard drinker of Kava. He was a constant companion of the King, with whom I first saw him, when he paid a visit to Captain Clerke. The Chief who first struck Captain Cook with the club, was called Karimano, craha, but I did not know him by his name. These circumstances I learnt of honest Kaireekoa, the Priest; who added, that they were both held in great esteem on account of that action: neither of them came near us afterwards. When the boats left the shore, the Indians carried away the dead body of Captain Cook and those of the Marines, to the rising ground, at the back of the town, where we could plainly see them with our glasses from the ships. This most melancholy accident appears to have been altogether unexpected and unforeseen, as well on the part of the natives as ourselves. I never saw sufficient reason to induce me to believe, that there was any thing of design, or a pre-concerted plan on their side, or that they purposely fought to quarrel with us: thieving, which gave rise to the whole, they were equally guilty of, in our first and second visits. It was the cause of every misunderstanding that happened between us: their petty thefts were generally overlooked, but sometimes slightly punished: the boat, which they at last ventured to take away, was an object of no small magnitude to people in our situation, who could not possibly replace her, and therefore not slightly to be given up. We had no other chance of recovering her, but by getting the person of the King into our possession: on our attempting to do that, the natives became

"alarmed for his safety, and naturally opposed those whom they deemed his enemies. In the sudden conflict that ensued, we had the unspeakable misfortune of losing our excellent Commander, in the manner already related. It is in this light the affair has always appeared to me, as entirely accidental, and not in the least owing to any previous offence received, or jealousy of our second visit entertained by the natives. Pareah seems to have been the principal instrument in bringing about this fatal disaster. We learnt afterwards, that it was he who had employed some people to steal the boat: the King did not seem to be privy to it, or even apprized of what had happened, till Captain Cook landed. It was generally remarked, that at first, the Indians shewed great resolution in facing our fire-arms; but it was entirely owing to ignorance of their effect. They thought that their thick mats would defend them from a ball, as well as from a stone; but being soon convinced of their error, yet still at a loss to account how such execution was done among them, they had recourse to a stratagem, which, though it answered no other purpose, served to shew their ingenuity and quickness of invention. Observing the flashes of the muskets, they naturally concluded, that water would counteract their effect, and therefore, very sagaciously, dipped their mats, or armour, in the sea, just as they came on to face our people: but finding this last resource to fail them, they soon dispersed, and left the beach entirely clear. It was an object they never neglected, even at the greatest hazard, to carry off their slain; a custom, probably owing to the barbarity with which they treat the dead body of an enemy, and the trophies they make of his bones (13)."

(13) Samwell's Narrative of the Death of Capt. James Cook, p. 2—20.

"To

" To all Captains and Commanders of armed Ships, acting by Commission from the
 " Congress of the United States of America, now in war with Great Britain.

" Gentlemen,

" A ship having been fitted out from England before the commencement of this war;
 " to make discoveries of new countries in unknown seas, under the conduct of that most
 " celebrated Navigator and Discoverer, Captain Cook; an undertaking truly laudable in
 " itself, as the increase of geographical knowledge facilitates the communication between
 " distant nations, in the exchange of useful products and manufactures, and the extension
 " of arts, whereby the common enjoyments of human life are multiplied and augmented,
 " and science of other kinds encreased, to the benefit of mankind in general—This is
 " therefore most earnestly to recommend to every one of you, that in case the said ship,
 " which is now expected to be soon in the European seas on her return, should happen to
 " fall into your hands, you would not consider her as an enemy, nor suffer any plunder to
 " be made of the effects contained in her, nor obstruct her immediate return to England,
 " by detaining her, or sending her into any other part of Europe, or to America; but that
 " you would treat the said Captain Cook and his people with all civility and kindness,
 " affording them, as common friends to mankind, all the assistance in your power, which
 " they may happen to stand in need of. In so doing, you will not only gratify the gene-
 " rosity of your own dispositions, but there is no doubt of your obtaining the approbation
 " of the Congress, and your other American owners.

" I have the honour to be,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient,

" humble servant;

" B. FRANKLIN,

" At Passy, near Paris,
 " this 10th day of
 " March, 1779.

" Minister Plenipotentiary from the Congress
 " of the United States, at the Court of
 " France."

It is observable, that as Dr. Franklin acted on his own authority, he could only *earnestly recommend* to the Commanders of American armed vessels not to consider Captain Cook as an enemy; and it is somewhat remarkable, that he mentions no more than one ship; Captain Clerke not being noticed in the requisition. In the confidence which the Doctor expressed, with respect to the approbation of Congress, he happened to be mistaken. As the Members of that Assembly, at least with regard to the greater part of them, were not possessed of minds equally enlightened with that of their Ambassador, he was not supported by his Masters in this noble act of humanity, of love to science, and of liberal policy. The orders he had given were instantly reversed; and it was directed by Congress, that especial care should be taken to seize Captain Cook, if an opportunity of doing it occurred. All this proceeded from a false notion that it would be injurious to the United States for the English to obtain a knowledge of the opposite coast of America. The conduct of the Court of Spain was regulated by similar principles of jealousy. It was apprehended by that Court, that there was reason to be cautious of granting, too easily, an indulgence to Captain Cook; since it was not certain what mischiefs might ensue to the Spaniards from a northern passage to their American dominions. M. de Belluga, a Spanish Gentleman and officer, of a liberal and a philosophical turn of mind, and who was a Member of the Royal Society of London, endeavoured to prevail upon the Count of Florida Blanca, and M. d'Almodovar, to grant an order of protection to the Resolution and Discovery; and he flattered himself, that the Ministers of the King of Spain would be prevailed upon to prefer the cause of science to the partial views of interest: but the Spanish Government was not capable of rising to so enlarged and magnanimous a plan of policy. To the French nation alone, therefore, was reserved the honour of setting an example of wisdom and humanity, which, I trust, will not, hereafter, be so uncommon in the history of mankind [NN].

The progress of the voyage, after the decease of Captain Cook, doth not fall within the design of the present narrative. It must be sufficient, therefore, barely to mention, that the Sandwich Islands were farther explored, and a large addition of whatever relates to the knowledge of their productions and inhabitants obtained; that Kamtschatka was visited, and a very friendly intercourse maintained with the Russian officers of that country; that our Navigators experienced the most generous and hospitable treatment from Major Behm in particular, the Commander of the Garrison at Bolcharetsk; that they proceeded to the

[NN] *Be so uncommon in the history of mankind.*
 For the materials from which the preceding account is drawn up, I am indebted to Sir Joseph Banks. Sir Joseph and Mr. Stephens have been at considerable pains to obtain, by application to the Duke of Dorset, an authentic copy of the protection granted by the Court of France to Captain Cook's ships. If it should arrive in time, it will be inserted at the end of the article.

I shall here add, that as soon as Captain Gore was informed of the order of the French Government (an account of which he received at Canton) he thought himself bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in favour of our Navigators, to refrain from laying hold of any opportunities of capture that might chance to occur, and to preserve, throughout his voyage, the strictest neutrality (14).

(14) *King's Voyage*
 age, p. 448.

North,

North, in pursuit of the grand object of the expedition; that, having passed through Beer-
ing's Strait, and attained to something more than sixty-nine degrees and a half of northern
latitude, they found it absolutely impossible to penetrate through the ice, either on the side
of America or on the side of Asia; that every hope being excluded of accomplishing this
way a passage into the Atlantic Ocean, Captain Clerke was obliged to come to the determi-
nation of failing back to the southward; that on the twenty-second of August, (1779)
being less than a month after this determination, the Captain died of a consumption [OO];
that Captain Gore succeeded to the command of the Resolution, and Lieutenant King to
that of the Discovery; that a second visit was paid to Kamtschatka, by which a farther
acquaintance was gained with that part of the world; that no small accession of information
was acquired with respect to geographical science in general; that our Voyagers pursued
their course by the coasts of Japan and China; that they made some stay at Canton; that
thence they proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope; that they came to an anchor at Strom-
ness, on the twenty-second of May, 1780; that both ships arrived safe at the Nore, on the
fourth of October, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days; that,
during the whole of the undertaking, the Resolution lost only five men by sickness, three
of whom were in a precarious state of health at their departure from England, while the
Discovery did not lose a single man; and that the history of the voyage, from the time in
which Captain Cook's journal ends, was written with great ability by Mr. King. With
concern I add, that, by the decease of Captain King, who died at Nice, in Italy, in the
year 1784, this country sustained another loss of an able and scientific Commander and
Navigator, who hath left a memorial of his talents and services, which has honourably
united his name with that of the immortal Cook.

From the relation that has been given of Captain Cook's course of life, and of the im-
portant events in which he was engaged, my readers cannot be strangers to his general
character. This, therefore, might be left to be collected from his actions, which are the
best exhibitions of the great qualities of his mind. But, perhaps, were I not to endeavour
to afford a summary view of him in these respects, I might be thought to fail in that duty
which I owe to the public on the present occasion. It cannot, I think, be denied, that
genius belonged to Captain Cook in an eminent degree. By genius I do not here under-
stand imagination merely, or that power of culling the flowers of fancy which poetry de-
lights in; but an inventive mind; a mind full of resources; and which, by its own native
vigour, can suggest noble objects of pursuit, and the most effectual methods of attaining
them. This faculty was possessed by our Navigator in its full energy, as is evident from the
uncommon sagacity and penetration which he discovered in a vast variety of critical and
difficult situations. To genius Captain Cook added application, without which nothing
very valuable or permanent can be accomplished, even by the brightest capacity. For an
unremitting attention to whatever related to his profession, he was distinguished in early
life. In every affair that was undertaken by him, his assiduity was without interruption,
and without abatement. Wherever he came, he suffered nothing which was fit for a sea-
man to know or to practise, to pass unnoticed, or to escape his diligence. The genius and
application of Captain Cook were followed by a large extent of knowledge; a knowledge
which, beside a consummate acquaintance with navigation, comprehended a number of other
sciences. In this respect, the ardour of his mind rose above the disadvantages of a very
confined education. His progress in the different branches of the mathematics, and parti-
cularly in astronomy, became so eminent, that, at length, he was able to take the lead in
making the necessary observations of this kind, in the course of his voyages. He attained,
likewise, to such a degree of proficiency in general learning, and the art of composition, as
to be able to express himself with a manly clearness and propriety, and to become respect-
able as the narrator, as well as the performer, of great actions. Another thing, strikingly
conspicuous in Captain Cook, was the perseverance with which he pursued the noble ob-

[OO] *The Captain died of a consumption.* Captain
Clerke departed this life in the thirty-eighth year of
his age. He was brought up to the Navy from his
earliest youth, and had been in several actions during
the war which began in 1756. In the action between
the Bellona and the Courageux, being stationed in
the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the mast;
but was taken up without having received any hurt.
He was a Midshipman in the Dolphin, commanded
by Captain Byron, in her voyage round the world;
after which he served on the American station. In
1768, he made his second voyage round the world, in
the Endeavour, as Master's Mate; and, in consequence
of the death of Mr. Hicks, which happened on the
twenty-third of May, 1771, he returned home a Lieu-
tenant. His third circum-navigation of the globe
was in the Resolution, of which he was appointed the
Second Lieutenant; and he continued in that situation
till his return in 1775; soon after which he was pro-

moted to the rank of Master and Commander. In
what capacity he sailed with Captain Cook in this
last expedition, need not be added. The consump-
tion of which Captain Clerke died, had evidently
commenced before he left England, and he lingered
under it during the whole voyage. Though his very
gradual decay had long made him a melancholy
object to his friends, nevertheless, they derive some
consolation from the equanimity with which he bore
his disorder, from the constant flow of good spirits
maintained by him to his latest hour, and from his
submitting to his fate with cheerful resignation. It
was, however, impossible, says Mr. King, "not to
" feel a more than common degree of compassion for
" a person, whose life had been a continued scene of
" those difficulties and hardships, to which a seaman's
" occupation is subject, and under which he at last
" sunk (15)."

(15) King's Voy-
age, p. 280, 281.

jects to which his life was devoted. This, indeed, was a most distinguished feature in his character: in this he scarcely ever had an equal, and never a superior. Nothing could divert him from the points he aimed at; and he persisted in the prosecution of them, through difficulties and obstructions which would have deterred minds of very considerable strength and firmness. What enabled him to persevere in all his mighty undertakings, was the invincible fortitude of his spirit. Of this, instances without number occur in the accounts of his expeditions; two of which I shall take the liberty of recalling to the attention of my readers. The first is, the undaunted magnanimity with which he prosecuted his discoveries along the whole South-east coast of New Holland. Surrounded as he was with the greatest possible dangers, arising from the perpetual succession of rocks, shoals, and breakers, and having a ship that was almost shaken to pieces by repeated perils, his vigorous mind had a regard to nothing but what he thought was required of him by his duty to the public. It will not be easy to find, in the history of navigation, a parallel example of courageous exertion. The other circumstance I would refer to is the boldness with which, in his second voyage, after he left the Cape of Good Hope, he pushed forwards into unknown seas, and penetrated through innumerable mountains and Islands of ice, in the search of a southern continent. It was like launching into chaos: all was obscurity, all was darkness before him; and no event can be compared with it, excepting the sailing of Magelhaen's, from the straits which bear his name, into the pacific Ocean (*u*). The fortitude of Captain Cook, being founded upon reason, and not upon instinct, was not an impetuous valour, but accompanied with compleat self-possession. He was master of himself on every trying occasion, and seemed to be the more calm and collected, the greater was the exigence of the case. In the most perilous situations, when our Commander had given the proper directions concerning what was to be done while he went to rest, he could sleep, during the hours he had allotted to himself, with perfect composure and soundness (*w*). Nothing could be a surer indication of an elevated mind; of a mind that was entirely satisfied with itself, and with the measures it had taken. To all these great qualities, Captain Cook added the most amiable virtues. That it was impossible for any one to excel him in humanity, is apparent from his treatment of his men through all his voyages, and from his behaviour to the natives of the countries which were discovered by him. The health, the convenience, and, as far as it could be admitted, the enjoyment of the seamen, were the constant objects of his attention; and he was anxiously solicitous to meliorate the condition of the inhabitants of the several Islands and places which he visited. With regard to their thieveries, he candidly apologized for, and overlooked, many offences which others would have sharply punished; and when he was laid under an indispensable necessity of proceeding to any acts of severity, he never exerted them without feeling much reluctance and concern. In the private relations of life, Captain Cook was entitled to high commendation. He was excellent as a husband and a father, and sincere and steady in his friendships: and to this it may be added, that he possessed that general sobriety and virtue of character, which will always be found to constitute the best security and ornament of every other moral qualification. With the greatest benevolence and humanity of disposition, Captain Cook was occasionally subject to a hastiness of temper. This, which has been exaggerated by the few (and they are indeed few) who are unfavourable to his memory, is acknowledged by his friends. It is mentioned both by Captain King and Mr. Samwell, in their delineations of his character. Mr. Hayley, in one of his poems, calls him the *mild Cook*; but, perhaps, that is not the happiest epithet which could have been applied to him. Mere mildness can scarcely be considered as the most prominent and distinctive feature in the mind of a man, whose powers of understanding and of action were so strong and elevated, who had such immense difficulties to struggle with, and who must frequently have been called to the firmest exertions of authority and command. Lastly, Captain Cook was distinguished by a property which is almost universally the concomitant of truly great men, and that is, a simplicity of manners. In conversation he was unaffected and unassuming; rather backward in pushing discourse; but obliging and communicative in his answers to those who addressed him for the purposes of information. It was not possible that, in a mind constituted like his, such a paltry quality as vanity could find an existence.

In this imperfect delineation of Captain Cook's character, I have spoken of him in a manner which is fully justified by the whole course of his life and actions, and which is perfectly agreeable to the sentiments of those who were the most nearly connected with him in the habits of intimacy and friendship. The pictures which some of them have drawn of him, though they have already been presented to the public, cannot here with propriety be omitted, and, therefore, shall be given in note [PP].

From

[PP] *And, therefore, shall be given in note.* Captain King has expressed himself concerning him in the following terms. "The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most un-

VOL. IV.

"grateful food:—Great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. "The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious. His judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged

3 P

(*u*) For the two remarks above mentioned, I am indebted to Mr. Hodges.

(*w*) From the information of Capt. Dudenst.

From a survey of Captain Cook's character, it is natural to extend our reflections to the effects of the several expeditions in which he was engaged. These, indeed, must have largely

"engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed, as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane. Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment: even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons, who have experienced the fatigues of service, will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making a farther provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs (16)."

(16) King's Voyage, p. 48, 49.

"The character of Captain Cook," says Mr. Samwell, "will be best exemplified by the services he has performed, which are universally known, and have ranked his name above that of any navigator of ancient or of modern times. Nature had endowed him with a mind vigorous and comprehensive, which in his riper years he had cultivated with care and industry. His general knowledge was extensive and various: in that of his own profession he was unequalled. With a clear judgment, strong masculine sense, and the most determined resolution; with a genius peculiarly turned for enterprise, he pursued his object with unshaken perseverance:—vigilant and active in an eminent degree:—cool and intrepid among dangers; patient and firm under difficulties and distress; fertile in expedients; great and original in all his designs; active and resolved in carrying them into execution. These qualities rendered him the animating spirit of the expedition: in every situation, he stood unrivalled and alone; on him all eyes were turned; he was our leading-star, which at its setting, left us involved in darkness and despair. His constitution was strong, his mode of living temperate.—He was a modest man, and rather bashful; of an agreeable lively conversation, sensible and intelligent. In his temper he was somewhat hasty, but of a disposition the most friendly, benevolent, and humane. His person was above six feet high, and though a good-looking man, he was plain both in address and appearance. His head was small; his hair, which was a dark brown, he wore tied behind. His face was full of expression; his nose exceedingly well shaped; his eyes, which were small and of a brown cast, were quick and piercing; his eye-brows prominent, which gave his countenance altogether an air of austerity. He was beloved by his people, who looked up to him as to a father, and obeyed his commands with alacrity. The confidence we placed in him was unremitting; our admiration of his great talents unbounded; our esteem for his good qualities affectionate and sincere.—He was remarkably distinguished for the activity of his mind: it was that which enabled him to pay an unwearied attention to every object of the service. The strict economy he observed in the expenditure of the ship's stores, and the unremitting care he employed for the preservation of the health of his people, were the causes that enabled him to prosecute discoveries in remote parts of the globe, for such a length of time as had been deemed impracticable by former navigators. The method he discovered for preserving

"the health of seamen in long voyages, will transmit his name to posterity as the friend and benefactor of mankind: the success which attended it, afforded this truly great man more satisfaction, than the distinguished fame that attended his discoveries. England has been unanimous in her tribute of applause to his virtues, and all Europe has borne testimony to his merit. There is hardly a corner of the earth, however remote and savage, that will not long remember his benevolence and humanity. The grateful Indian, in time to come, pointing to the herds grazing his fertile plains, will relate to his children how the first stock of them was introduced into the country; and the name of Cook will be remembered among those benign spirits, whom they worship as the source of every good, and the fountain of every blessing (17)."

At the conclusion of the Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, is an eulogium on Captain Cook, drawn up by one of his own profession, of whom it is said, that he is not more distinguished by the elevation of rank, than by the dignity of private virtues (18). Though this excellent eulogium must be known to many, and perhaps to most, of my readers, they will not be displeased at having the greater part of it brought to their recollection. Captain James Cook "possessed," says the writer, "in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requisite for his profession and great undertakings; together with the amiable and worthy qualities of the best men. Cool and deliberate in judging: sagacious in determining: active in executing: steady and persevering in enterprising from vigilance and unremitting caution: unsubdued by labour, difficulties, and disappointments: fertile in expedients: never wanting presence of mind: always possessing himself, and the full use of a sound understanding. Mild, just, but exact in discipline: he was a father to his people, who were attached to him from affection, and obedient from confidence. His knowledge, his experience, his sagacity, rendered him so entirely master of his subject, that the greatest obstacles were surmounted, and the most dangerous navigations became easy, and almost safe under his direction. By his benevolent and unabating attention to the welfare of his ship's company, he discovered and introduced a system for the preservation of the health of seamen in long voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious. The death of this eminent and valuable man was a loss to mankind in general; and particularly to be deplored by every nation that respects useful accomplishments, that honours science, and loves the benevolent and amiable affections of the heart. It is still more to be deplored by this country, which may justly boast of having produced a man hitherto unequalled for nautical talents; and that sorrow is farther aggravated by the reflection, that his country was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a people, from whom, indeed, it might have been dreaded, but from whom it was not deserved. For, actuated always by the most attentive care and tender compassion for the savages in general, this excellent man was ever assiduously endeavouring, by kind treatment, to dissipate their fears, and court their friendship; overlooking their thefts and treacheries, and frequently interposing, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the sudden resentment of his own injured people.—Travel!er! contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate this great master in his profession; whose skill and labours have enlarged natural philosophy; have extended nautical science; and have disclosed the long concealed and admirable arrangements of the Almighty in the formation of this globe, and, at the same time, the arrogance of mortals, in presuming to account, by their speculations, for the laws by which he was pleased to create it. It is now discovered, beyond all doubt, that the same great

(17) Some particulars concerning the life and character of Captain Cook, annexed to the narrative of his death, p. 25—27.
(18) Introduction, p. lxxxv.

largely appeared in the general History of his Life; and they have finely been displayed by Dr. Douglas (now Bishop of Carlisle) in his admirable Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Under the conduct of so able a guide, I shall subjoin below a short view of the subject [22].

Consider-

"great Being who created the universe by his fiat, by the same ordained our earth to keep a just poise, without a corresponding southern continent, and it does so. *He stretches out the North over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.* Job xxvi. 7. If the arduous but exact researches of this extraordinary man have not discovered a new world, they have discovered seas un navigated and unknown before. They have made us acquainted with Islands, people, and productions of which we had no conception. And if he has not been so fortunate as Americus, to give his name to a continent, his pretensions to such a distinction remain unrivalled; and he will be revered while there remains a page of his own modest account of his voyages, and as long as mariners and geographers shall be instructed, by his new map of the southern hemisphere, to trace the various courses and discoveries he has made. If public services merit public acknowledgments; if the man who adorned and raised the fame of his country is deserving of honours, then CAPTAIN COOK deserves to have a monument raised to his memory, by a generous and grateful nation.

"Virtutis uberrimum alimentum est honos.

"Val. Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 6 (19)."

"The last character I shall here insert of Captain Cook, comes from a learned writer, who, in consequence of some disagreements which are understood to have subsisted between him and our great Navigator, cannot be suspected of intending to celebrate him in the language of flattery. Dr. Reinhold Forster, having given a short account of the Captain's death, adds as follows: "Thus fell this truly glorious and justly admired Navigator.—If we consider his extreme abilities, both natural and acquired, the firmness and constancy of his mind, his truly paternal care for the crew entrusted to him, the amiable manner with which he knew how to gain the friendship of all the savage and uncultivated nations, and even his conduct towards his friends and acquaintance, we must acknowledge him to have been one of the greatest men of his age, and that reason justifies the tear which friendship pays to his memory (20)." After such an encomium on Captain Cook, less regard may justly be paid to the deductions from it, which are added by Dr. Forster. What he hath said concerning the Captain's temper, seems to have received a tincture of exaggeration, from prejudice and personal animosity; and the Doctor's insinuation, that our Navigator obstructed Lieutenant Pickersgill's promotion, is, I have good reason to believe, wholly groundless. There is another error which must not pass unnoticed. Dr. Forster puts in his caveat against giving the name of Cook's Straits to the Straits between Asia and America, discovered by Beering. But if the Doctor had read the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, published by authority, he would have seen, that there was no design of robbing Beering of the honour to which he was entitled."

[22] I shall subjoin below a short view of the subject.]

"It must, however, be observed, that, with regard to the three principal consequences of our great Navigator's transactions, I have nothing farther to offer. These are, his having dispelled the illusion of a *Terra Australis Incognita*; his demonstration of the impracticability of a northern passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean; and his having established a sure method of preserving the health of seamen in the longest voyages, and through every variety of latitude and climate. Concerning each of these capital objects, I have already so fully spoken, that it is not in my power to add to the impression of their importance, and of Captain Cook's merits in relation to them, which, I trust, is firmly fixed on the mind of every reader.

It is justly remarked, by the Bishop of Carlisle, that one great advantage accruing to the world from

our late surveys of the globe, is, that they have confuted fanciful theories, too likely to give birth to impracticable undertakings. The ingenious reveries of speculative philosophers, which have so long amused the learned, and raised the most sanguine expectations, are now obliged to submit, perhaps with reluctance, to the sober dictates of truth and experience. Nor will it be only by discouraging future unprofitable searches, that the late voyages will be of service to mankind, but also by lessening the dangers and distresses formerly experienced in those seas which are within the actual line of commerce and navigation. From the British discoveries, many commercial improvements may be expected to arise in our own times: but, in future ages, such improvements may be extended to a degree, of which, at present, we have no conception. In the long chain of causes and effects, no one can tell how widely and beneficially the mutual intercourse of the various inhabitants of the earth may hereafter be carried on, in consequence of the means of facilitating it, which have been explored and pointed out by Captain Cook.

The interests of science, as well as of commerce, stand highly indebted to this illustrious Navigator. That a knowledge of the globe on which we live is a very desirable object, no one can call in question. This is an object which, while it is ardently pursued by the most enlightened philosophers, is sought for with avidity, even by those whose studies do not carry them beyond the lowest rudiments of learning. It need not be said what gratification Captain Cook hath provided for the world in this respect. Before the voyages of the present reign took place, nearly half the surface of the earth was hidden in obscurity and confusion. From the discoveries of our Navigator, geography has assumed a new face, and become, in a great measure, a new science; having attained to such a completion, as to leave only some less important parts of the globe to be explored by future voyagers (21).

Happily for the advancement of knowledge, acquisitions cannot be obtained in any one branch, without leading to acquisitions in other branches, of equal, and perhaps of superior consequence. New oceans cannot be traversed, or new countries visited, without presenting fresh objects of speculation and enquiry, and carrying the practice, as well as the theory, of philosophy, to a higher degree of perfection. *Nautical astronomy*, in particular, was in its infancy, when the late voyages were first undertaken; but, during the prosecution of them, and especially in Captain Cook's last expedition, even many of the petty officers could observe the distance of the moon from the sun, or a star, the most delicate of all observations, with sufficient accuracy. As for the officers of superior rank, they would have felt themselves ashamed to have it thought that they did not know how to observe for, and compute the time at sea; though such a thing had, a little before, scarcely been heard of among seamen. Nay, first-rate philosophers had doubted the possibility of doing it with the exactness that could be wished. It must, however, be remembered, that a large share of praise is due to the Board of Longitude, for the proficiency of the Gentlemen of the Navy in taking observations at sea. In consequence of the attention of that Board to this important object, liberal rewards have been given to Mathematicians for perfecting the lunar tables, and facilitating calculations; and artists have been amply encouraged in the construction of instruments and watches, much more accurately and completely adapted to the purposes of navigation than formerly existed.

It is needless to mention what a quantity of additional information has been gained with respect to the rise and times of the flowing of the tides; the direction and force of currents at sea; and the cause and nature of the polarity of the needle, and the theory

(21) Lieutenant Roberts's admirable chart will set this matter in the strongest light.

(19) Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. lxxxvi —lxxxix.

(20) Forster's History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North, p. 404.

Considering the eminent abilities displayed by Captain Cook, and the mighty actions performed by him, it is not surprizing that his memory should be held in the highest estimation,

of its variations. Natural knowledge has been increased by experiments on the effects of gravity in different and very distant places: and, from Captain Cook's having penetrated so far into the Southern Ocean, it is now ascertained, that the phenomenon, usually called the *Aurora Borealis*, is not peculiar to high northern latitudes, but belongs equally to all cold climates, whether they be North or South.

Amidst the different branches of science that have been promoted by the late expeditions, there is none, perhaps, that stands so highly indebted to them as the science of botany. At least twelve hundred new plants have been added to the known system; and large accessions of intelligence have accrued with regard to every other part of natural history. This point has already been evinced by the writings of Dr. Sparrman, of the two Forsters, father and son, and of Mr. Pennant; and this point will illustriously be manifested, when the great work of Sir Joseph Banks shall be accomplished, and given to the world.

It is not to the enlargement of natural knowledge only, that the effects arising from Captain Cook's voyages are to be confined. Another important object of study has been opened by them; and that is, the study of human nature, in situations various, interesting, and uncommon. The Islands visited in the centre of the South Pacific Ocean, and the principal scenes of the operations of our discoverers, were untrodden ground. As the inhabitants, so far as could be observed, had continued, from their original settlement, unmixed with any different tribe; as they had been left entirely to their own powers for every art of life, and to their own remote traditions for every political or religious custom or institution; as they were uninformed by science, and unimproved by education, they could not but afford many subjects of speculation to an inquisitive and philosophical mind. Hence may be collected a variety of important facts with respect to the state of man; with respect to his attainments and deficiencies, his virtues and vices, his employments and diversions, his feelings, manners, and customs, in a certain period of society. Even the curiosities which have been brought from the discovered Islands, and which enrich the British Museum, and the late Sir Ashton Lever's (now Mr. Parkinson's) repository, may be considered as a valuable acquisition to this country; as supplying no small fund of information and entertainment.

Few enquiries are more interesting than those which relate to the migrations of the various families or tribes that have peopled the earth. It was known in general, that the Asiatic nation, called Malaysians, possessed, in former times, much the greatest trade in the Indies; and that they frequented, with their merchants ships, not only all the coasts of Asia, but ventured over even to the coasts of Africa, and particularly to the great Island of Madagascar. But that, from Madagascar to the Marquesas and Easter Island, that is, nearly from the East side of Africa, till we approach towards the West side of America, a space including above half the circumference of the globe, the same nation of the Oriental world should have made their settlements, and founded colonies throughout almost every intermediate stage of this immense tract, in Islands at amazing distances from the mother continent, and the natives of which were ignorant of each other's existence; is an historical fact, that, before Captain Cook's voyages, could be but very imperfectly known. He it is who hath discovered a vast number of new spots of land, lurking in the bosom of the South Pacific Ocean, all the inhabitants of which display striking evidences of their having derived their descent from one common Asiatic original. Nor is this apparent solely from a similarity of customs and institutions, but is established by a proof which conveys irresistible conviction to the mind, and that is, the affinity of language. The collections that have been made of the words which are used in the widely-diffused Islands and countries that have lately been visited, cannot fail, in the hands of such men as

a Bryant and a Marsden, to throw much light on the origin of nations, and the peopling of the globe. From Mr. Marsden, in particular, who has devoted his attention, time, and study to this curious subject, the literary world may hereafter expect to be highly instructed and entertained.

There is another family of the earth, concerning which new information has been derived from the voyages of our British Navigators. That the Esquimaux, who had hitherto only been found seated on the coasts of Labradore and Hudson's Bay, agreed with the Greenlanders in every circumstance of customs, manners, and language, which could demonstrate an original identity of nation, had already been ascertained. But that the same tribe now actually inhabit the islands and coasts on the West side of North America, opposite Kamtscharka, was a discovery, the completion of which was reserved for Captain Cook. In his narrative it will be seen that these people have extended their migrations to Norton Sound, Oonalashka, and Prince William's Sound; that is, to nearly the distance of fifteen hundred leagues from their stations in Greenland, and the coast of Labradore. Nor does this curious fact rest merely on the evidence arising from similitude of manners: for it stands confirmed by a table of words, exhibiting such an affinity of language as will remove every doubt from the mind of the most scrupulous enquirer.

Other questions there are, of a very important nature, the solution of which will now be rendered more easy than hath heretofore been apprehended. From the full confirmation of the vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America, it can no longer be represented as ridiculous to believe, that the former furnished inhabitants to the latter. By the facts recently discovered, a credibility is added to the Mosaic account of the peopling of the earth (22). That account will, I doubt not, stand the test of the most learned and rigorous investigation. Indeed, I have long been convinced, after the closest meditation of which I am capable, that sound philosophy and genuine revelation never militate against each other. The rational friends of religion are so far from dreading the spirit of enquiry, that they wish for nothing more than a candid, calm, and impartial examination of the subject, according to all the lights which the improved reason and the enlarged science of man can afford.

One great effect of the voyages made under the conduct of Captain Cook, is their having excited a zeal for similar undertakings. Other Princes and other nations are engaged in expeditions of navigation and discovery. By order of the French Government, Mess. de la Peyrouse and de Langle sailed from Brest, in August, 1785, in the frigates *Boussole* and *Astroloobe*, on an enterprize, the express purpose of which was the improvement of geography, astronomy, natural history, and philosophy, and to collect accounts of customs and manners. For the more effectual prosecution of the design, several Gentlemen were appointed to go out upon the voyage, who were known to excel in different departments of science and literature. M. Dagelet went as Astronomer; M. de la Martiniere, P. Recevoir, and M. de la Fresne, as Naturalists; and the Chevalier de Lamanon, and M. Monges, Junior, as Natural Philosophers. The officers of the *Boussole* were men of the best information, and the firmest resolution; and the crew contained a number of artificers, in various kinds of mechanic employments. Marine watches, and other instruments, were provided; and M. Dagelet was particularly directed to make observations with M. Condamine's invariable pendulum, to determine the differences in gravity, and to ascertain the true proportion of the equatorial to the polar diameter of the earth. From some accounts which have already been received of these voyagers, it appears, that they have explored the coast of California; have adjusted the situation of more than fifty places, almost wholly unknown; and have visited Owhyhee, and the rest of the

(22) Introduction to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, p. lvi-lxxv.

estimation, both at home and abroad. Perhaps, indeed, greater honour is paid to his name abroad than at home. Foreigners, I am informed, look up to him with an admiration which is not equalled in this country. A remarkable proof of it occurs, in the eulogy of our Navigator, by Michael Angelo Gianetti, which was read at the Royal Florentine Academy, on the ninth of June, 1785, and published at Florence, in the same year^(x). Not having seen it, I am deprived of the power of doing justice to its merit. If I am not mistaken in my recollection, one of the French Literary Academies has proposed a prize for the best eulogium on Captain Cook; and there can be no doubt but that several candidates will appear upon the occasion, and exert the whole force of their eloquence on so interesting a subject. To the applauses of our Navigator, which have already been inserted, I cannot avoid adding, in a note, some poetical testimonies concerning him. The first I shall produce is from a foreign Poet, M. l'Abbé Lisle. This Gentleman has concluded his "Les Jardins" with an encomium on Captain Cook, of which the following lines are a translation [RR].

It

(23) Critical Review, for April, 1788, p. 299, 300.

the Sandwich Islands (23). When the expedition shall be completed, the whole result of it will doubtless be laid before the public.

Although Captain Cook has made such vast discoveries in the Northern Ocean, on and between the East of Asia and the West coast of America, Mr. Coxe has well shewn that there is still room for a farther investigation of that part of the world. Accordingly, the object has been taken up by the Empress of Russia, who has committed the conduct of the enterprize to Captain Billings, an Englishman in her Majesty's service. As Captain Billings was with Captain Cook in his last voyage, he may reasonably be supposed to be properly qualified for the business he has undertaken. The design, with the execution of which he is entrusted, appears to be very extensive and important; and, if it should be crowned with success, cannot fail of making considerable additions to the knowledge of geography and navigation (24).

(24) Coxe's Comparative View of the Russian Discoveries, p. 27-30.

There is one event at home, which has evidently resulted from Captain Cook's discoveries, and which, therefore, must not be omitted. What I refer to, is the settlement at Botany Bay. With the general policy of this measure the present narrative has not any concern. The plan, I doubt not, has been adopted with the best intentions, after the maturest deliberation, and perhaps with consummate wisdom. One evident advantage arising from it is, that it will effectually prevent a number of unhappy wretches from returning to their former scenes of temptation and guilt, and may open to them the means of industrious subsistence and moral reformation. If it be wisely and prudently begun and conducted, who can tell what beneficial consequences may spring from it, in future ages? Immortal Rome is said to have risen from the refuse of mankind.

While we are considering the advantages the discoverers have derived from the late navigations, a question naturally occurs, which is, What benefits have hence accrued to the discovered? It would be a source of the highest pleasure to be able to answer this question to complete satisfaction. But it must be acknowledged, that the subject is not wholly free from doubts and difficulties; and these doubts and difficulties might be enlarged upon, and exaggerated, by an imagination which is rather disposed to contemplate and represent the dark than the luminous aspect of human affairs. In one respect, Mr. Samwell has endeavoured to shew, that the natives of the lately-explored parts of the world, and especially so far as relates to the Sandwich Islands, were not injured by our people; and it was the constant solicitude and care of Captain Cook, that evil might not be communicated in any place to which he came. If he was universally successful, the good which, in various cases, he was instrumental in producing, will be reflected upon with the more peculiar satisfaction.

There is an essential difference between the voyages that have lately been undertaken, and many which have been carried on in former times. None of my readers can be ignorant of the horrid cruelties that were exercised by the conquerors of Mexico and Peru; cruelties which can never be remembered, without blushing for religion and human nature. But to undertake expeditions with a design of civilizing the

Vol. IV.

world, and meliorating its condition, is a noble object. The recesses of the globe were investigated by Captain Cook, not to enlarge private dominion, but to promote general knowledge; the new tribes of the earth were visited as friends; and an acquaintance with their existence was sought for, in order to bring them within the pale of the offices of humanity, and to relieve the wants of their imperfect state of society. Such were the benevolent views which our Navigator was commissioned by his Majesty to carry into execution; and there is reason to hope that they will not be wholly unsuccessful. From the long-continued intercourse with the natives of the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Islands, some rays of light must have darted on their infant minds. The uncommon objects which have been presented to their observation, and excited their surprise, will naturally tend to enlarge their stock of ideas, and to furnish new materials for the exercise of their reasonable faculties. It is no small addition to their comforts of life, and their immediate enjoyments, that will be derived from the introduction of our useful animals and vegetables; and if the only benefit they should ever receive from the visits of the English, should be the having obtained fresh means of subsistence, that must be considered as a great acquisition (25).

But may not our hopes be extended to still nobler objects? The connection which has been opened with these remote inhabitants of the world, is the first step toward their improvement; and consequences may flow from it, which are far beyond our present conceptions. Perhaps, our late voyages may be the means appointed by Providence, of spreading, in due time, the blessings of civilization among the numerous tribes of the South Pacific Ocean, and preparing them for holding an honourable rank among the nations of the earth. There cannot be a more laudable attempt, than that of endeavouring to rescue millions of our fellow-creatures from that state of humiliation in which they now exist (26). Nothing can more essentially contribute to the attainment of this great end, than a wise and rational introduction of the Christian Religion; an introduction of it in its genuine simplicity; as holding out the worship of one God, inculcating the purest morality, and promising eternal life as the reward of obedience. These are views of things which are adapted to general comprehension, and calculated to produce the noblest effects.

[RR] Of which the following lines are a translation.]

" Give, give me flowers: with garlands of renown
 " Those glorious exiles brows my hands shall crown,
 " Who nobly sought on distant coasts to find,
 " Or thither bore those arts that bless mankind:
 " Thee chief, brave Cook, o'er whom, to nature
 " dear,
 " With Britain Gallia drops the pitying tear.
 " To foreign climes and rude, where nought before
 " Announc'd our vessels but their cannons' roar,
 " Far other gifts thy better mind decreed,
 " The sheep, the heifer, and the stately steed;
 " The plough, and all thy country's arts; the crimes
 " Atoning thus of earlier savage times.
 " With peace each land thy bark was wont to hail,
 " And tears and blessings fill'd thy parting sail.

3 Q

" Receive

(x) Monthly Review, vol. lxxiii. p. 458.

(25) Introduction, *ubi supra*, p. lxxv, lxxvi.

(26) *Ibid.* p. lxxvii.

The Royal Society of London could not lose such a Member of their body as Captain Cook, without being anxious to honour his name and memory by a particular mark of respect.

"Receive a stranger's praise; nor, Britain, thou
 "Forbid these wreaths to grace thy Hero's brow,
 "Nor scorn the tribute of a foreign song,
 "For Virtue's sons to every land belong:
 "And shall the Gallic Muse disdain to pay
 "The meed of worth, when Lewis leads the way?
 "But what avail'd, that twice thou dar'dst to try
 "The frost-bound sea, and twice the burning sky,
 "That by winds, waves, and every realm rever'd,
 "Safe, only safe, thy sacred vessel steer'd;
 "That war for thee forgot its dire commands?
 "The world's great friend, ah! bleeds by savage
 "hands (27)."

(27) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. liii. p. 1044, 1045. The above translation was made by Mr. William Jackson of Canterbury. In the same Magazine, p. 1034, 1035, is the original French.

There have not been wanting elegant writers of our own country, who have embraced with pleasure the opportunities that have offered of paying a tribute of praise to Captain Cook. The ingenious and amiable Miss Hannah More has lately seized an occasion of celebrating the humane intentions of the Captain's discoveries.

"Had those advent'rous spirits who explore
 "Thro' ocean's trackless wastes, the far-sought
 "shore,
 "Whether of wealth insatiate, or of power,
 "Conquerors who waste, or ruffians who devour:
 "Had these possess'd, O Cook! thy gentle mind,
 "Thy love of arts, thy love of human-kind;
 "Had these pursu'd thy mild and lib'ral plan,
 "DISCOVERERS had not been a curse to man!
 "Then, blest'd Philanthropy! thy social hands
 "Had link'd dis sever'd worlds in brothers bands;
 "Careless, if colour, or if clime divide;
 "Then lov'd, and loving, man had liv'd, and
 "died (28)."

(29) SLAVERY, a Poem.

Soon after the account arrived in England of Captain Cook's decease, two poems were published in celebration of his memory; one of which was an Ode, by a Mr. Fitzgerald, of Gray's-Inn. But the first, both in order of time and of merit, was an Elegy, by Miss Seward, whose poetical talents have been displayed in many beautiful instances to the public. This Lady, in the beginning of her Poem, has admirably represented the principle of humanity by which the Captain was actuated in his undertakings.

"Ye, who ere while for Cook's illustrious brow
 "Pluck'd the green laurel, and the oaken bough,
 "Hung the gay garlands on the trophied oars,
 "And pour'd his fame along a thousand shores,
 "Strike the slow death-bell!—weave the sacred
 "verse,
 "And strew the cypress o'er his honor'd hearse;
 "In sad procession wander round the shrine,
 "And weep him mortal, whom ye sung divine!
 "Say first, what Pow'r inspir'd his dauntless
 "breast
 "With scorn of danger, and inglorious rest,
 "To quit imperial London's gorgeous plains,
 "Where, rob'd in thousand tints, bright Pleasure
 "reigns?—
 "What Pow'r inspir'd his dauntless breast to brave
 "The scorch'd Equator, and th' Antarctic wave?
 "Climes, where fierce suns in cloudless ardors
 "shine,
 "And pour the dazzling deluge round the Line;
 "The realms of frost, where icy mountains rise,
 "'Mid the pale summer of the polar skies?—
 "IT WAS HUMANITY!—on coasts unknown,
 "The shiv'ring natives of the frozen zone,
 "And the swart Indian, as he faintly strays
 "'Where Cancer reddens in the solar blaze,'
 "She bade him seek;—on each inclement shore
 "Plant the rich seeds of her exhaustless store;
 "Unite the savage hearts, and hostile hands,
 "In the firm compact of her gentle bands;
 "Strew her soft comforts o'er the barren plain,
 "Sing her sweet lays, and consecrate her fane.

"IT WAS HUMANITY!—O Nymph divine!
 "I see thy light step print the burning Line!
 "There thy bright eye the dubious pilot guides,
 "The faint oar struggling with the scalding tides.—
 "On as thou lead'st the bold, the glorious prow,
 "Mild, and more mild, the sloping sun-beams
 "glow;
 "Now weak and pale the lessen'd lustres play,
 "As round th' horizon rolls the timid day;
 "Barb'd with the fleeted snow, the driving hail,
 "Rush the fierce arrows of the polar gale;
 "And thro' the dim, unvaried, ling'ring hours,
 "Wide o'er the waves incumbent horror low'rs."

Captain Cook's endeavours to serve the inhabitants of New Zealand, by the vegetables and animals he left among them, are thus described.

"To these the Hero leads his living store,
 "And pours new wonders on th' uncultur'd shore;
 "The silky fleece, fair fruit, and golden grain;
 "And future herds and harvests bless the plain.
 "O'er the green foil his Kids exulting play,
 "And sounds his clarion loud the Bird of day;
 "The downy Goose her ruffled bosom laves,
 "Trims her white wing, and wantons in the
 "waves;
 "Stern moves the Bull along th' affrighted shores,
 "And countless nations tremble as he roars."

I shall only add the pathetic and animated conclusion of this fine Poem.

"But ah!—aloft on Albion's rocky steep,
 "That frowns incumbent o'er the boiling deep,
 "Solicitous, and sad, a softer form
 "Eyes the lone flood, and deprecates the storm.—
 "Ill-fated matron!—for, alas! in vain
 "Thy eager glances wander o'er the main!—
 "'Tis the vex'd billows, that insurgent rave,
 "Their white foam silvers yonder distant wave,
 "'Tis not his sails!—thy husband comes no more!
 "His bones now whiten an accursed shore!—
 "Retire,—for hark! the sea-gull shrieking soars,
 "The lurid atmosphere portentous low'rs;
 "Night's fullen spirit groans in ev'ry gale,
 "And o'er the waters draws the darkling veil,
 "Sighs in thy hair, and chills thy throbbing
 "breast—
 "Go, wretched mourner!—weep thy griefs to rest!
 "Yet, tho' through life is lost each fond delight,
 "Tho' set thy earthly sun in dreary night,
 "Oh! raise thy thoughts to yonder starry plain,
 "And own thy sorrow selfish, weak, and vain:
 "Since, while Britannia, to his virtues just,
 "Twines the bright wreath, and rears th' immortal
 "bust;
 "While on each wind of heav'n his fame shall rise,
 "In endless incense to the smiling skies;
 "THE ATTENDANT POWER, that bade his sails
 "expand,
 "And waft her blessings to each barren land,
 "Now raptur'd bears him to th' immortal plains,
 "Where Mercy hails him with congenial strains;
 "Where soars, on Joy's white plume, his spirit free,
 "And angels choir him, while he waits for THEE.

Captain Cook's discoveries, among other effects, have opened new scenes for a poetical fancy to range in, and presented new images to the selection of genius and taste. The Morais, in particular, of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, afford a fine subject for the exercise of a plaintive muse. Such a muse hath seized upon the subject; and, at the same time, has added another wreath to the memory of our Navigator. I refer to a Lady, who hath already, in many passages of her "Peru," in her "Ode on the Peace," and, above all, in her "Irregular Fragment," amply proved to the world, that she possesses not only the talent of elegant and harmonious versification,

respect. Accordingly, it was resolved to do this by a medal; and a voluntary subscription was opened for the purpose. To such of the Fellows of the Society as subscribed twenty guineas, a gold medal was appropriated: silver medals were assigned to those who contributed a smaller sum; and to each of the other Members one in bronze was given. The Subscribers of twenty guineas were Sir Joseph Banks, President; the Prince of Anspach, the Duke of Montagu, Lord Mulgrave, and Messieurs Cavendish, Peachey, Perrin, Poli, and Shuttleworth. Many designs, as might be expected, were proposed upon the occasion. The medal which was actually struck, contains, on one side, the head of Captain Cook in profile, and round it, *JAC. COOK OCEANI INVESTIGATOR ACERRIMUS*; and on the exergue, *REG. SOC. LOND. SOCIO SUO*. On the reverse is a representation of Britannia, holding a globe. Round her is inscribed, *NIL INTENTATUM NOSTRI LIQUERE*; and on the exergue, *AUSPICIIS GEORGII III.* Of the gold medals which were struck on this occasion, one was presented to his Majesty, another to the Queen, and a third to the Prince of Wales. Two were sent abroad: the first to the French King, on account of the protection he had granted to the ships under the command of Captain Cook; and a second to the Empress of Russia, in whose dominions the same ships had been received and treated with every degree of friendship and kindness. Both these presents were highly acceptable to the great personages to whom they were transmitted. The French King expressed his satisfaction in a very handsome letter to the Royal Society, signed by himself, and underwritten by the Marquis de Vergennes; and the Empress of Russia commissioned Count Osterman to signify to Mr. Fitzherbert the sense she entertained of the value of the present, and that she had caused it to be forthwith deposited in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. As a farther testimony of the pleasure she derived from it, the Empress presented to the Royal Society a large and beautiful gold medal, containing on one side the effigies of herself, and on the reverse a representation of the statue of Peter the Great. After the general assignment of the medals, (which took place in the spring of the year 1784) there being a surplus of money still remaining, the President and Council resolved that an additional number should be struck off in gold, to be disposed of as presents to Mrs. Cook, the Earl of Sandwich, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Cooke, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Mr. Planta. About the same time, it was agreed, that Mr. Aubert should be allowed to have a gold medal of Captain Cook, on his paying for the gold, and the expence of striking it; in consideration of his intention to present it to the King of Poland (y).

(y) From the books of the Royal Society, and papers in the possession of Sir Joseph Banks.

During the two visits of the Resolution and Discovery at Kamtschatka, it was from Colonel Behm, the Commandant of that Province, that the ships, and the officers and men belonging to them, had received every kind of assistance which it was in his power to bestow. His liberal and hospitable behaviour to the English navigators, is related at large in Captain King's Voyage. Such was the sense entertained of it by the Lords of the Admiralty, that they determined to make a present to the Colonel of a magnificent piece of plate, with an inscription expressive of his humane and generous disposition and conduct. The elegant pen of Dr. Cooke was employed in drawing up the inscription, which, after it had been subjected to the opinion and correction of some Gentlemen of the first eminence in classical taste, was as follows:

cation, but the spirit of true poetry. The conclusion of the Poem I refer to is as follows.

" Great Cook! Ambition's lofty flame
So oft directed to destroy,
Led *Thee* to circle with thy name,
The Smile of love, and hope, and joy!
Those fires that lend the dang'rous blaze
The devious comet trails afar,
Might form the pure, benignant rays
That gild the morning's gentle star—
Sure, where the Hero's ashes rest,
The nations late emerg'd from night
Still haste—with love's unwearied care:
That spot in lavish flowers is drest,
And fancy's dear, inventive rite
Still paid with fond observance there!

" Ah no!—around his fatal grave
No lavish flowers were ever strew'd,
No votive gifts were ever laid—
His blood a savage shore bedew'd!
His mangled limbs, one hasty prayer,
One pious tear by friendship paid,
Were cast upon the raging wave!
Deep in the wild abyss he lies,
Far from the cherish'd scene of home;
Far, far from Her whose faithful sighs

A husband's trackless course pursue;
Whose tender fancy loves to roam
With *Him* o'er lands and oceans new;
And gilds with Hope's deluding form
The gloomy path-way of the storm.

" Yet, Cook! immortal wreaths are thine!—
While Albion's grateful toil shall raise
The marble tomb, the trophied bust,
For ages faithful to its trust;
While, eager to record thy praise,
She bids the Muse of History twine
The chaplet of undying fame,
And tell each polish'd land thy worth;
The ruder natives of the earth
Shall oft repeat thy honour'd name;
While infants catch the frequent sound,
And learn to lisp the oral tale;
Whose fond remembrance shall prevail
Till Time has reach'd his destin'd bound."

It is somewhat remarkable, that female poets have hitherto been the chief celebrators of Captain Cook in this country. Perhaps a subject which would furnish materials for as rich a production as Camoen's *Lusiad*, and which would adorn the pen of a Hayley or a Cowper, may hereafter call forth the genius of some poet of the stronger sex.

" VIRO

“ VIRO EGREGIO MAGNO DE BEHM; qui Imperatricis Augustissimæ Catherinæ auspiciis,
 “ summâque animi benignitate, sæva, quibus præerat, Kamtschatkæ littora, navibus naut-
 “ isque Britannicis, hospita præbuit: eosque, in terminis, si qui essent Imperio Russico,
 “ frustrâ, explorandis, mala multa perpeffos, iteratâ vice excepit, refecit, recreavit, et
 “ commeatû omni cumulatè auctos dimisit; REI NAVALIS BRITANNICÆ SEPTEMVIRI in
 “ aliquam benevolentia tam insignis memoriam, amicissimo, gratissimoque animo, suo,
 “ patriæque nomine, D. D. D.

“ M.DCC.LXXXI (z).”

(z) From papers
 in the possession
 of Sir Joseph
 Banks.

(a) From the in-
 formation of Sir
 Hugh Palliser.

Sir Hugh Palliser, who, through life, manifested an invariable regard and friendship for Captain Cook, has displayed a signal instance, since the Captain's decease, of the affection and esteem in which he holds his memory. At his estate in Buckinghamshire, Sir Hugh hath constructed a small building, on which he has erected a pillar, containing the fine character of our great Navigator that is given at the end of the Introduction to the last Voyage, and the principal part of which has been inserted in the present work. This character was drawn up by a most respectable Gentleman, who has long been at the head of the naval profession; the honourable Admiral Forbes, Admiral of the Fleet, and General of Marines; to whom Captain Cook was only known by his eminent merit and his extraordinary actions (a).

Amidst the numerous testimonies of regard that have been paid to Captain Cook's merits and memory, the important object of providing for his family hath not been forgotten. Soon after the intelligence arrived of his unfortunate decease, this matter was taken up by the Lords of the Admiralty, with a zeal and an effect, which the following authentic document will fully display.

“ At the Court at St. James's, the
 “ (L. S.) 2d of February, 1780;

“ Present,

“ The KING's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

“ Whereas there was this day read, at the Board, a memorial from the Right Honourable
 “ the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated the 27th of last month, in the words
 “ following; viz.

“ Having received an authentic account of the death of that great Navigator, Captain
 “ James Cook, who has had the honour of being employed by Your Majesty in three
 “ different voyages, for the discovery of unknown countries, in the most distant parts
 “ of the globe; we think it our duty humbly to represent to Your Majesty, that this
 “ meritorious officer, after having received from Your Majesty's gracious benevolence,
 “ as a reward for his public services in two successful circumnavigations, a comfortable
 “ and honourable retreat, where he might have lived many years to benefit his family,
 “ he voluntarily relinquished that ease and emolument to undertake another of these
 “ voyages of discovery, in which the life of a Commander, who does his duty, must
 “ always be particularly exposed, and in which, in the execution of that duty, he fell,
 “ leaving his family, whom his public spirit had led him to abandon, as a legacy to his
 “ country. We do therefore humbly propose, that Your Majesty will be graciously
 “ pleased to order a pension of two hundred pounds a year to be settled on the widow,
 “ and twenty-five pounds a year upon each of the three sons of the said Captain James
 “ Cook, and that the same be placed on the ordinary estimate of the navy.

“ His Majesty, taking the said memorial into His Royal consideration, was pleased,
 “ with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, as it is hereby ordered, that a pension
 “ of two hundred pounds a year be settled on the widow, and twenty-five pounds a year
 “ upon each of the three sons of the said Captain James Cook, and that the same be placed
 “ on the ordinary estimate of His Majesty's navy; and the Lords Commissioners of the
 “ Admiralty are to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

“ W. FAWKENER.”

(b) From the in-
 formation of Sir
 Joseph Banks.

The preceding memorial to the King was signed by the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Buller, the Earl of Lisburne, Mr. Penton, Lord Mulgrave, and Mr. Mann; and the several officers of the Board of Admiralty seconded the ardour of their superiors, by the speed and generosity with which his Majesty's royal grant to Captain Cook's widow and children passed through the usual forms (b). Another occasion was afterwards seized of conferring a substantial benefit on the Captain's family. The charts and plates, belonging to the Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, were provided at the expence of Government; the consequence of which was, that a large profit accrued from the sale of the publication. Of this profit, half was consigned, in trust, to Sir Hugh Palliser and Mr. Stephens, to be applied to the use of Mrs. Cook,

Cook, during her natural life, and afterwards to be divided between her children [SS]. Honour, as well as emolument, hath graciously been conferred by his Majesty upon the descendants of Captain Cook. On the third of September, 1785, a coat of arms was granted to the family, of which a description will be given below [TT]. Our Navigator had six children; James, Nathaniel, Elizabeth, Joseph, George, and Hugh. Of these, Joseph and George died soon after their birth, and Elizabeth in the fifth year of her age. James, the eldest son, who was born at St. Paul's, Shadwell, on the thirteenth of October, 1763, is now a Lieutenant in Majesty's navy. In a letter, written by Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, in 1785, from Granada, to Mrs. Cook, he is spoken of in terms of high approbation. Nathaniel, who was born on the fourteenth of December, 1764, at Mile-end Old Town, was brought up, likewise, in the naval service, and was unfortunately lost on board his Majesty's ship Thunderer, Commodore Walsingham, in the hurricane which happened at Jamaica on the third of October, 1780. He is said to have been a most promising youth. Hugh, the youngest, was born on the twenty-second of May, 1776; and was so called after the name of his father's great friend, Sir Hugh Palliser (c).

(c) From the information of Mrs. Cook.

It hath often been mentioned, in terms of no small regret, that a monument hath not yet been erected to the memory of Captain Cook, in Westminster Abbey. The wish and the hope of such a monument are hinted at in the close of the Bishop of Carlisle's Introduction, so often referred to; and the same sentiment is expressed by the author of the Eulogium, at the end of that Introduction. Sir Hugh Palliser has also spoken to the like purpose, in a communication I received from him. It would certainly redound to the honour of the nation, to order a magnificent memorial of the abilities and services of our illustrious Navigator; on which account, a tribute of that kind may be regarded as a desirable thing. But a monument in Westminster Abbey would be of little consequence to the reputation of Captain Cook. His fame stands upon a wider base, and will survive the comparatively perishing materials of brass, or stone, or marble. The name of Cook will be held in honour, and recited with applause, so long as the records of human events shall continue in the earth: nor is it possible to say, what may be the influence and rewards, which, in other worlds, shall be found to attend upon eminent examples of wisdom and of virtue.] K.

[SS] And afterwards to be divided between her children.] A fourth was allotted to Captain King, and the remaining fourth to Mr. Bligh, and to the representatives of Captain Clerke. Mr. Anderson's representatives had previously been gratified.

[TT] Of which a description will be given below.] Azure, between the two polar stars Or, a sphere on the plane of the meridian, north pole elevated, circles of latitude for every ten degrees, and of longitude for every fifteen, shewing the Pacific Ocean between sixty

and two hundred and forty West, bounded on one side by America, on the other by Asia and New Holland, in memory of the discoveries made by him in that ocean, so very far beyond all former navigators. His track thereon is marked with red lines. And for crest, on a wreath of the colours, is an arm imbowed, vested in the uniform of a Captain of the Royal Navy. In the hand is the union jack, on a staff Proper. The arm is encircled by a wreath of palm and laurel.

COOPER, or COUPER (THOMAS), a learned Bishop in the XVIth Century, was born in the city of Oxford, about the year 1517, but not of such mean parentage as is insinuated by Anthony Wood [A]. He was educated in grammar-learning in the school joining to St. Mary Magdalen-College, of which he was a Chorister (a). Making great proficiency there beyond his years, he was elected first Demi, and then in 1539 Probationer, and, the year following, perpetual Fellow of that College (b). On the 7th of July 1539, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c), and that of Master, June 6, 1543 (d). About which time, he became Master of the School wherein he had received his education (e). In 1546, he left his Fellowship, being then probably married, and applied himself to the studies of polite Literature and Physic (f). When Queen Mary came to the Crown, he being inclined to the Protestant Religion, took the degree of Bachelor of Physic, in 1556 (g), and practised in that faculty at Oxford (h). But, after that Queen's death, he returned to his former study of Divinity, and became a frequent and celebrated Preacher (i). March 18, 1566-7, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor, and Doctor in Divinity (k); and, about that time, was made Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford (l); and for several years after, was Vice-Chancellor of the University (m). In 1569, he was made Dean of Gloucester (n); and February 24, 1570, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln (o). The 27th of July 1572, he preached a sermon at St. Paul's-Cross, in vindication of the Church of England, and its Liturgy; to which an answer was sent him by a dissatisfied person (p); which answer the industrious Mr. Strype hath printed at length, in his Annals of the Reformation (q). A few years after, he was desired to visit King's College in Cambridge [B], but refused to do it, unless he had a special commission for that

(d) Ibid. col. 67. & Hist. & Antiq. ubi supra.
(e) Hist. & Antiq. ibid. & Ath. ubi supra.
See also Balei Scriptor. Illust. Majoris Bryt. Cent. IX. No. 74. p. 755, edit. Oporini.
(g) Fassi, vol. i. col. 83.
(i) Ibid.
(k) Fassi, ubi supra, col. 97.
(n) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 158. 263.
(o) Godwin. de Praefulibus, edit. 1616, 4to. p. 362; and Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 242. 265. 712.
(p) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 193, edit. 1725.
(q) Ibid. &c.

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 265.

(b) Ibid. & Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 196.

(c) Idem, Fassi, vol. i. col. 62.

(f) Ath. ubi supra.

(h) Ath. ubi supra.

(l) Ath. ubi supra; et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. iii. p. 255.

(m) See Fassi, vol. i. col. 100, 101. 103, 104.

[A] But not of such mean parentage as is insinuated by A. Wood.] He was the son of John Couper, fourth son of Thomas Couper of the city of Chester, Esq; by Isabel daughter and sole heiress to Richard Goodman, Esq; Mayor of that city, A. D. 1497: which John was sent to Oxford, and entered a Commoner of St. Mary-

VOL. IV.

Magdalen-Hall; but, before he took a degree, unhappily married so much to the displeasure of his parents, that they never took notice of him afterwards, and he lived in Oxford very obscurely all the rest of his days (1).

[B] He was desired to visit King's College in Cambridge.] Of which, by Statute, he was the legal Visitor;

(1) From the information of William Cowper, Esq.

(*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 419.

that purpose (*r*). Upon occasion of the public exercises (known by the name of *Prophefings*) being continued in several parts of his diocese, particularly in Hertfordshire [*C*], the Queen sent him a letter, in 1577, to put a stop to those exercises (*s*). There was a design, in 1579, to remove him to Norwich, on the intended translation of Bishop Scambler to Ely; but, for certain reasons [*D*], Dr. Cooper declined this offer (*t*). He did a good service to his diocese in 1582, by getting a commission superseded, that had been obtained under pretence of discovering concealed lands and estates granted by the Crown; but which, in reality, was very perplexing and oppressive both to the Clergy and Laity (*u*). His distinguished merit and abilities having recommended him to his Sovereign's favour and esteem, he was translated in 1584, to the rich Bishopric of Winchester (*w*); where, as he had done before in every other station, he became much noted for his learning and sanctity of life (*x*). Soon after his consecration, he went and resided in his new diocese; and because it abounded with great numbers of Recusants, he thought it necessary to take an Ecclesiastical Commission along with him (*y*). Moreover, being apprehensive of great danger from them, and of an invasion that way, he petitioned the Privy-Council, to suppress the boldness of the Papists in the county of Southampton [*E*]. Not long after, he was accused of Covetousness (*z*), of which he cleared himself [*F*]. Upon the discovery of William Parry's treason, he put out 'an order of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the preservation of the Queen's life and safety; to be used in the Diocese of Winchester (*a*).' In the year 1588, he preached at St. Paul's-Cross, on the 17th of November, being a day of public thanksgiving, as well for the Queen's accession to the throne, as for the signal victory obtained over the Spanish Armada (*b*). This reverend and holy Bishop, as Mr. Wood styles him (*c*), died at Winchester, April 29, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there, on the south-side of the choir, a little above the Bishop's seat. Over his grave was soon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inscription in prose and verse [*G*]. The

(s) *Ibid.* p. 486, 487; and Appendix to B. ii. No. 9. p. 111.
(t) *Ibid.* Annals, p. 590, 591.

(u) *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 112.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 175. *Godwin. de Præfulibus*, &c. p. 301.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 260, 261.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 526. *Stow's Annals*, edit. 1631, p. 751.

(x) Wood, *Arb. ubi supra*.

(y) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 239, 240.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 175, 176.

(c) *Athenæ*, ubi supra, col. 266.

several

Visitors; but as his visitations there were but from three years to three years, and it was not yet three years since his last visitation, he thought he could not take upon himself to visit them, without an extraordinary commission (2).

(2) Strype's Annals, ubi supra, p. 419.

[*C*] *The Queen sent him a Letter in 1577, to put a stop to the Prophefings, that were continued in his Diocese.* These Prophefings, otherwise named Exercises, were grounded upon 1 Corinth. XIV. 31. *Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were set on foot in several parts of the kingdom about the year 1571 (3); and consisted of conferences among the Clergy, for the better improving of themselves, and one another, in the knowledge of Scripture and Divinity. For that purpose, certain Ministers within a convenient compass in each Diocese, assembled together in a parish church, commonly in some market-town; and there, one after another, gave their judgments briefly of the sense of some place or places of Scripture, propounded before to be discussed, either by the Bishop, or the Archdeacon's order, or some other grave person: and then it was determined by a Moderator (4). The chief members of the assemblies were Moderators, Writers, and Speakers. The Moderators, who were generally four in number, pitched upon the parts of Scripture that were to be handled. The Writers collected several observations upon every verse of those parts of Scripture, and so proceeded upon the whole. The Speakers discoursed, or enlarged, upon such portions as were severally assigned to them. Their method of proceeding was thus: They began and ended with prayer: then the first Moderator proposed and read the first verse of the text, or chapter that was to be handled. Upon which verse the Writers read in order the observations they had gathered. Then the Speaker assigned to that part of the text, enlarged upon the same. After him the rest of the Speakers had liberty to give any brief notes upon that verse. In the mean time, the Moderator's care, was to take notice of any error, negligence, or ignorance in any of the Writers and Speakers, and to correct and reform them. After which he farther added such observations as he had gathered upon that verse. And after him the rest of the Moderators, in due order, did the like, till as much was said upon that verse, as was thought convenient. All the time, both the Speakers and Writers, took notice in writing, of the observations given by any of the Speakers or Moderators. And so all the Moderators proceeded with the whole text, or chapter, verse by verse (5). These Prophefings, or Exercises, were put

(3) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 90, &c.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 219.

(5) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 90, &c. 318, 319, &c. vol. iii. p. 328, 329.

down in the Diocese of Norwich in 1574 (6), but continued in others, particularly in the North, for above ten years after (7). However, they were almost generally suppressed in 1577 (8), on account of their being thought to be Seminaries of Puritanism.

(6) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 460.

(7) *Idem*. Annals, vol. iii. p. 328.

(8) See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, 2d edit. 1732, vol. i. p. 352, &c.

[*D*] *For certain reasons Dr. Cooper declined the offer of the See of Norwich.* His reasons were; that the greatness of the charge, and number of churches, would be either little or nothing diminished: the troublesomeness, and danger, of the Diocese far greater, than where he was: the credit of the place nothing more: the benefit of the living no whit amended: and the charges of the alteration very great (9).

(9) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 590, 591.

[*E*] *He petitioned the Council to suppress the boldness of the Papists, &c.* Among other methods for it, he proposed, 'That an hundred, or two, of obstinate recusants, lusty men, well able to labour, might by some convenient commission be taken up and sent into Flanders as pioneers and labourers. Whereby the country should be disburthened of a company of dangerous people. And the rest that remained be put in some fear (10).'

(10) *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 240.

[*F*] *He was accused of Covetousness.* Of which he cleared himself, by producing a schedule of the value of his bishoprick, and the charges payable out of it. By that it appeared, that the clear value, or rent of assize, of that bishoprick amounted then to two thousand seven hundred pounds ten shillings and sixpence, yearly; and the charges issuing out of it, to two thousand three hundred and seventy-seven pounds: so remained clear to him, only three hundred and ninety eight pounds nine shillings. From the same schedule it moreover appears, that some of the Courtiers were quartered upon this bishopric. For there is one article in it thus, 'My Lord of Leicester's fee 100l.' And another, 'Paid yearly in annuities, granted by Bishop Gardiner and Bishop White; wherein Sir Fr. Walsingham's fee is contained—218l. 6s. 8d (11).'

(11) Strype's Annals, Appendix to vol. iii. B. i. No. [xxx] p. 58.

[*G*] *With a Latin inscription in prose and verse.* Which is as follows. Round the stone. *Hic jacet Thomas Cooper olim Lincolnensis, nuper Wintoniensis Episcopus munificentissimus, doctissimus, vigilantissimus Præsul; qui religiosissime in domino obiit Aprilis 29. an. dom. 1594.* In the middle of the stone are these verses.

Thesaurus, Chronicorum, Cooperi cætera scripta
Dum remanent, celebri Cooperi fama manebit.
Oxonienfis erat, Glocestrensisque Decanus,
Continuus primæ Vicecancellarius Urbis,*

(*) It is so printed in Wood, but it should be *Chronicon*, in order to make up both the sense and the Tum verse.

several books he published, were these: I. 'The Epitome of Chronicles from the seventeenth year after Christ, to 1540, and thence afterwards to the year 1560.' Lond. 1560, 4to. The two first parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third as far as the seventeenth year after Christ, were composed by Thomas Lanquet, a young man of twenty-four years of age. But he being cut off by untimely death, Mr. Cooper finished the work; and his part, which is the third, contains almost thrice as much as Lanquet's two parts, being chiefly taken from Achilles Pyrrinius. When it was finished, a third person published it surreptitiously, and in a very faulty manner, in 1559, under the title of *Lanquet's Chronicle*: whereupon, our author revised, corrected, and published it again in 1560, under the general title of *Cooper's Chronicle*, &c. The running title to the first and second part, is *Lanquet's Chronicle*; and to the third, *The Epitome of Chronicles*. II. *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Brittanicae*, &c. and *Dictionary Historicum & Poeticum*. Lond. 1565, fol. This Dictionary was so much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, that she endeavoured to promote the author as high in the church as she could (d). It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*; Elyot's Library or Dictionary; printed at Lond. 1541, fol. to which Mr. Cooper added thirty-three thousand words and phrases, besides a fuller account of the true signification of words (e): Or rather, it is taken out of Robert Stephens's *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and out of *Frisii Lexicon Latino-Teutonicum* (f). III. 'A brief Exposition of such Chapters of the Old Testament, as usually are read in the Church at Common-Prayer, on the Sundays throughout the Year.' Lond. 1573, 4to. IV. 'Sermon at Lincoln 1575, on Matth. xvi. 26, 27.' Lond. 8vo. V. 'Twelve Sermons on Rom. i. 16. Matth. vii. 15, 16. 1 Cor. x. 1. 3. 5. Matth. xiii. 3. 5. and John viii. 46.' Lond. 1580, 4to. VI. 'An Admonition to the People of England. Wherein are answered not only the slanderous Untruths, reproachfully uttered by *Martin*, the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his brood, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chief of the Clergy; purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the Church.' Lond. 1589, 4to. This was a solid and judicious answer to John ap Henry's scurrilous and abusive libels against the Established Church, published under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate* (g). Ap Henry, or his Club of Puritans, replied to the Bishop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, intitled, 'Ha'ye any work for a Cooper?' and 'More Work for a Cooper (h).'
Bishop Cooper's character is represented by several writers in a very advantageous light. One styles him (i), a very learned man, eloquent, and well acquainted with the English and Latin languages. Another (k) says of him, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holiness of life. He was, says A. Wood (l), furnished with all kind of learning almost beyond all his contemporaries, and not only adorned the pulpit with his sermons, but also the Commonwealth of Learning with his writings. 'Of him, says Sir John Harrington (m), I can say much, and I should do him great wrong if I should say nothing: For he was indeed a reverent man, very well learned, exceeding industrious; and, which was in those dayes counted a great praise to him, and a chief cause of his preferment, he wrote that great Dictionary that yet bears his name. His life in Oxford was very commendable, and in some sort saint-like; for, if it be saint-like to live unreprouable, to bear a cross patiently, to forgive great injuries freely, this man's example is sampleless in this age.' He married a wife at Oxford [H], with whom he happened to be very unhappy, she proving unfaithful to his bed. 'The whole University, in reverence of the man, and indignity of the matter, offered to separate her from him by public authority, and so to set him free, being the innocent party. But he would by no means agree thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry again, he would not charge his conscience with so great a scandal.'

(e) Wood, *ibid.* col. 67.

(g) See Wood, *Athenæ*, vol. i. col. 258, 259; and Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 288. (h) Strype, *ibid.* and Wood, *ubi supra*; and col. 266. (i) *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 255.

(d) Wood, *Ath. ubi supra*, col. 266.

(f) Wood, *Ath. et Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 196.

(j) *Baleus, ubi supra* — *puerorum olim paedagogus doctissimus, vir facundus, & utriusque linguae peritus.*

(k) Godwin, *de Prasul.* p. 305. (m) A brief Survey of the State of the Church of England in Queen Elizabeth and K. James's Reign. Being a Character and History of the Bishops of those Times, Lond. 1653, 8vo. p. 62-64.

(†) It should be *Lincolniensis*.

Tum Lincolniensis † fit Prasul, & inde movetur Wintoniam, denos ubi sedit Episcopus annos. Summè doctus erat, summèque benignus egenis, Et summo studio divina oracula pandit. Terra tegit corpus, sed spiritus est super astra: Coelestes animæ, coelesti pace fruuntur.

Below.

In obitum D. Thomæ Cooperi, Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris, W. S. Διὰ τὸν (12).

(12) Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 196, 197.

i. e. 'Here lies Thomas Cooper, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, and late of Winchester, a very bountiful, learned and vigilant prelate, who died piously in the Lord, April 29, in the year 1594. While Cooper's Dictionary, Chronicle, and other writings

are in being, Cooper's great fame will last. He was of Oxford, Dean of Gloucester, for several years Vice-Chancellor of the former; then he became Bishop of Lincoln, and thence was translated to Winchester, where he sat Bishop ten years. He was very learned, extremely bountiful to the poor, and with great diligence explained the divine oracles. The earth covers his body, but his soul is above the firmament: heavenly souls shall enjoy heavenly peace.' These ten verses on the death of Dr. Thomas Cooper, S. T. P. were made by W. S.'

[H] He married a wife at Oxford, &c.] By her he had two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Dr. John Bellaw, some time Provost of Oriel-College, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln; and Mary, who was married to John Gouldwell, Gent (13).

(13) From the same information as above.

COOPER (ANTHONY ASHLEY), Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the ablest persons, greatest Politicians, and most distinguished Ministers in the last century. He derived from his birth, all the advantages that could spring from an honourable descent joined to a large fortune. His father was Sir John Cooper of Rockborn in the county of Southampton, Bart.

Bart. by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Anthony Ashley, of Winborne St. Giles in the county of Dorset, Knight and Baronet (a); from whom he inherited an estate of eight thousand pounds a year, and all the influence that arose from such a fortune, and the credit of his ancestors in the West of England, which was very considerable (b) [A]. He was born at Winborne St. Giles, July 22, 1621 (c), and educated with great care under the eye of his parents during his infancy, in which he discovered such extraordinary parts, as not only gave hopes of his becoming one day a person of excellent abilities, but rendered him even at that time the subject of general admiration; so that while a very boy he was considered as a prodigy, and, if we may credit his Historian, very extraordinary things were predicted of him (d) [B]. He had the misfortune to lose his father, March 23, 1631, before he was ten years of age, and thereby, as his only child, became entitled to his large estate (e). At the age of fifteen he was sent to the University of Oxford, and became a Fellow-Commoner of Exeter college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. Prideaux who was then Rector of it, and is said to have studied hard there for about two years (f), and very well maintained the character with which he came thither, of being a singular and most surprizing genius. He removed from thence to Lincoln's-Inn (g), where he applied himself with great vigour and diligence to the study of the Law, but more especially turned his thoughts to the gaining a perfect skill in the constitution of this kingdom, in which, as in every thing else that claimed his attention, he became a wonderful proficient, and on various occasions in the future course of life, clearly discovered, that no man more thoroughly understood it than himself (h). He was thus employed, when, in the nineteenth year of his age, he was chosen one of the Burgesses to represent the town of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, in that Parliament which met at Westminster April 13, 1640 (i), and of which very great hopes were entertained, but, to the great sorrow of the nation, were all frustrated by its sudden, unexpected, and fatal dissolution (k). We have no account of his distinguishing himself in that assembly, and indeed there was but very little time for it. It is however highly probable that he was very well affected to the King's service, of which he gave sufficient proofs at the beginning of the Civil Wars, by repairing to Oxford, and offering his service there to his Majesty, not for subduing or conquering his country, but for reducing such, as had either deserted or mistaken their duty, to his Majesty's obedience. This was a very extraordinary scheme for a person of two or three and twenty years of age to propose, and therefore it is not at all strange that it should surprize his Majesty, when, in an audience obtained for that purpose, he proposed

(d) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 9, 10.
(e) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 371.

(f) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 720.

(g) Memoirs of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 5.

(i) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, MS.

(1) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 370.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 481.

(3) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 726.

(4) List of Civil Officers in the Reign of King James I. MS.

(5) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 91.

(6) Dugdale's Catalogue of Barons, and the Time of their Creation.

(a) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 481.

(b) Rawleigh Redivivus, or the Life and Death of the Right Hon. Anthony late Earl of Shaftesbury, Lond. 1683, 8vo. p. 6.

(c) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 720.

(d) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 371, where there is a glaring mistake of 1624 for 1621.

(h) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 11.

(k) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Oxf. fol. p. 44.

[A] Which was very considerable.] As to this Gentleman's descent, by the father's side, we find, that in the 22d of Henry VIII. Richard Cooper, Esq; purchased from Sir Amyas Pawlet the Manor of Pawlet (1), in Somersetshire, still in the possession of this family, and erected into a Barony in their favour by King Charles II. This Richard Cooper, by Jane his wife, daughter of Sir John Kingsmill, of Sydmonton, in the county of Southampton, Knight, had issue John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the same county, who was afterwards knighted, and was the father of Sir John Cooper, Knt. mentioned in the text, and who was also created Baronet, July 4, 1622. As for his mother's family, she was descended by the females from the ancient houses of Hamlynnes (2), Plesheys, and Malmaines, possessors of Winborne St. Giles, from whom it descended to Anthony Ashley, Esq; who, for his great services in the Cadiz expedition, where he acted as Secretary at War, had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon him (3). He was afterwards promoted to be one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council in the reign of King James I (4); but falling under the displeasure of that Prince, and being removed from his office, his large fortune, which consisted of two thousand marks a year in real estate, and as much in money and effects, tempted one Sir James Creighton (5) to enter into a wicked conspiracy with Henry Smith and Mary Rice, servants to Sir Anthony, in the year 1610, to deprive him of his life and fortune; in order to which, Mary Rice presented a petition to the King, setting forth, that her husband, William Rice, dead eighteen years before, was poisoned by Henry Smith, at the instance of Sir Anthony Ashley, and Henry Smith confessed the same: but upon referring this petition to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the whole iniquity was found out, and the conspirators punished in the Star-Chamber. This Sir Anthony Ashley, July 3, 1622, was created a Baronet (6), who by his wife, daughter of Philip Okeover, of Okeover, in the county of Stafford, had only one daughter, Anne, who married Sir John Cooper, by whom she had this only son, to whom his

grandfather was also godfather, and gave him both his names, so that he was christened Anthony Ashley, as being the presumptive heir of both families (7).

[B] Were predicted of him.] As the ancients were given to believe in omens and prodigies, so it was the foible of the last, as well as some preceding ages, to yield but too much faith to pretended prophecies and idle prognostications. Of this nature we may reckon what a certain writer tells us of a Protestant Gentleman, that flying out of Germany for his religion, was charitably received and entertained by Sir John Cooper, who being extremely taken with the wonderful parts of his son, who could not then be above nine years old, addressed him, in the presence of his father, in these words (8), 'Child, if thou wilt be religious, and keep close to God, and take care to avoid the vain and destructive allurements of prophaneness and debauchery, and entertain a fixed resolution to improve all thy parts and abilities for the advancing the Protestant Religion, you shall be a man of the largest parts in Christendom, and shall be an instrument of doing an extraordinary piece of service to your King, which shall be very acceptable to him, whereupon you shall stand high in his favour, and be promoted to very great honour, yet shall afterwards lose your Prince's favour, and be as much disrespected as before honoured and admired; yet, at the same time, you shall be one of the most popular men under Heaven: and that you may know that this will fall out according to my prediction, pray remember this that I am now going to tell you, and write it down in your pocket-book that you may not forget it. Not long after your coming from the University, you shall be in extream danger of drowning, telling him the very day when it should happen.' The author afterwards proceeds to shew, that this accident did happen, and was followed by all the other events hinted at in the prediction, which was not published till after the Earl of Shaftesbury's death, and it is very probable was invented not long before it.

(7) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 6. Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 371.

(8) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 9.

putting

putting an end to the war by acting upon such principles (*l*). We have this fact from a person who had the best opportunities of knowing the truth of it, whose candour in any other instance was never doubted, and whose account however has been neglected because it is without date, and does not seem to agree with other relations. But for all this it might very well have happened in the spring of the year 1643, and seems equally to deserve the reader's notice and belief [*C*]. It is very certain that Weymouth submitted on the ninth of August the same year (*m*), and we have a very long account in the work of the noble Historian, of the dispute that happened between Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the appointing Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Governor of that place, which was at first positively refused by the King, and at last, though not without great difficulty, granted (*n*). Whoever will take the pains to compare and consider these two seemingly inconsistent accounts, will find them very reconcileable, and clearly perceive, that the truth is to be collected from adverting to this circumstance, that as the former is given us by the friend of this Gentleman; so the latter, which for this purpose was also inserted in the notes [*D*], was penned when the noble author had no good opinion of the person

(*m*) Britain's Remembrancer, p. 23.

(*n*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 348. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 260.

(*g*) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 471.

[*C*] *To deserve the reader's notice and belief.*] As no body was better acquainted with this noble Peer than Mr. Locke, so it is highly probable, that what he has left us concerning him was taken from his own mouth, or, if received from any other authority, at least confirmed by himself. What is said in the text is sufficient to shew, that it might possibly be true, and the authorities just mentioned, may induce us to believe it really was so (*g*). Mr. Locke's account runs thus: 'Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil war, for he was on that side as long as he had any hopes to serve his country there, he was brought to King Charles I. by the Lord Falkland, his friend, then Secretary of State, and presented to him, as having something to offer to his Majesty worth his consideration. At this audience he told the King, that he thought he could put an end to the war if his Majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. The King answered, that he was a very young man for so great an undertaking. Sir, replied he, that will not be the worse for your affairs, provided I do the business. Whereupon the King shewing a willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this purpose. The Gentlemen and men of estates, who first engaged in that war, seeing now, after a year or two, that it seems to be no nearer the end than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied would be glad to be in quiet at home again, if they could be assured of a redress of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties secured to them. This I am satisfied is the present temper generally through all England, and particularly in those parts where my estate and concerns lie. If therefore your Majesty will empower me to treat with the Parliament garrisons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an assurance that a general amnesty (arms being laid down on both sides) should reinstate all things in the same posture they were before the war, and then a free Parliament should do what more remained to be done for the settlement of the nation.' He added farther,

'That he would begin and try the experiment first in his own country, and doubted not but the good success he should have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garrisons, bringing them the news of peace, and security in laying down their arms. Being furnished with full power, according to his desire, away he goes to Dorsetshire, where he managed a treaty with the garrisons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorchester, and others, and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been some few days after. But Prince Maurice, who commanded some of the King's forces, being with his army then in those parts, no sooner heard that the town was surrendered, but he presently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to his soldiers. This Sir Anthony saw with the utmost displeasure, and could not forbear to express his resentments to the Prince, so that there passed some pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his design broken. All that he could do was, that he sent to the other garrisons he was in treaty

VOL. IV.

with to stand upon their guard, for that he could not secure his articles to them, and so this design proved abortive, and died in silence.'

[*D*] *Is also inserted in the notes.*] It is only by this method of carefully comparing, and candidly considering, the same passages, as they are variously related by persons of different sentiments and opposite opinions, that the real matter of fact ever comes to be known. The Earl of Clarendon was so much concerned in this affair, that he must have known it to the bottom: but whether he has related all he knew, or shewn how or why Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper came to be suspected at Oxford, the reader must judge for himself. The story, as he tells it, runs thus (*o*). 'There was, says he, an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince Maurice and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of Carnarvon, who was General of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the Prince, and had taken Dorchester and Weymouth before his Highness came up to the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison, but the latter was the best port town of that county, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the government thereof when it should be taken, of which they made no doubt, to Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, a young Gentleman of that county, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it, without lessening the army, and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge when it should fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir Anthony hearing that the Marquis came not with the army, but remained some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it, and applied himself to the Marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared that the town was taken, before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the army till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. "Sir Anthony came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance; that after so much charge he had been put to in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commission from the Marquis (which he was most inclined to give him) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him: therefore

(*o*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 348.

person of whom he was speaking. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was also at that time High-Sheriff of the county of Dorset, and chose therefore in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commission, to raise, as he had power to do, the whole strength of the county, and to embark them at once in the cause of the King and the Constitution (o). To this intent he issued his summons for assembling the *Posse Comitatus*, on a day certain at Dorchester, which is the county town, but, before that day came, he was invited to Oxford by a letter from his Majesty; Col. Goring was sent into his neighbourhood with some forces (p); and Col. William Ashburnham came to him at Dorchester, and produced a commission of such a nature, as plainly enough demonstrated that there was no intention to confide in him, or to allow him to proceed in that way which he thought could alone determine this contest, without involving the nation in a long and bloody war (q). He conferred notwithstanding with Col. Ashburnham, told him what he had done, and with what view; but perceiving plainly that his behaviour was disliked, and his person in danger, he retired, first to his own house, and from thence went into the Parliament quarters (r). Neither was it long after that he went up to London, where he was very well received by the leading men on that side, who knew well his weight and interest in his county, and had a very high opinion of his parts and capacity to serve them, in case they could attach him thoroughly to their interests. This however was not very easily done, for though the Noble Historian is pleased to say, (and though it be his it is but a coarse saying) *That he gave himself up body and soul to the Parliament* (s), yet this does not very clearly appear, since it is very certain that he betrayed none of the counsels with which he was trusted at Oxford, nor took any other step, by which he might render his former connections any way useful to those whom he had now joined (t). But it is indeed evident that he accepted a commission from the Parliament (u), and raised forces in Dorsetshire for the recovery of some places out of the hands of those, who he thought had nothing else in view but carrying on a war for the entire reduction of the kingdom, the merit of which might entitle them to great rewards, from the new government that might be then established upon the ruins of the antient and legal constitution (w); and it is no wonder at all that he should oppose this, if we consider how large an estate he had, and consequently, exclusive of principles, how much it was his private interest to look unto the safety of his country (x). In October 1644 he took Wareham by storm, and very soon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorsetshire. This, and some other actions of the same nature, might possibly induce the Earl of Clarendon to add to the harsh character beforementioned, that he became *an implacable enemy to the Royal family* (y). One may reasonably suppose they had other sentiments of him at Oxford, since he was trusted with some private negotiations between his Majesty and Denzil Lord Hollis, at the treaty of Uxbridge, for which the latter was afterwards questioned in Parliament, and had lost

(p) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 479.

(r) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 478.

(x) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 18.

(o) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 16, 17.

(q) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 17.

(s) Clarendon's Hist. p. 399.

(t) Locke's Works, vol. ii. p. 473.
(u) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(w) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473.

(y) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 399.

the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no other way but to appeal to the King, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the Marquis, which would remove that part of the exception which would most trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did, in truth, believe it of great importance to his Majesty's service, to engage a person of such a fortune and interest so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do, the flexibility and instability of that Gentleman's nature not being then understood or suspected.

He did write with all the skill and importunity he could use to the King, and writ to the Lord Faulkland, "To take Sir John Colepepper with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse and prevail with him." But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it, and said, "He would not, to please the Marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public disobligation and affront upon his nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the Marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined, and said, "That he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him further service; that his fidelity should never be lessened towards him, (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought), but since he was become so totally useless to the King and to his friends, he hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his own house, where he doubted not he should be suffered to live privately, and quietly to pray for the King." The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for

whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents, and therefore resolved (having dispatched all things which were incumbent on him at Bristol, and used all freedom with the Marquis for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances. And, at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a commission to Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, to be Governor of Weymouth, which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person who he understood was designed to that government. The words *a little before this time*, at the beginning of this account, refer to the plundering of Weymouth and Melcombe, by Prince Maurice, which this writer acknowledges, at the same time he excuses it all he can. He adds however, that upon this, Lyme and Poole, the only two garrisons the Parliament had in those parts, instead of submitting, sent the Prince so peremptory an answer, that though he wanted not either troops or cannon, he did not think fit to approach them (11). This agrees exactly with the former relation, and we may easily discern why those who had broken their words with Sir Anthony were afraid to trust him; neither are the words the noble Historian puts into his mouth common sense, if he had not been deeper engaged than from this relation appears. This severe censure upon his mutability therefore might have been spared: if any reflections were to be made, they ought to have fallen upon that great soldier of fortune, who made so free with his own word, the liberties of the English nation, and the King his uncle's interests (12).

(11) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 359. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 346.

(12) History of King Charles I. p. 313.

his

(z) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473, 474.

(b) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157.

(c) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 289.

(d) Whitlocke's Memorials of English Affairs, p. 185.

(f) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 372.

(b) This famous Protestation was signed by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and 116 other Persons.

(k) Bates's *Elementus Motuum*, p. 131.

(13) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 154.

(14) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473.

(15) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 161.

his life, if Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper could have found his memory of what passed in that business (z) [E]. Neither was this the only service he did the Royal cause: for when it began every where to decline, and consequently when there could be no motives of interest to induce him, he thought of a surprizing expedient for giving a check to the power of the Parliament, by raising the CLUB-MEN (a), who put Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the fatal battle of Naseby, to a stand, and which design had probably given a new turn to affairs, if it had been as vigorously executed, as it was wisely and warily concerted (b) [F]. Thus was Sir Anthony employed in propping the Royal Cause, when the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, abandoned the King, and accepted passes from the Parliament to retire beyond the seas (c). Towards the end of 1645 he was chosen Sheriff of Norfolk (d), and approved by Parliament. The next year he was Sheriff of Wiltshire, and had an ordinance of Parliament to enable him to reside out of the county (e). In 1651 he was of the Committee of Twenty, appointed to consider of ways and means for reforming the Law (f). He was also one of the Members of that Convention that met after General Cromwell turned out the Long Parliament, and was very active in opposing his ambitious designs, which occasioned the dissolution of that assembly (g). He was again a Member of the Parliament of 1654, and was one of the principal persons who signed that famous Protestation, charging the Protector with tyranny and arbitrary government: neither was it in Cromwell's power, when it was at the highest, to prevent his being elected, which forced him to turn him, and other honest Gentlemen, out of the House, which was done more than once, but particularly in 1656, when he shewed as much courage and firmness in exposing and thwarting the illegal measures of that arbitrary Usurper, as any man in the kingdom (h). It is indeed true, that the Protector endeavoured to gain him, as he did other persons of eminent parts and extensive influence, by appointing him one of his Privy-Council: but as to what has been suggested, of his aiming to become his son-in-law, and coming by that means into the chief management of affairs, may be well considered as a calumny (i), since it can be hardly doubted, that had it been true, Cromwell would not have missed that opportunity, of fixing him in the support of his government and of his family. When the Protector Richard was deposed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their Council of State (k), and a Commissioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a secret correspondence with the friends of his Majesty King Charles II. laid the scheme of Sir George Booth's insurrection in 1659, and, if he had not been defeated, would have joined him with all the strength of Dorsetshire (l). This could not be so secretly carried, but that the Parliament had notice of it, and upon a complaint, that though Sir George Booth was the hand, yet another Knight was the head of that business, he was not only questioned but imprisoned. He defended himself with great art and skill, notwithstanding which, it was with infinite difficulty that he was acquitted and discharged (m) [G].

(a) See this both proved and explained in the note.

(e) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 94.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 350, 353.

(i) List of the Protector's Privy Council, printed upon a broad half Sheet.

(l) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 8. Heath's Chron. p. 427.

(m) Compleat Statesman, p. 26.

The

[E] Could have found his memory of what passed in that business.] In the treaty at Uxbridge the King had some separate and private communication with Lord Hollis, then Mr. Hollis, and the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke. Lord Saville, who, about that time, was created Earl of Essex, going over afterwards to the Parliament (13), gave information of this, and the warm and violent party, who hated Hollis for adhering steadily to his principles, were very desirous of having this imputation fixed upon him, which they apprehended it was in the power of Sir Anthony to do. There had been an old enmity between them, and Mr. Hollis had prevented Sir Anthony from coming into the House of Commons, though he had been fairly elected. When the latter came to be examined, he said, that though what he knew of that matter might possibly tend to acquit Hollis of the charge, yet he could not suffer himself to say any thing about it, because it would look as if he would have taken this occasion to revenge himself, in case it had been in his power (14). This did not satisfy the House by any means, so that they ordered him to withdraw, and threatened him with a commitment to the Tower. That had no effect, and though several of his friends came out to him in the Lobby, and persuaded him to satisfy the House; yet he would not depart from his first resolution, but answered, he neither could nor would remember any thing about it. After a long debate, the main question was put, and, for want of evidence, Mr. Hollis, though with difficulty, was acquitted (15). He went some time after to make his acknowledgments to Sir Anthony, who told him, he was not at all obliged to him, that he would have done the same thing for any other man in the like circumstances; but added, that he knew the value of his

friendship, and should be glad to merit it, by having the greatest regard for him for the future, which offer was very readily accepted, and a friendship commenced from thence, which lasted as long as their lives (16).

[F] As it was wisely and warily concerted.] The true state of the business there hinted at, was briefly this: Sir Anthony met with Serjeant Fountaine, by accident, at an inn, and in discoursing about public affairs, they quickly agreed in their sentiments, that the nation would be equally undone, which ever side prevailed, and that therefore it ought to be the aim of all well-disposed persons to compel the violent of both parties to sacrifice their animosities and private views to the interest of the public, that absolutely required a peace (17). In order to bring this about, the Commons in several counties were encouraged to take up arms, to declare themselves neutrals, and to insist upon a treaty, by which they might be restored to the benefit of the laws, and of the Constitution (18). This was carried so far, that Sir Thomas Fairfax received their proposals, and promised to communicate them to the Parliament; but General Cromwell and others, bent upon driving things to extremities, attacked some bodies of club-men, and getting the better of them, cut the poor people to pieces without mercy, which disconcerted the scheme, and frightened those who had the management of it from pursuing it as they intended (19). The reader will observe, that this was built upon the same principles with that proposition which Sir Anthony had made to the King about a year before.

[G] That he was acquitted and discharged.] These were times of infinite perplexity, and in which even men of the greatest abilities had much ado to secure themselves. It was on May 13, 1659, that Sir Anthony

(16) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 473.

(17) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 455. Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 472.

(18) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 157. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 171.

(19) Hist. of the Civil Wars of Great Britain, &c. p. 163.

The Rump afterwards appointed him one of the Committee to secure the Tower, one of the Six Commissioners for the command of the army, and Colonel of a regiment of horse (n). Soon after, with eight other members of the old Council of State, he signed a letter to General Monk to encourage him to march into England (o), which was the first direct step made towards the Restoration, as Sir Anthony's regiment of horse was one of the first that joined that General, upon his marching into this kingdom (p). It was by his influence that the abjuration oath was laid aside; and even the Noble Historian is pleased to allow, that as the revolt of the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawson, was what broke the heart of the Committee of Safety; so he is also forced to own, that this was brought about by Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, who gained that gallant officer (q) from his old patron Sir Henry Vane, and prevailed upon him to tell Sir Henry, when he came in person to the fleet, that he would submit to no authority but that of the Parliament. He was also very instrumental in quashing General Lambert's design, which had otherwise prevented the King's return (r); and though no doubt General Monk's intentions for the service of the King were very sincere, yet it is certain that Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper put it out of his power to act otherwise than he did, by first procuring that great man an unlimited commission from the Parliament, and then obliging him in the Council of State, to remove such officers as they could not depend upon, and particularly Sir William Lockhart, who was Governor of Dunkirk, and to replace them by persons of whom they had a better opinion, as in that case by Edward Harley, which left no room for disputes (s). He was returned a member for Dorsetshire, in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which sat April 25, 1660, and a resolution being taken to restore the Constitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the House of Commons to carry their invitation to the King (t); and it was in his performing this service, that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was Lord High-Chancellor, a circumstance necessary to be mentioned, on account of the scandalous reflections that were afterwards made upon it (u). Upon his return to England, and the King's coming over, he was, together with General Monk, and other great persons, sworn of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council (w). He was also one of the Commissioners for the trial of the regicides, and the reflection made thereupon by the Oxford Historian might have been spared, since nothing is more certain, than that he had nothing to do with the counsels of those, that either be-

(q) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. vi. p. 704, 705. Baker's Chron. p. 677.

(s) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 478.

(w) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 52. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 722.

(20) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 42.

(21) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679. Complete Statef-man, p. 27.

(22) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 679.

(23) Locke's Works, vol. iii. p. 479.

(n) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694. (o) Baker's Chron. p. 673. (p) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 699.

(r) Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 303.

(t) Heath's Chronicle, p. 447.

(u) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 48.

thony-Ashley Cooper was appointed one of the Council of State, in which the executive part of the government was vested (20). Upon the 18th of the same month a charge was brought before that council against Sir Anthony and the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke, for corresponding with the King, or some of his Ministers abroad (21). It was the misfortune of this noble person, of whom we are speaking, to be as little in the good graces of Whitlocke, as of Clarendon, as will very plainly appear from the following account, which he gives us of Sir Anthony's defence (22). 'Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper made the highest professions that could be made of his innocence, and the highest imprecations of God's judgments upon him and his posterity, if ever he had any correspondence with the King, or with Sir Edward Hyde, or any of the King's Ministers or friends; and his expressions were so high, that they bred in some the more suspicion of him; but at this time he was believed, and what followed afterwards is known.' It appears from hence, and from another passage that we shall have occasion to mention immediately, that this gentleman had no opinion of Sir Anthony's sincerity or veracity. But the question is, or at least ought to be, whether this opinion was well founded? Sir Anthony's life and fortune were at stake in this case; and, which is more, the welfare and safety of this nation: if therefore Sir Anthony had no concern or intercourse with the King, or his friends abroad, though he had concerted measures for procuring a free Parliament, in which the sense of the nation might be known, in reference to the government they were most inclined to live under, he certainly had a right to defend himself in what manner he thought proper: no doubt this was none of the most eligible methods, but perhaps it was the only method to preserve himself amongst such people. Now the fact was really thus, and this is not an apology contrived for the defence of this noble person's memory, but arises from evidence, which I will instantly produce. Many years after this, when he was Earl of Shaftesbury, and a prisoner in the tower, he wrote a letter to King Charles II. the following passage in which fully shews his principles, and from what views he promoted the Restoration (23).

The facts contained in it are very curious and very important, and I believe there will be hardly found any man so great a Sceptick as to believe, that the Earl of Shaftesbury would depart from truth, in a letter written to his sovereign, upon subjects of which that Prince was as much master as he. 'I had the honour to have a principal hand in your Restoration, neither did I act in it but on a principle of piety and honour: I never betrayed, as your Majesty knows, the party or councils I was of. I kept no correspondence with, nor I made no secret addresses to, your Majesty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any private terms or articles for myself, or reward for what I had done, or should do. In whatever I did towards the service of your Majesty, I was solely acted by the sense of that duty I owed to God, the English nation, and your Majesty's just right and title. I saw the hand of Providence that had led us through various forms of government, and had given power into the hands of several sorts of men, but he had given none of them a heart to use it as they should: they all fell to the prey, sought not the good or settlement of the nation, endeavoured only the enlargement and continuance of their own authority, and grasped at those very powers they had complained of so much, and for which so bloody and so fatal a war had been raised, and continued in the bowels of the nation. I observed the leaders of the great parties of religion, both laity and clergy, ready and forward to deliver up the rights and liberties of the people, and to introduce an absolute dominion; so that tyranny might be established in the hands of those that favoured their way, and with whom they might have hopes to divide the present spoil, having no eye to posterity, or thought of future things.' The accusation which occasioned this note hung in the House of Commons till the 14th of September, 1659, and then we have the following account of it from an author before cited (24). 'Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper voted not guilty of the accusation against him, of having correspondence with the King. The question was not brought against me for the same matter, there being no ground for it as there was for the other.'

(24) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683.

(x) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52.
Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 722.

trayed or shed the blood of their Sovereign (x). Upon the approach of the coronation, the King his master thought fit to raise him to the dignity of the peerage, and, by Letters Patent dated April 20, 1661, created him Baron Ashley of Winborne St. Giles's, with very honourable mention of the share he had in bringing him back to his kingdom (y) [H]. He was soon after made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer (z); and upon the death of that loyal old Peer, and his great friend and patron, the wise and worthy Earl of Southampton, he was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners (a) for executing the office of High-Treasurer. He continued in the counsels and in the confidence of the King his master, during the happiest part of his reign, and stood as high in his favour as any of his Ministers. He was afterwards made Lord Lieutenant of the county of Dorset (b); and on the twenty-third of April 1672, he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet in the county of Somerset, and Earl of Shaftesbury (c). At this time the Lord Keeper Bridgeman parting with the Seals, he was, on the fourth day of November, raised to the great and envied post of Lord High-Chancellor of England (d), which office he executed, as even his enemies allow, with equal ability and integrity [I]. In his other capacities, of a Minister and Privy-Counsellor, he has been variously spoken of, and it would require a volume to enter into the merits of the question, and to discuss fairly and impartially what has been said, and what might be said, on both sides. In this article, however, we cannot be expected to enter into any such field; and shall therefore be content with observing, that from the public records of his discharge of these offices, particularly his speeches in Parliament upon the swearing in the Lord High-Treasurer Clifford, his successor Sir Thomas Osborne and Mr. Baron Thurland (e), we must conclude him one of the ablest men, and one of the most accomplished orators, this nation has ever bred. The short time that he was at the helm was a season of storms and tempests, and it is but doing him strict justice to say, that they could not either affright or distract him. Whatever he did he did with his might, and there was a spirit and dignity in his administration, which that government could never recover after he left it (f). He was the soul and genius of the Ministry while he made a part of it; but whether he did not carry things too high, and out

(y) Bill. Sign. de ann. 13 Car. II.
(z) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 52.

(a) Dugd. Chron. Series, p. 116.

(b) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 377.

(c) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53.

(d) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 723.
North's Examen. p. 33.

(e) See those Speeches in Rawleigh Redivivus, and in Echard's Hist. of England.

(f) Memoirs; and A just Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 13.

[H] In bringing him back to his kingdom.] We have already shewn, from as good authority as can be desired, that this noble person, as he acted very cautiously on one side in the management of that nice affair, behaved also very disinterestedly on the other. Whitlocke very frankly owns, that he was ready to have gone to the King with proposals, and what he blames this great man for, was an intention to restore the King, without making terms (25). It was, however, the judgment of Lord Ashley, that this was the only right way of acting; for he thought that any terms so made would alter the Constitution; and what he chiefly aimed at by bringing back the king, was reviving the Constitution, which, from the experience of successive changes, he judged would be a blessing to the nation. Sir Philip Warwick tells us in his Memoirs, that himself, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Geoffrey Palmer, met Mr. Annesly, afterwards Earl of Anglesey, Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, before the Healing Parliament sat, by which his Majesty was very well informed of their good intentions for his service (26). The same writer informs us, that General Monk was tampered with by the French Ambassador, and great offers made to support him, in case he had been susceptible of French counsels; and acquaints us, that it was upon the appointing of a new Council of State, the names of some of which he gives us, and amongst them Sir Anthony, that the old republicans began to fear the calling back of the King (27). There is also extant a letter to Admiral Montague, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, from Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, upon Lambert's defeat, which plainly shews his sense of things in general, and of that seasonable stroke in particular (28). But the words in the preamble to his patent are so full and express, that they need not any authority to support, or commentary to explain, them. In this his Majesty takes notice (29), 'that he had in sundry respects manifested his loyalty to King Charles I. and his great affection to his country in the late perilous and difficult times, and likewise to him, by his prudent and seasonable advice and consultation with General Monk, in order to his restoration, in consideration of which acceptable services he created him to the degree and dignity of a Baron.'

[I] With equal ability and integrity.] He resided, during his continuance in that employment, at Exeter-house in the Strand, and proceeded from thence to Westminster, with all the solemnity possible; for it was

his opinion, that ceremony and state were both useful and necessary to keep up the credit of great offices (30); for to use his Lordship's own words to Baron Thurland, Reputation is a thing of consequence to magistrates as well as merchants. He wore an ash-coloured silk gown, richly laced, and did not at all alter his garb upon his accession to that high seat of judicature. He was desirous of cutting business short, and of avoiding forms, in which we are told, that the Lawyers gave him so much trouble, that to be able to proceed, he was forced to return to them: however, he was as expeditious as it was possible, and his quick penetration enabled him to see very far in a short time, and what he saw, his eloquence made every body else see; so that whatever he decreed was so plain, and so perspicuous, that there needed no learning to perceive he was in the right, nor was it possible to puzzle things again so much as to create a doubt that he was in the wrong (31). This gave him a high reputation at that time; so that Mr. Dryden, to beget an opinion of his own impartiality, in that most invidious character which he gave of his Lordship, was forced to throw in a fine compliment upon his integrity in the distribution of justice (32). It was a point of too great consequence to be omitted, and it seems was then too well understood to be misrepresented. Some attempts have been since made to lessen his character, as a Chancellor; but whoever considers them attentively, and observes that they are destitute of facts, and published at a great distance of time, will not be much moved by them (33). Another writer, immediately after his Lordship's death, speaks of his behaviour thus (34): 'With what prudence, candour, honour, and integrity, he acquitted himself in that great and weighty employment, the transactions of the Court of Chancery, during the time of his Chancellorship, will best testify. Justice then ran in an equal channel, so that the cause of the rich was not suffered to swallow up the rights of the poor, nor was the strong or cunning oppressor permitted to devour the weak or unskilful opposer; but the abused found relief suitable to their distress, and those by whom they were abused a severe rephension, answerable to their crimes. The mischievous consequences which commonly arise from the delays, and other practices of that court were, by his ingenious and judicious management, very much abated, and every thing weighed and determined with exact judgment and equity.'

(30) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 377.

(31) Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 301.

(32) Dryden's Original Poems and Translations, vol. i. p. 156, 157.

(33) North's Examen. p. 59.

(34) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 53, 54.

(25) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(26) Memoirs of Affairs after the King's murder, p. 428.

(27) Warwick's Memoirs p. 426, 427.

(28) See this Letter in the first Volume of this Work, p. 303.
(29) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 481.

(g) This seems to be insinuated by Mr. Dryden, in his *Abraham and Abimelech*.

(b) Sir William Temple's Memoirs, London, 1692, 8vo. p. 71.

(k) Wood, *Art. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 723.

(35) Of these there are many, such as Rawleigh Redivivus, Memoirs and Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Compleat Stateman, &c. in print; and there are several others in MS.

(36) As it is cited by Archdeacon Echard, in his History.

(*) North's Examen, p. 38.

(37) See both those Speeches in Echard's History.

of the reach of all other capacities but his own, it would favour of rashness to determine (g) [K]. When the King had taken a resolution, as he was apt to take such resolutions without consulting others, of changing measures, the Chancellor very quickly discerned it; and as he knew it was for his safety, so he thought it no diminution to his honour, to follow the example of his Prince, and therefore he changed in time, in which his enemies say he had a very great dexterity; and, on the other hand, his friends believe, that he made a virtue of necessity, and when he saw that his great parts could be no longer serviceable to his Master in office, he thought it very allowable to make use of them to save himself (b): and in this it is no small commendation, that he retired with credit, where it would have been the highest point of wisdom in any other man to have escaped ruin (i). The Duke of York was apprehensive, from his conduct in Parliament, that he should find him in many respects uncomplying, and was therefore very earnest with the King to remove him, which however his Majesty was not much inclined to do, because he had a great opinion of his skill in finding out expedients, and of diverting dangers before things came to extremity (k). At length, however, that point was carried, and Nov. 9, 1673, the Earl of Shaftesbury resigned the Great-Seal, but with some particular circumstances, with the knowledge of which the reader cannot be displeased (l) [L]. After he had thus

(i) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 37.

(l) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 393.

[K] *It would favour of rashness to determine.* All that is said, either in our general histories, or private memoirs, of the conduct of the Earl of Shaftesbury while in power, and as it were at the head of the administration, is liable to many objections, and ought therefore to be read with much circumspection. Such as have written direct apologies for him, of which there are several, will have every thing to have been not only well and wisely, but uprightly and virtuously done, which, perhaps, is more than ought to be advanced in favour of any Minister (35). On the other hand, such as make no secret of their dislike to this great man, very seldom shew the least scruple of painting him in the blackest colours; and both discover how far they deviate both from impartiality and truth, by running into palpable absurdities, and visible contradictions. A few instances seem to be requisite, that it may appear we have collected the materials of this article with that caution and care which its importance demands. There were three great strokes which distinguished the period of his ministry, and it is not a little difficult to form a right judgment of his behaviour in any one of them. The first of these is as to his shutting up the Exchequer. In reference to this, Sir Joseph Tyley's manuscript (36) positively affirms, that the measure was of Lord Ashley's contrivance, but that it was picked out of him when heated with wine, and in a free conversation by Sir Thomas Clifford, who, by that artifice, got himself advanced to the Peerage, and to the high dignity of Lord Treasurer of England. An honourable author affirms the direct contrary; he compares the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Lord Clifford to a sub-sheriff and a sheriff; the former, he says, had the authority, and the latter carried the wand (*). Both these stories cannot be true, and it is highly probable that neither of them are so. The Earl of Shaftesbury was not a man to be over-reached, and Lord Clifford had too great a capacity to stoop to any direction. It is most likely, that they acted in concert; and though it may be very true, that the Earl of Shaftesbury was ambitious of being Treasurer, yet he might be prevailed upon to give way to the Lord Clifford, because the very measure required the assistance of a Chancellor, and none of the great men in that administration were capable of exercising that office but the Earl of Shaftesbury. The Earls of Clarendon and Southampton had mutually supported each other in those posts, and we may very reasonably suppose, that Shaftesbury and Clifford proposed to follow their examples. Indeed it is certain they did follow them as long as they were in power; and whoever considers the speeches made by the Chancellor Shaftesbury, at the admission of Lord Clifford, and his successor, the Lord Osborne, to the office of Treasurer, will see such a manifest difference as will give no small weight to this conjecture (37). The second great stroke was, the declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which both these great Ministers were equally concerned, though with very different views, for Lord Clifford was then a concealed, and not long after a declared, Papist: the Earl of Shaftesbury was desirous of obliging the Dissenters. The former was for maintaining this Declaration, even

against the opinion of Parliament; the latter, finding his master wavering, gave up the Declaration, that he might put himself at the head of the Protestant interest. They both acted, considering the circumstances under which the Declaration was framed, like wise Statesmen; and, when they came to divide, each of them shewed a steadiness to his principles, not in the least unworthy of a great politician; so that Lord Clifford retired with credit, and the Earl of Shaftesbury kept his power when he lost his post; and when no longer able to rule a Court, shewed his dexterity in becoming the ruler of the people (38). The third great stroke was peculiarly his, and that was, the issuing writs during the recess of Parliament, in virtue of his office, and making use of his interest in the country to procure elections in consequence of those writs, agreeable to the views of his administration. Father Orleans, who had his lights from King James, applauds this measure, and acknowledges as well the candour as the capacity of the Chancellor, in respect to his master's service (39). The honourable writer before-mentioned gives us quite another account. He tells us (40), the Chancellor did it to bring in his own creatures in Dorsetshire more especially, and to keep out the friends of Col. Strangeways, whom he disliked for many reasons, but most for being a very loyal gentleman. It happens unluckily, that he entirely overturns his own system, by acknowledging, that all the persons brought in by Shaftesbury's interest, were Royalists (41). However, the House of Commons turned them out again without the least struggle, either on the part of these new members, or of the Crown. Shaftesbury said upon this, that if the King would not support his Chancellor, his Chancellor could do little in that capacity for his master's service. Upon the whole, it seems to be pretty clear, that the Earl of Shaftesbury was in hopes the Court would have prosecuted the Dutch war with such success, as to have carried the glory of the English flag to the utmost height, promoted the English commerce in its largest extent, and have sacrificed that kind of bigotry, which he judged to be the bane of the Protestant Religion, in which case he thought the power of the Crown, and the grandeur of the people, must have stood upon the same basis; but finding that other schemes were bringing upon the carpet, though not by the King, but rather the Duke, he chose to make a short turn, and to comply with those who could save him, instead of continuing to play a desperate game in conjunction with such, as, to make their peace, might be tempted to make him a victim (42).

[L] *With the knowledge of which the reader cannot be displeased.* We have this relation, which is pleasant enough in its circumstances, and these are so much the more credible, from their agreeing exactly with the characters of the persons mentioned, from Mr. Archdeacon Echard, which we shall give the reader in his own words (43). 'Soon after the breaking up of the Parliament, the Earl was sent for, on a Sunday morning, to Court, as was also Sir Heneage Finch, Attorney-General, to whom the seals were promised. As soon as the Earl came, he retired with the King into the closet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph

(38) Compleat Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 296.

(39) Hist. of the Revolutions in England, under the Family of the Stuarts, p. 242.

(40) North's Examen, p. 42. 56.

(41) Id. ib. p. 56.

(42) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 38. 84, 85.

(43) History of England, p. 393.

quitted the Court, he continued to make a great figure in Parliament: his abilities enabled him to shine, and his inclinations did not incline him to rest (*m*). In 1675, the Lord Treasurer Danby introduced the Test Bill into the House of Lords, which was vigorously opposed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, if we may believe a great Prelate, distinguished himself more in this Session than ever he had done (*n*), which is somewhat singular, considering he had long before attained the reputation of being one of the greatest Speakers of that age. In this indeed he shewed his parts, and contradicted the character that some had given him, of being an indiscreet Orator, by insisting, for a full hour, on the folly and impropriety of condemning all resistance by an express law (*o*). He shewed, that as government could not subsist if men might resist as often as they were displeased; so liberty must be lost, if in no case resistance was lawful. He observed, that a King might be in the hands of a faction, and then it would be treason to oppose what had the sanction of his name, though it was to rescue his authority. He delivered this discourse with his usual ease and freedom, though he knew that every word he said was watched, and his enemies had the mortification of finding, that he could say what he pleased, without putting it in their power, how much soever it was in their will, to hurt him (*p*). A dispute between the two Houses, occasioned an unexpected prorogation, by which the bill was lost. There ensued upon this a recess of fifteen months, and when the Parliament met again Feb. 16, 1676-7, the Duke of Buckingham argued, that it ought to be considered as dissolved. The Earl of Shaftesbury was of the same opinion, and maintained it with so much warmth, that together with the Duke beforementioned, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, he was sent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other Lords upon their submission were speedily discharged (*q*). In order to be delivered from his confinement, he applied himself to the Court of King's-Bench, where, after his Counsel had done speaking, he argued his own case with much eloquence and wit. He was notwithstanding remanded to the Tower, and, at the next meeting of Parliament, this application was magnified into a great crime by the then Lord Treasurer Danby, who very soon after was obliged to have recourse to the same method for his own deliverance, and felt very sensibly the weight of those severe doctrines, which he took so much pains to establish upon this occasion (*r*). At length the Earl of Shaftesbury made a full submission, and, upon an address of the House of Peers, the King was pleased to discharge him (*s*), and the precedent made in his case was afterwards reversed (*t*). He managed the opposition to the Earl of Danby's administration with such vigour and dexterity, that it was found absolutely impossible to do any thing effectually in Parliament, without changing the system which then prevailed. The King, who desired nothing so much as to be easy, resolving to make such a change, dismissed all the Privy-Council at once, and formed a new one: this was declared April 21, 1679, and at the same time the Earl of Shaftesbury was appointed Lord President (*u*). This was one of the best received, as well as one of the most popular measures, in his whole reign, and was equally acceptable to the people at home, and to the natural allies of this nation abroad (*v*). It had not however long the good effects that were expected from it, which was owing to the factions at Court; and those quickly rose to such a height, that the Earl was removed from that high employment on the fifth of October following (*x*). He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the Duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an Exclusion Bill. In respect to this he was indeed immoveable, notwithstanding he knew the King would never consent to it, and though most of his friends were inclined to accept the expedient offered by the Court, of providing against what they feared, by establishing legal limitations. It is not our business to determine in so nice and important a point; but this we may have leave to say, that his Lordship's reasons were clear and weighty, allowing his principles to be well founded (*y*) [*M*].

'triumph to see him return without the pufse. His Lordship being alone with the King, said, Sir, I know you intend to give the seals to the Attorney-General, but I am sure your Majesty never intended to disappoint me with contempt. The King, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, God's fish, my Lord, I will not do it with any circumstance that may look like an affront. Then Sir, said the Earl, I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the seals before you to chapel, and send for them afterwards from my house. To which his Majesty readily complied, and the Earl entertained the King with news, and other diverting stories, till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to amuse the courtiers and his successor, who he believed was upon the rack for fear he should prevail upon the King to change his mind. The King and the still Chancellor came out of the closet talking together, and smiling, and went together to chapel, which surprized them all, who could have no opportunity to inform them-

selves what was to be expected; and some ran immediately to tell the Duke of York all their measures were broken; and the Attorney-General was said to be inconsolable. After sermon the Earl went home with the seals, and that evening the King gave them to the Attorney-General, a man of great parts and abilities, with the title of Lord Keeper.

[*M*] *Allowing his principles to be well founded.* It was a misfortune to the Earl of Shaftesbury, that those who were angry with him have transmitted to posterity the history of those times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had so large a share. As for instance, Sir William Temple having come in by the interest of the Earl of Arlington, and being afterwards supported by that of the Lord Treasurer Danby, could not avoid feeling a distaste to one who left the former, and opposed the latter; and of this there are visible marks in those passages of his Memoirs, where the Earl of Shaftesbury is mentioned (44). The Bishop of Salisbury was very intimate in his turn with

(*m*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 4.

(*n*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 384.

(*o*) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 17. Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 384.

(*p*) Vindication of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 35. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 384.

(*q*) Kennet's and Echard's Histories. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 402.

(*r*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 28.

(*u*) Sir William Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 334.

(*v*) Kennet's and Echard's Histories. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 456.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 383.

(*y*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 469. 477. 482. 494. 502.

(44) Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 334. 335. 337. 339. 340. 341. the 343, &c.

(*r*) Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 25, 26, 27. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 431. 434. 437. (*s*) Father Orlean's Revolutions of England, p. 247.

The discovery of the Popish plot opened a way for subverting the Earl of Danby's ministry, and the general opinion seems to be, that this induced the Earl of Shaftesbury to push that matter, not only with vigour but vehemence. There is nothing plainer than that he was the author and promoter of all the prosecutions that followed thereupon, as well in the inferior Courts, as in Parliament; with a view of quashing the Popish party entirely, and of excluding the Duke, which were the points he had most at heart, and which, without doubt, he pursued with unrelenting severity (x). Upon the King's summoning a Parliament to meet at Oxford, March 21, 1680-1, he joined with several Lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there (a), which however failed of success. He was present in that Parliament, and strenuously supported the Exclusion Bill, which however was thrown out in the House of Lords. He is likewise said to have used his utmost endeavours to have reconciled his Majesty to that measure, but without effect (b). It is no wonder that such a conduct as this should inflame the Duke and his friends against him, and not long after, an occasion either offered or was found, to make him feel the weight of their resentments. Upon the dissolution of that Parliament, and his return to London, one Bryan Haines applied himself to him, under pretence that he could make still clearer discoveries than hitherto had been made of the Popish plot, and the murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, provided, that for this service, he might obtain a pardon (c). But when this man was brought before the Privy Council, he gave quite another account, and boldly charged the Earl with endeavouring to suborn him (d). Upon this information his Lordship was apprehended on the second of July 1681, and after being examined by his Majesty in Council, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months, notwithstanding he petitioned, and took every other legal method to obtain a trial, or to be admitted to bail according to the *Habeas Corpus* Act (e). At length, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1681, a bill was presented to the Grand Jury at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, against him, for high-treason, and the witnesses were examined in open court. They certainly testified enough, or rather too much: for, on the one hand, the evidence they gave was very incredible in itself; and, on the other, their characters were so infamous, that even a probable story would scarcely have deserved belief upon their deposition (f). But what was chiefly relied on, was a paper found in the Earl's study, which contained the draught of an association: yet it was neither written, or so much as marked, with his hand; and though it contained many strange things, yet it was full of the highest

the Earl of Shaftesbury, as well as other great men of those times, but had the misfortune to be upon bad terms with him afterwards, by bringing the unfortunate Lord Stafford to charge Shaftesbury at the Bar of the House of Lords, with being a friend to the Papists a little before he suffered death (45). The Hon. Roger North had his reasons also for disliking him, which he tells us very fairly; speaks upon all occasions as an enemy, but as an enemy declared, and therefore the less to be feared (46). It cannot be asserted, that when these writers relate facts concerning this noble Lord, they do not deserve credit; for as men of sense and reputation, that is due to whatever they relate, as a thing known: but these remarks, and many more that might be added, are sufficient to take off the edge of their censures, to lessen the credibility of their conjectures, and to keep the reader from having an implicit faith in the characters they have drawn of a man they did not love, and that chiefly, because he opposed those who are the heroes of their respective works, such as Lord Halifax, Lord Danby, and Lord North. As to the point of the Bill of Exclusion, it is generally mentioned as an instance of the Earl of Shaftesbury's dislike to monarchy, and those who opposed it are magnified as men who were best affected to what was, at that time, esteemed the English Constitution. One of those writers says, that the Earl of Shaftesbury never denied his changing sides, but, on the contrary, took a pleasure in relating the many turns he had made, and in shewing that he made them at the proper times (47). It might have been added, that he valued himself likewise upon never betraying those he left, and upon quitting parties without leaving his principles. He had a good opinion of King Charles the second's inclinations, and thought his affairs were prejudiced by carrying the dead weight of a Popish successor. This he thought necessary to be removed, and thought the only way to remove it, without prejudice to the monarchy, was to exclude the Duke of York, and pass on to the next heir. He judged that such a law, would be no improper instance of the absolute power of a King and Parliament, might provide for the safety of the subject, and yet leave the power of the Crown entire, without tinging the Con-

stitution with the least colour of a common wealth (48). How far he might act in this from his personal resentment against the Duke of York, what views he might have of re-establishing his own power, or what schemes he might be drawn into after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, are out of the case. We are speaking of the grounds upon which he promoted the Exclusion, and how far they were reconcileable to his former principles, of which the reader, from what has been said, may very easily settle his judgment. As for Lord Halifax, who was the great patron of the limitations, he made no scruple of owning, that he meant thereby not to limit the successor only, but to lessen and curtail the prerogatives of the Crown. He carried it so far, if we may believe the Bishop of Sarum, and there is not the least colour for disbelieving him, as to insinuate, that a Popish King was a blessing, as it afforded an opportunity of putting all his successors under these restraints (49). Now granting these accounts to be true, there cannot be any thing clearer than that Shaftesbury continued a Royalist, though at the head of an opposition, and that Lord Halifax acted, or affected to act, upon the maxims of a common-wealth's man, when in the service of the Court. The reasons why Shaftesbury always rejected the scheme of limitations were, first, because he thought it was not for the benefit of the subject, that the prerogatives of the Crown should be lessened, but that the abuse of those prerogatives by Ministers should be punished; and therefore he conceived it unjust, that the English Monarchy should suffer for the fault of the Duke of York; and secondly, he thought limitations impracticable, because, if the person limited came to be King, and had a Parliament to his mind, those limitations might be as easily and as legally repealed as ever they were enacted. It is evident, that neither of these objections lay against his scheme of the Exclusion; for that would have left the Monarchy sound and entire, and have placed such a new head as would have always maintained his own title, and must have governed by law, in order to have it effectually in his power to do that; which would have been an advantage to the nation, rather than an inconvenience.

(x) Hist. of the Revolutions in England, p. 249. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 486.

(b) North's Examen, p. 123.

(c) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 103. North's Examen, p. 117. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 506.

(e) Kennet's and Echard's Histories. Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 104. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 506.

(48) Collected from his several Speeches made upon that occasion in Parliament.

(49) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 456.

zeal for the preservation of the King's person (g). Upon the whole, the Jury thought fit to return the bill *Ignoramus*. This occasioned a very high controversy, many asserting that this was inconsistent with their oaths, and others, who took themselves to be as good judges, maintaining as positively, that, consistently with their oaths, they could not have found another verdict; and several things were published on both sides (b) [N]. It is certain that

great

(g) Remarks upon the new Project of Association, where the Association is printed at large. (b) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 121.

[N] Were published on both sides.] The reader will find a full account of the proceedings against the Earl of Shaftesbury, upon this bill of indictment, in its proper place (50), and will there see what was sworn against him, and by whom. The great design of the Court was to make it evident to all the world, that the King could not obtain justice, even for the highest offences committed against him by a subject, from the manifest partiality of the Grand Juries in London, disposed and packed by malecontent sheriffs. The proof of this was supposed to depend on the manifest strength of the evidence offered to prove the facts laid in this indictment, which it was alledged the Grand Jury could not reject, without breach of their oaths (51). On the other hand, it was insisted upon, that the Grand Jury being sworn to bring in a true verdict, they could not, in their consciences, return *Billa vera*, where the evidence was inconsistent, given by infamous witnesses, and made up of absurd and incredible relations; in short, that a Grand Jury was bound to return *Ignoramus*, notwithstanding any evidence, when they, in their consciences, saw reason not to believe that evidence (52). To this purpose, a strong and bold piece was written, as a certain great Prelate informs us, by the learned and ingenious Mr. Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, and Chancellor of England (53). As for the Association mentioned in the text, the same Prelate tells us, and indeed it is very probable, that it was put into the hands of the Earl of Shaftesbury when the Parliament sat at Oxford, in which an Association had been proposed, as a necessary security against the apprehensions of Popery, and the dangers arising from a Popish Successor after the Exclusion Bill was rejected (54). Thus much is certain, that the Association was not mentioned in the indictment, but was offered as a supplemental and corroborative proof of what was sworn against his Lordship by the witnesses. There was another strange circumstance attended this, that one Mr. Wilton, who, on the part of the Earl, attended to receive back such of his papers as were seized, and were not considered as criminal, and to mark those of another nature, that it might appear they were really found in the Earl's custody; I say it was another strange circumstance in regard to this Association, that it was not indorsed as the other papers were, and that Mr. Wilton was committed for High-Treason (55). To say the plain truth, these were very dreadful times, when all parties had recourse to the most unjustifiable methods for carrying their points. Such as opposed the Government made no scruple of publishing the most bitter and injurious libels against it. On the other hand, those employed by the Court sacrificed truth and decency, without the least scruple. Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the Parliament, to vilify the Royal Family in the most scandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the Ministers to abuse and defame the Earl of Shaftesbury, which he did with all the alacrity in the world (56), and his abuse is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble person by the Oxford Historian (57). It was given out, with the like design, that the Earl of Shaftesbury had the vanity to expect to be chosen King of Poland, and this made way for calling him Count *Tafsky*, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out of the ulcer between his ribs when he was Lord Chancellor (58). It was also a standing jest with the lower form of Wits, to stile him *Shifsbury* instead of *Shaftesbury* (59). A very grave author is pleased to tell us, that when his Lordship was Chancellor, one Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rhenish and sugar, that is, entertained his mistresses (60); which, if true, was certainly a story that needed not to be communicated to posterity. We are told, that King Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once

said to the Earl at Court, in a vein of raillery and good humour, and in reference only to his amours, *I believe, Shaftesbury, thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions*. To which, with a low bow, and a very grave face, the Earl replied, *May it please your Majesty, of a subject I believe I am*; at which the merry Monarch laughed heartily. When parties were at their greatest height, the King would very often honour him with his conversation, and would ask his opinion upon indifferent things, which was not pleasing to the Ministers, as it carried nothing of that aversion which they would have had the world believe he entertained against his Lordship (61). In return, there is good reason to maintain, that whatever lengths party might carry him, his Lordship still retained a deep sense of that favour, with which his indulgent master had honoured him (62); and it happens a little strangely, that the author who has drawn this noble person's character in the blackest colours has, notwithstanding, left us a passage, which is the strongest proof of it (63). 'If he was a friend really to any human kind besides himself, I believe it was to King Charles II. whose gaiety, breeding, wit, good humour, familiarity, and disposition, to enjoy the pleasures of society and greatness, engaged him very much, that had a great share of wit, agreeableness, and gallantry himself. But this same superiority spoiled all; his Majesty would not be always influenced by him, but would take short turns on his toe, and so frustrate his projects: and by that, finding he could not work under him, strove, if possible, to reduce his authority, and get above him. It seems, by what was given out, that he would not have hurt the King personally, but kept him tame in a cage with his ordinary pleasures about him.'

(61) Character of King Charles II. P. 5.

(62) See his Letter to the King, at the end of Locke's Memoirs concerning the Earl's Life.

(63) North's Examen, p. 119.

* * [In the preceding narrative, there are two errors in point of fact, which require to be noticed. It is said that, in 1643, Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper was High Sheriff of the county of Dorset, and chose in that quality, rather than by virtue of any military commission, to raise the whole strength of the county, in the cause of the King and the Constitution. But it appears, from the Rolls of Dorsetshire, which have been examined by a near relation of the family, that this account is not true. The mistake, of Sir Anthony's having been High Sheriff that year, arose from the active part which he then took in the public transactions of the county, as related in the article.

Another error, far less natural, and more easy to be avoided, but which, nevertheless, has been adopted by all his Biographers, is, that in 1645 he was High Sheriff of Norfolk. But with that county he had no connection, nor had he any property in it; so that he could have no pretension to exercise there the office described. The fact is, that the Sheriff of Norfolk at the time specified was Sir Jacob Astley, afterwards created Lord Astley.

Anthony-Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, was so distinguished by his abilities and character, was advanced to such high stations, and took so active a part in the public transactions of his time, that his name frequently occurs in all the general histories of that period. Few, however, of the historical works that have lately been produced, record any other facts concerning him than those which are mentioned by the writers of the last century. We only meet with different representations of his character, according to the respective views and sentiments of the authors by whom his actions are related. The historian from whom we derive the most of what appears to be new with regard to the Earl of Shaftesbury, is Sir John Dalrymple. This Gentleman has ascertained two circumstances concerning him, which redound not a little to his honour. In the first place, Sir John

has

(50) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 418.

(51) North's Examen, p. 111.

(52) See the third part of No Protestant Plot, said to be written by the famous Robert Ferguson.

(53) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 509.

Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 108.

(54) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 506.

(55) North's Examen, p. 112. Rawleigh Redivivus, p. 107, 108.

(56) In a quarto pamphlet, intituled, A Packet of Advices and Animadversions, sent from London to the men of Shaftesbury, which is of use for all his Majesty's subjects in the three Kingdoms, London, 1676.

(57) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 721, 722, 723.

(58) See the Preface to Dryden's Poem upon the Medal.

(59) North's Examen, p. 42. Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, p. 331.

(60) North's Examen, p. 60.

(i) Dryden's Original Poems and Translations, p. 389. Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 389.

great rejoicings were made upon his Lordship's acquittal and discharge, and a MEDAL was also struck upon that occasion, which gave a subject to the satyric muse of Mr. Dryden, whose poem under that title is thought not at all inferior to any of his writings; which however decides nothing as to the fact, since Poets do not always succeed best upon the basis of truth or reason (i). The Earl, as soon as he was at liberty, endeavoured to vindicate himself by law, and brought an action against one Mr. Cradock, for speaking of him as a traitor. A rule however being made upon the motion of the defendant, that the trial should not be had before a Jury either of London or Middlesex, but in any other county that his Lordship should chuse, he thought fit to discontinue his suit (k). He resided for

(k) Rawleigh's *Re-divivus*, P. ii. p. 122.

(64) Dalrymple's Review of Events after the Restoration, p. 29, 30.

(65) Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. p. 325. Part i.

(66) Review, *ubi supra*, p. 57.

(67) Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 4. note.

(68) Review, *ubi supra*, p. 20.

(69) *Ibid.* p. 21.

has clearly proved, that the Earl, though he is always reckoned one of the cabal, had no concern in the iniquitous treaty which King Charles the Second entered into with the court of France in 1670, and by which he became a pensioner to Lewis the Fourteenth. The only members of the cabal who were privy to this treaty, were Lord Clifford and the Earl of Arlington; and it was conducted by the Lord Arundel of Wardour (64). Secondly, in the lists which Sir John Dalrymple has given of those Gentlemen who are said to have received sums of money from the French court, Lord Shaftesbury's name does not appear. Indeed, it is certain, from the best authority, that he refused large offers from that court; and his integrity in this respect is acknowledged by our historian (65). Whatever were the Earl's faults, he was above being bribed to act against the interests of his country; nor would he condescend to accept of any gratifications from the King of France, even when others of his party thought they might honestly do it, for the purpose of more effectually opposing the arbitrary designs of Charles the Second.—Another circumstance redounding to Lord Shaftesbury's honour, mentioned by Sir John Dalrymple, is, that his Lordship promoted the *Habeas Corpus* Act, that great palladium of the personal liberty of the subject (66).—Sir John has, likewise, taken notice of a remarkable instance of the Earl's popularity, in the latter part of his Life. This was in 1681, when the Grand Jury returned *ignoramus* to the Bill for High Treason that had been preferred against him; at which time the acclamations in the court were so great as to last an hour (67).

In these few things Sir John Dalrymple has borne an honourable testimony to Lord Shaftesbury's memory; but, in almost every other respect, he has been very severe upon his Lordship, and hath not only retailed the charges commonly urged against his character, but has loaded it with fresh accusations. Speaking of his being raised to the Peerage, upon the Restoration, Sir John says, that it was an honour afterwards ill requited by him (68): but surely the dignity conferred upon Ashley Cooper could afford no just reason why he should not oppose the measures of Charles the Second, when he found them to be arbitrary and tyrannical. Another point animadverted upon, is Lord Ashley's having assisted at the trial of the Regicides. "The most cruel circumstance," observes our Historian, "in the trial of these persons was, that several of the popular party, of whom Ashley Cooper was one, sat as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them (69)." Though we are far from approving of Lord Ashley's conduct on this occasion, we think, at the same time, that it was by no means so malignant as is here represented. There is something unjust in thus singling out his particular name, and exposing it to censure, when others were equally guilty, and ought, therefore, to have been mentioned. But it is not a fact that Lord Ashley doomed the Regicides to die for a rebellion to which he had incited them. He did not himself engage in the parliamentary cause till his endeavours to serve the King had, through misrepresentation, proved wholly ineffectual. When he did engage in that cause, he continued in arms but a very little time; and there is not the least shadow of a reason for believing that any of the persons in question were influenced by him in the part they took against Charles the First. Besides, it was not for their being concerned in the grand rebellion (as it is commonly cal-

led) that he joined in condemning them, but for their having been Regicides; for their having been the active and immediate instruments in bringing the King to the block; an event which Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, in conjunction with the rest of the Presbyterians, must have regarded with the utmost abhorrence.

In the progress of his history, Sir John Dalrymple asserts, without hesitation, that it was by the advice of the Earl of Shaftesbury that Charles the Second seized the issues of the Exchequer (70). He ascribes to the Earl all the unconstitutional measures which had been adopted previously to his putting himself at the head of the opposition to the court (71); and yet Sir John had before acknowledged that his Lordship, while in power, was supported by the people, because he pretended a reverence for their rights (72). Nay, our historian has not scrupled to represent Lord Shaftesbury as the contriver of the Popish Plot. His note upon the subject is too curious to be omitted. "It has been much doubted," says he, "whether Shaftesbury contrived the Popish Plot, or if he only made use of it, after it broke out. Some papers I have seen convince me he contrived it, though the persons he made use of as informers ran beyond their instructions. The common objection to the supposition of his contriving the plot, is, the absurdity of its circumstances. When Shaftesbury himself was pressed with regard to that absurdity, he made an answer which shows equally the depth and the irregularity of his genius. An account of it is in North's Examen, p. 95. "A certain Lord of his confidence in Parliament, once asked him what he intended to do with the plot, which was so full of nonsense as would scarce go down with *tantum non* ideots: what then could he propose by pressing the belief of it upon men of common sense, and especially in Parliament?" "It is no matter," said he, "the more nonsensical the better: if we cannot bring them to swallow worse nonsense than that, we shall never do any good with them (73)." It is much to be lamented that Sir John Dalrymple has not produced the papers which convinced him that the Earl of Shaftesbury was the contriver of the Popish Plot. Amidst all the curious and valuable letters and memorials which compose the second volume of Sir John's publication, nothing could have been of greater importance than the production of these papers. If they had been published, and if they had been found undeniably to ascertain the fact which Sir John Dalrymple supposes them to prove, they would not only have for ever fixed, without controversy, the flagitiousness of Lord Shaftesbury's character, but would have cleared up one of the most obscure and intricate parts of the English history. As to the anecdote related by Roger North, it does not come up to the point; not to mention that he was a very prejudiced writer, and that every one, who is acquainted with the world, knows what little stress is often to be laid on the stories which are told on the authority of certain Lords, or other nameless persons. Till, therefore, the papers in question shall be produced, and till it shall appear that they contain not merely surmises, but undoubted facts, we must be permitted to pay no regard to Sir John Dalrymple's opinion. It is acknowledged, that the Earl of Shaftesbury prosecuted, with great violence, the persons who were accused of being concerned in the Popish Plot; nor have we any intention of attempting to vindicate his conduct in this respect. At the same time, we perceive

(70) *Ibid.* p. 33.

(71) *Ibid.* p. 35.

(72) *Ibid.* p. 32.

(73) *Ibid.* p. 43. note.

many years at Thanet House in Aldergate-street; but finding his health decay, his spirits declining, and the times growing still more and more tempestuous, to which we may add, that those who were his bitterest enemies were now in the zenith of their power, he thought it high time to seek for some place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the small remainder of his life in peace (1). It was with this view, that in the month of November, 1682, he embarked for Holland, and arriving safely at Amsterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a house there, proposing to live in a manner suitable to his quality, being visited by persons of the first distinction, and treated with all the deference and respect that he could desire; but being seized by his old

(1) Kennet's and Echard's Histories.

ceive no sufficient reason for questioning his belief in the reality of that plot. In such a belief, however mistaken it might be, he only concurred in sentiment with the wisest and best men of that period, with the nation in general, and with the solemn declarations of the two Houses of Parliament. That he was the contriver of the plot appears to us to be altogether incredible. If this had been the case, how could a fact so atrocious and important have escaped, for such a length of time, the most complete detection? No one had more bitter enemies than the Earl of Shaftesbury; and they would have rejoiced in every opportunity of exposing his character and actions. Nor would such an opportunity have been wanting, if he had been guilty of the crime with which he is charged. The plot grew into discredit; several of the informers, and particularly Titus Oates, were severely punished for the testimonies they had given; and yet it never appeared, in the course of the evidence, that the contrivance of this famous conspiracy originated in Lord Shaftesbury. We have much personal respect for Sir John Dalrymple, and are fully sensible of the value of the historical information contained in his memoirs; but we must be permitted to say, that he is sometimes too precipitate in his decisions.

Since the preceding reflections were written, we have had the pleasure of finding them confirmed by the opinion of Mrs. Macaulay Graham. This ingenious Lady observes in general, that the whole plot contains such low absurdities and palpable contradictions, that it is impossible it could be invented, or adopted by any man of parts or education (74); and with regard to Lord Shaftesbury in particular, she has the following remark. He "has been accused of forging the circumstances of the Popish Plot. But in all our historical researches, we cannot find any traces either of the Earl's having been the original contriver of those circumstances deposed by Oates and Bedloe, or even of aggravating the contrivance of others: and if this had been the case, it is impossible, considering the low and corrupt characters of the witnesses, and the malicious vigilance of the court, that he should have escaped detection (75)." The same justly celebrated female historian has made a series of reflections on the Popish Plot, which are so impartial and judicious, that the insertion of them will probably afford a gratification to our readers. Nor can they be regarded as foreign to the subject of the present article, since Lord Shaftesbury took so active and capital a part in the proceedings relative to the plot.

"It is, says Mrs. Macaulay Graham, the violence, the virulence, and the want of candour in all parties, which have deceived the judgment of all the historians who have written on these times. Mr. Hume enumerates every circumstance which is the most favourable to the Papists, without making any mention of all those variety of incidents which confirmed the doubts even of the most scrupulous men of these times, and led them to believe, that many circumstances of the plot were true, though many were added, and others much magnified; and then he pronounces, that the party formed against the King and his brother were composed of a populace so credulous from prejudice, so blended with religious antipathy, as implicitly to believe the most palpable absurdities, and conducted by leaders so little scrupulous, as to endeavour, by encouraging perjury, subornation, lies, impostures, and even by shedding innocent blood, to gratify their own furious ambition, and subvert all legal authority. That there

are such individuals in all parties, to the shame of human nature, it must be acknowledged. But Mr. Hume, who makes very slight animadversions on the depraved conduct of the other party, of the wicked use they made of witnesses, whom they acknowledged to have been corrupt and perjured, might have taken into consideration that unhappy facility which attends all vulgar characters, in the believing every report which they wish to believe; and, in particular, if such report should gratify the views of avarice, ambition, or the keener feelings of resentment: that the Earl of Shaftesbury, and several others, were at this time well acquainted with the intentions on foot, not only to procure a toleration, but a re-establishment of Popery in this kingdom as the national religion, and that, with the desire of giving a general alarm to the public, they might be led to believe that there was something at bottom more black than appeared on the surface of things, and which might induce them to go on in their endeavours to unravel the mystery; and that even the manifold inconsistencies and absurdities contained in the narratives, instead of discouraging them, might serve only as farther incentives to discover the bottom of the plot, and might be considered as objections which a more complete information would fully remove.

"These are the grounds of justification, or at least palliation, for the warmth with which the popular leaders prosecuted the plot, which may lead to some useful observations, that may assist us to unravel that maze of intricate circumstances and incidents, which, by their opposition to each other, hold the judgment in suspense, and prevent the candid mind from proceeding to any decisive determination on this very obscure part of the English history. It is to be remembered, that Charles had not only favoured all the ambitious views of France, but had actually entered into a conspiracy with the French court, to destroy one of the chief supports of the Protestant interest, in the reduction of the United Provinces: that he had actually supported that part of the demands of France, which provided for the re-establishment of Popery in Holland, by refusing to make a peace with the States General, till they had complied with all the exorbitant conditions offered by the haughty Lewis: that he had actually entered into a treaty, by which that monarch was to supply him with men and arms to subdue the liberties of his own subjects, and to re-establish Popery in England; and that he had pledged his faith, to avow to the whole world his own conversion to the see of Rome: that his brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, had, with more integrity, though less policy, avowed his conversion: that both the brothers had married Papists, and by their respective marriage contracts, the Romish religion was openly celebrated in the royal palaces of England: that by the legal protection given to the family priests, and the connivance to other individuals of this order without number, to frequent the metropolis, and disperse themselves all over the kingdom, the great work of conversion was carried on with such success, and with such countenance from the court, that it alarmed the fears of the church, and induced them to put the nation on their guard against the impending evil. With these apparent dangers the Duke of York, and his Secretary, with other inferior emissaries, were employed in carrying on criminal correspondences with the courts of Rome and Paris, to take advantage of the favourable crisis, and to lend their assistance towards the rooting out the pestilent northern heresy. The Jesuits in England had their

corre-

(74) History of England, vol. vii. p. 282.

(75) Ibid. p. 423, 424.

old distemper the gout, it speedily flew up into his stomach, and soon became mortal; so that he expired on the twenty-second of Jan. 1682-3, in the sixty-second year of his age (m.)

His

(m.) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii. p. 125.
Comp. Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 400.
Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 158.

correspondence with the brotherhood all over Europe; and, with their patron in Rome, under whose authority, and by whose direction they proceeded in all things, had their stated times and places of rendezvous, had held their general assembly, agreeably to summons, on the very same day in April, mentioned by Oates, in the Duke of York's own house, according to what this Prince confessed to Sir John Reresby: and, in addition to these circumstances, the Dukes of York, to cover the retreat of those priests and jesuits who were deepest in the secret, made a private voyage to Holland. It is affirmed in one of the trials of the Papists, that Ewers, who is often and very materially mentioned in Dugdale's evidence, was one of these priests; and candour must acknowledge, that it is difficult to conceive why a Secretary of State should order the Mayor of Dover to arrest and detain Norris, together with his companion, unless it was apprehended that the party had still some secrets not known to the public. From all these circumstances it is highly probable that Oates, though not so much in the confidence of the leaders of the party as to be entrusted with any plans or schemes which they had formed for the entire conversion of the English, and the bringing its Church into obedience to the See of Rome, had heard enough from the inferior emissaries to be convinced, that there was some grand design carrying on, which was to be fatal to the Protestant cause, and that stirred up by resentment for the contempt with which he was treated, and the poverty in which he was suffered to remain, he had made up in invention for the want of knowledge of particulars; and that Bedloe and the whole crew of informers, had all grounded their several depositions on what they had observed to be the common talk and expectations of the party, viz. that Protestantism in England would be soon extirpated, and the Romish religion prevail. Turberville, some time before he thought of following the trade of a witness, told Dr. Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, that this opinion was current among all the Papists; also that a great deal of blood would be shed before it could be brought about; and all the converts from Popery, whether they acted the part of witnesses, or not, frequently mentioned this circumstance in their private discourse.

"It is possible that the most extraordinary and the most incredible parts of the depositions might arise from the extravagant conceits of the inferior Papists, who endeavoured in this manner to account for the sanguine hopes which their leaders had of rooting out, in a short time, the northern heresy; and, in regard to the evidence so circumstantially given in of the design of killing the King, it is more than probable that it arose from some very imprudent expressions of a warm resentment which the party had conceived against his Majesty, for the having broken his word in regard to the avowing his conversion, and the taking measures for the re-establishment of Popery, according to his treaty with France; and the continual assertion, that his Majesty had deceived them, I think may very fairly be applied to the King's having taken the money from France on this pretence, and the afterwards refusing to fulfil the conditions on which the money was given.

"Can any man of candour say, that a conspiracy to re-establish Popery as the national religion is not proved by Charles's first treaty with France, and by Coleman's letters? and will not any man of candour acknowledge, that such a conspiracy was justly the object of public concern? All the injustice, therefore, which accompanied the prosecution of the plot lay in the iniquity of the bench, and in the iniquity of those who endeavoured to divert the storm of public resentment from the proper objects to the inferior emissaries. With such encouragement as the King's being a concealed, and his brother an avowed Papist, this sect must, agreeably to their religious opinions, have acted criminally if they had not made a full use of the opportunity to destroy heresy and restore the

ancient constitution of the Church of Christ: and though the corruptions of interest might mix with the designs of the leaders, the generality of the party were, undoubtedly, actuated by the laudable motives of conscience and pious zeal. All the criminality lay on the side of the King and his brother, who, by the basest treachery and the most flagrant breach of trust, had formed a conspiracy against those people whom they were bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. It was against them and against them only, that the resentment of the nation could, with any degree of justice, fall. To reduce their power within safe and salutary bounds, should have been the general and particular concern of every sect of Protestants; and to this grand object the wisdom of Parliament ought to have been alone directed. But in any attempts of this nature it is plain that the Commons would have been forsaken by the High Church-party and the House of Lords; and in consequence of such a desertion by the majority of the nation. In this light we are to consider the Popish sufferers as victims sacrificed by the court to appease the wrath of the people; and, on the other side, as victims to the policy of the deep intriguers in the opposition, to expose the guilt of the court. The ways, it must be acknowledged, to obtain this end, by procuring evidence through the temptation of a reward, were infamous: yet, to the reproach of modern times, this snare for the lives of the innocent, and for the consciences of the corrupt, is a practice which still prevails in the administration of Government, and is still supported by the wisdom of the bench, as a lawful, a laudable, and a necessary expedient to obtain justice on public delinquents (76)."

To return to Sir John Dalrymple: that historian, in some other respects, bears very hard upon the memory of Lord Shaftesbury, and not always, in our opinion, with sufficient reason. In his account of the Earl's death, he says, on the authority of a letter written from Holland, that he was full of suspicions and fears; that he would not sleep, except in his cloaths, that he might be ready to start up; and that the passions which agitated him must have made a strong impression upon those who saw him; for they imagined, that, even when he slept, he kept his eyes open (77). Sir John, however, has afterwards acknowledged, that he laid an undue stress upon this letter; and that if he had known the character of the writer, (one Massal) to have been so bad as he since found it to have been, he certainly should not have given credit to any thing said by him (78).

Mrs. Macaulay Graham in several respects follows Sir John Dalrymple, in the accounts she occasionally gives of Lord Shaftesbury's conduct; though in others she differs from that historian. One instance to this purpose we have already seen. Another occurs in her representation of the motives by which the Earl was actuated in quitting the service of King Charles the Second; and as she has hence taken occasion to enter pretty largely into a description of her views of his Lordship's character, we shall transcribe the passage.

"At this period of time, says she, the Earl of Shaftesbury's conduct is so mysterious, that it has given rise to various conjectures, which appear almost equally improbable and groundless. It has been represented by some writers, that he was disgusted by the King's timidity, and was determined to abandon the service of a Prince who had not the resolution to carry any hazardous enterprize into execution; by others, that he was offended with the not having his irregular writs supported by the royal authority; and some of the royalists carry their prejudices so far as to assert, that he had conceived a hatred to the royal brothers, and entered into the intrigues of the court, with the intention of betraying its councils, of exposing it to the resentment of the injured public, and thus laying the foundation of such jealousies between the King and his people, as might end in the change of government, or in renewing those civil distractions which

(76) History of England, vol. vii. p. 283—289.

(77) Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i. p. 25.

(78) Memoirs, &c. vol. ii. Appendix to the Review of Events, p. 325.

His body being embalmed was transported to England, and the corps being landed at Poole in Dorsetshire, the Gentlemen of that county, out of their extraordinary regard to his memory,

which he had found favourable to his views of interest and ambition.

"The assertion, that Shaftesbury was disgusted with the King's timidity, is, I think, contradicted by plain matters of fact; which shew that his Majesty kept firm to his purpose of subduing the refractory spirit of Parliament, till after the period when Shaftesbury, by a bold and unexpected stroke of policy, threw off the odium he had incurred from his intrigues with the court, and secured his personal safety by a timely opposition to those measures which he had approved in the cabinet. That Shaftesbury should take any great offence at the want of support to his irregular writs, is not very likely; because the King had, as far as lay in his power, exculpated his Minister, by declaring to the Parliament that they were issued in obedience to his command; and the last assertion stands on no grounds of probability, since it is plain, that the Earl had not imbibed any of those republican prejudices which war against a tranquil submission to the government of an individual, or any of those fixed notions in religious matters which could tend to the making him uneasy under the legal establishment. It was from the provocation of a personal disgust only, that he first left the royal party. He had been patronized by Cromwell, and was a firm supporter of his usurpation: he was active in the introducing monarchy again into the kingdom; was raised by the reigning family to the dignity of a Peer; and his services, as had been those of many of the warm royalists, were not forgotten: on these reasons he could have no provocations adequate to the contracting such a deep resentment against the royal brothers, as should engage him in such dark and dangerous projects of revenge.

"It appears from the whole tenour of Shaftesbury's conduct, that he was a turbulent and an ambitious man; that he prized his personal power and interest superior to any of those objects which affect the general happiness; but he was incapable of that mean avarice which subjects men to criminal and dishonourable actions, on the lucre of pecuniary gain, and was the only individual of the Cabal who refused the accepting a bribe from the French King. As the Earl of Shaftesbury's abilities were great, his expectations were sanguine; and in all probability he entered into the treaty with France, in the hopes, by such a compliance with the King's favourite project, to direct the counsels of the cabinet, and become the sole Minister.

"The whimsical and absurd design of altering the religion of the country, the folly and extravagance of which Shaftesbury's understanding would immediately have pointed out, he was an entire stranger to: the scheme of subduing Holland, and lulling the suspicions of the nation asleep, on the King's growing greatness, by national acquisitions, though highly criminal, did not in speculation appear impracticable; and the authority of the Prince is never terrible to an ambitious Minister, who is flattered with the idea that he shall be able to render it personal to himself.

"On this view of the subject, Shaftesbury engaged in the attempt of subverting the constitution of his country, with all that daring spirit of enterprize which is peculiar to men who are sensible of the superiority of their genius; and he was undoubtedly encouraged in the undertaking by the divided state of the nation; the persecution under which the Non-Conformists groaned, which would readily incline them to support that power which offered them protection; the important concessions made to the prerogative; the compliant, if not corrupt, conduct of the Parliament; and that general spirit of submission which possessed the whole nation.

"The very unexpected ill success of the war, which occasioned the necessity of applying to the Parliament before the progress of power was brought to a sufficient maturity, the Duke's injudicious declaration of his religion, which explained to the whole nation the meaning of that mysterious conduct in

VOL. IV.

Government which had puzzled the politicians, and, in all probability, discovered to Shaftesbury the secret intentions of the treaty, gave a very different aspect to affairs than what the first appearances had carried; and in addition to these reasons for altering the plan of his conduct, the Earl of Shaftesbury found himself engaged in the most hazardous enterprize, with men whose abilities were inferior to his own, who were envious of each other's interest with the King, who were not united by any tie of mutual confidence, who were quarrelling among themselves, and who had all more the ear of the Sovereign than the Chancellor, who had the mortification to find himself not equal in royal favour with the rake Buckingham, the impetuous bigot Clifford, or that dull, yet profligate tool of power, Lauderdale. These were undoubtedly sufficient reasons for the Earl of Shaftesbury to take shelter under the shield of popularity, from those evils which an inferior understanding could easily foresee. By his not carrying his courtship to the popular party so far as to part with his high office, it appears that he intended, either by favour or fear, to preserve, if possible, his place in the Administration, and to direct his future conduct on the principles of preferment, or fierce opposition, as times and incidents should advise (79)."

In the relation of the Earl of Shaftesbury's death, Mrs. Macaulay Graham has inadvertently been led to copy Sir John Dalrymple's mistaken account of that transaction; and she has accompanied her narration with a reflection on his Lordship, which we must regard as more severe than just. "His furious temper," says she, "united to his great capacity, had done the cause of liberty and the friends of the constitution so much mischief, that he may justly be said to be the author of that short-lived, though ruinous power of the royal brothers, which proved so fatal to the most illustrious characters of the age: an eminent proof that the love of action, so inseparable to exalted virtue, is a very mischievous quality when it is not governed by benevolence and discretion; and that when the mind is left a prey to the tyranny of unruly passions, the extent of mental abilities and the vigour of imagination, by exalting our desires, and enlarging our power of committing evil, and attracting the envy of mankind, becomes a real misfortune, and serves only to render us more distinguished, though less pitied objects of wretchedness (80)." A little after, our female historian expresses herself with greater candour, and, in our opinion, with greater truth. "It is also proper," she says, "to observe, considering the manner in which the Earl's character has been blackened, and the many faults which it is necessary for an historian to have observed in his conduct, that whilst he possessed the high office of Chancellor, his decrees were equally remarkable for justice and integrity; and as he was the only man among the Cabal who had a sufficient sense of honour to withstand the corruptions of French bribery, even when countenanced by the example, and encouraged by the permission of his Sovereign, it may justly be inferred, that the exceptionable and vicious part of his conduct, as a Minister and Patriot, neither lay in the baseness of his heart, or the defect of his judgment; and that the keen and galling passions of ambition and revenge, were the great corruptors of a noble nature (81)."

Mr. Macpherson's character of the Earl of Shaftesbury, whether strictly just or not, must be allowed to be drawn with a masterly hand. It occurs in the account which that historian gives of the Cabal. "The Lord Ashley," says he, "whose name stands fourth in the Committee, was first in abilities and extraordinary talents. Bound by no principle, and restrained by no ties, his uncommon parts having room to play, appeared in their utmost force to the world. Bold and intrepid in his counsels, yet full of address in his manner, he could

* 3 X

(79) History of England, vol. vi. p. 410—414.

(80) Ibid. vol. vii. p. 423.

(81) Ibid. p. 424.

"execute

(n) Rawleigh Redivivus, P. ii.
p. 125.

mory, came uninvited, and accompanied it to Winborne St. Giles's, where he was interred with his ancestors (n); and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inscription to his honour,

"execute with confidence, whatever he had planned with art. Naturally restless in his temper, he loved trouble from its amusement, and though ambitious, was fond of confusion, more as a field of action, than as the means of acquiring power. His knowledge of human nature was very extensive. He was acquainted with the tempers of men, and commanded them through the channel of their ruling passions. Without the reputation of constancy, he gained the confidence of parties through their opinion of his talents; and though he deserted measures frequently, he never betrayed his friends. He was an eloquent speaker; but more subtle in his argument, than solid in his judgment; indefatigable in business, but versatile and changeable in his schemes. Measuring the rules of policy by his own variable passions, he was attached to no political principle, to no particular system of government. Now a republican, now all for monarchy; to-day a supporter of liberty, to-morrow the slave of absolute power: and thus, though regularly under the dominion of his insatiable desires, he seemed always inconsistent with himself. During the first years of Charles, the attachment of the nation to their Sovereign deprived him of a field for exerting his abilities, which were only calculated to shine in times of tumult and confusion. He continued in office, more through the influence of the Earl of Southampton, whose niece he had married, than from any opinion of his political consequence. When Buckingham acquired influence, he attached himself to his counsels; and this near approach to Charles, was the means of discovering to him talents, which he deemed suitable for executing his schemes (82)."

(82) History of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 134, 135.

Of all the writers that have characterised the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Horace Walpole is the most severe. This Gentleman, after his account of the Earl of Rochester, thus introduces the subject of the present article. "As Lord Rochester was immersed only in the vices of that reign, his was an innocent character compared to those who were plunged in its crimes. A great weight of the latter fell to the share of the Lord in question, who had canted tyranny under Cromwell, practised it under Charles the Second, and who disgraced the cause of liberty by being the busiest instrument for it, when every other party had rejected him. It was the weakest vanity in him to brag that Cromwell would have made him King: the best he could hope for was not to be believed; if true, it only proved that Cromwell took him for a fool. That he should have acted in the trials of the Regicides was but agreeable to his character—or to his want of it. Let us hasten to his works: he was rather a copious writer for faction than an author; for in no light can one imagine that he wished to be remembered." Mr. Walpole, after giving a list of the Earl's writings, which consist chiefly of speeches made in Parliament, concludes as follows. "One cannot but observe with concern what I have before remarked, that writing the life of a man is too apt to instill partiality for the subject. The history of Lord Shaftesbury in the Biographia is almost a panegyric; whereas a bon-mot of the Earl himself was his truest character. Charles the second said to him one day; 'Shaftesbury, I believe thou art the wickedest fellow in my dominions.' He bowed, and replied, 'Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am (83).'"

(83) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England, vol. ii. p. 48, 49, 56.

Such is the account which Mr. Walpole has given of the Earl of Shaftesbury; and it will easily be imagined, that we have not inserted it by way of approbation, but of censure. Nor could even a severe censure of it be imputed either to a want of justice or of candour. Mr. Walpole, who is so exquisite a judge of painting, ought to have understood better the drawing of a moral picture, the delineation of a character. In his representation, the Earl appears not only destitute of virtue, but of ability: and yet his Lordship's bitterest enemies have acknowledged,

that his talents were of the first order. They have equally acknowledged, that he never betrayed his friends, and that he stood firm against the allurements of bribery. As to the story of his bragging that Cromwell would have made him King, let those believe it, who are capable of giving credit to all the partial and prejudiced anecdotes, which, upon very doubtful authority, have been recorded to his disadvantage.

Extremely different is the treatment which the Earl of Shaftesbury has received from the judicious Rapin. That historian, while he relates the actions of the Earl with fidelity, whether favourable or unfavourable to his memory, has accompanied his narration with reflections which are equally the dictates of truth and of candour. Upon occasion of his Lordship's quitting the service of the court, and becoming the leader of the opposition, M. Rapin has made the following remarks.

"The Earl of Shaftesbury from this time was always in the head of the country party, and caused the King to undergo great mortifications, as will hereafter appear. But I must give here a very material caution to those who read father Orleans's history, or such English or foreign authors as espouse the King's cause. All these writers paint the Earl of Shaftesbury in very black colours. He was, according to them, the greatest villain that ever lived; his wickedness was answerable to the extent of his genius, and the depth of his penetration. He was perpetually contriving how to torment the King and Duke of York, or rather to ruin them irrecoverably. He was not only the head but the soul, of his party, by which they were actuated. In short, every thing transacted afterwards by the Parliament against the King, is solely imputed to him, and it is artfully insinuated, that, had it not been for such an agent, the nation would have remained in tranquility, and the Parliament, content with the King's favourable answers, and gracious promises, would have been quiet, and attempted nothing against the court. Thus, according to these writers, all the measures and precautions taken afterwards by the Parliament against the designs of the court, were entirely owing to Shaftesbury's malice and revenge. It is easy to perceive, that their design is to cause to vanish the grounds of the Parliament's fear and complaint of the conduct of the court, by insinuating, that these complaints were frivolous, and the effects of Shaftesbury's vengeance, who, they say, directed both Houses of Parliament, or rather had them entirely at command. For my part, I am no way concerned to vindicate the Earl of Shaftesbury's honour, but believe myself obliged to remark, for the more easy discovery of the truth, that the project of the Cabal to render the King absolute, and introduce Popery, is of unquestionable certainty. The authors just mentioned, scruple not to own it, and should they deny it, the thing would not be less true. Consequently the Parliament coming to a full and exact knowledge of this design, which was only suspected before, had all the reason in the world for their fear and caution against the King and his Ministers. This being granted, let the Earl of Shaftesbury have been a villain, or an honest man; let him have betrayed the King's secrets, and acted only through a spirit of revenge; let his fear of the Parliament be the sole motive of his engaging in the country party against the King; or let him have acted from a principle of honour and duty, in order to save the Church and State, the thing itself remains the same. The good or bad qualities of the Earl of Shaftesbury did not cause the Parliament to have more or less reason to fear the designs of the King and his Ministers. If they were prejudicial to religion and the state, as cannot be denied, the Parliament had reason to take the best measures to prevent them. Why therefore are these measures, these precautions, ascribed to Shaftesbury's malice and artifices, since there was another and more natural cause. Before the Earl of Shaftesbury appeared in the party contrary to the court, the Parlia-

honour, was erected by his worthy descendant, the late Earl of Shaftesbury (o). His Lordship married three wives; the first, Margaret, daughter to Thomas Lord Coventry, by whom he had no issue; secondly, Frances, daughter to David Earl of Exeter, by whom he had

(o) Collins's
Peerage, vol. ii.
p. 383.

Parliament had begun to take these precautions, though the court's designs were yet but suspected: they were better informed by the Earl of Shaftesbury: why therefore is it supposed, that after this information, they suddenly relinquish their former motives, and act only with a view to serve as instruments of Shaftesbury's revenge? This is not even probable, and yet the authors abovementioned lose no opportunity of reproaching the Earl of Shaftesbury, and ascribing solely to him all the mortifications the King afterwards received. Besides the reader's instruction, my design, in what I have said, is to hinder such as have read, or shall read the other historians, from thinking it strange that I do not every moment exclaim against the Earl of Shaftesbury's conduct, as if he were the sole author of what was done against the King; and that I content myself with saying in a word, this Lord used all his interest and credit to break the measures of the King and his Ministers (84)."

(84) Hist. of Eng.
vol. xi. p. 393—
395. fourth ed.
8vo.

(85) Ibid. p. 337.

M. Rapin had before observed, that Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was one of the greatest geniuses England had produced for many years; and that this is the testimony equally given him by friends and enemies (85).

In the British Biography, the writer of the article concerning his Lordship has summed up his character in a few words, and with exemplary candour. "The Earl of Shaftesbury," says the Biographer, "was a man of very great abilities, profoundly skilled in the laws and constitution of his country, and one of the greatest Statesmen and most accomplished Orators of the age in which he lived. He has been much censured for his ambition, and the mutability of his conduct; and it must be confessed that his behaviour, when in power, was, in many instances, very exceptionable; though it may, perhaps, be doubted, whether there is sufficient foundation for the severity with which he has been treated by some ingenious writers (86)."

(86) British
Biog. vol. vi. p.
169.

We shall add the portrait that has been drawn of our famous Statesman by the late Mr. Granger. "The great talents of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and his exact knowledge of men and things, contributed to render him one of the first characters of his age. But the violence of his passions, and the flexibility of his principles, prompted him to act very different, and even contrary parts. This was in some measure owing to the changes in the times in which he lived; but is more to be attributed to the mutability of his character, which ever varied with the interests of his ambition. When we consider him as sitting in the highest tribunal of the kingdom, explaining and correcting the laws, detecting fraud, and exerting all the powers of his eloquence on the side of justice; we admire the able Lawyer, the commanding Orator, and the upright Judge. But when he enters into all the iniquitous measures of the *Cabal*, when he prostitutes his eloquence to enslave his country, and becomes the factious leader and the popular incendiary; we regard him with an equal mixture of horror and regret (87)."

(87) Biog. Hist.
of Eng. vol. iii.
p. 362, 363. second edition.

It may here be remarked, that it is now decisively known, that Lord Shaftesbury did not enter into all the iniquitous measures of the *Cabal*: nor is it true that he prostituted his eloquence to enslave his country. Whatever may be thought of one or two of his speeches, which he delivered officially, when Lord Chancellor, it is certain that his abilities as an Orator were usually exerted in the cause of liberty, and to preserve the kingdom from becoming subject to civil tyranny and religious persecution.

These are the various representations which have been given of the Earl of Shaftesbury's character; and most of them, we see, are highly to his disadvantage. Sir John Dalrymple observes, that every thing has been written against him, and nothing for him (88). This is not strictly true, as is evident from Collins's

(88) Memoirs,
&c. vol. ii.
Appendix to the
Review of Events,
p. 325.

Peerage, and the passages which we have quoted from Rapin and the British Biography. There were, likewise, one or two accounts of him, published soon after his death, which were entirely of a panegyric nature. These we have read, but do not think them worthy of particular notice, as they are rather party publications than just pieces of Biographical composition. Mr. Locke's account of our eminent Statesman, though short, and very imperfect, is a sufficient testimony of the high opinion which that great Philosopher entertained of his Lordship.

A complete life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by which we mean a full and particular narrative of his political conduct, and which would, in fact, comprehend the principal events of his time, is still a desideratum in the historical literature of this country: nor have the noble family been unmindful of the subject. His Lordship's descendants have wished to rescue their ancestor from the obloquy with which his memory has been loaded, and to set his actions in a just light; but the design has not yet been fully carried into execution. The Earl had himself written a history of his own times, which, when he was obliged to flee to Holland, he entrusted to the care of Mr. Locke. Unfortunately for the public, when Algernon Sidney was infamously put to death, on a charge of treason grounded upon papers which were found in his closet, Mr. Locke, intimidated with the apprehension of a like prosecution, committed Lord Shaftesbury's manuscript to the flames. The professed design of the work was to display to the world the principles and motives by which his enemies had been actuated, and to give a true and impartial account of his own conduct. Whatever degree of self-love may be supposed, in certain cases, to have operated upon his Lordship's mind, it will be allowed, that, in consequence of his genius, his knowledge, the eminent stations he occupied, and his access to the sources of information, he must have been capable of throwing great light on the transactions of the time. The history began with the Reformation, and traced the course of events down to the Civil War, with a view of pointing out the defects of the Constitution, and of stating what ought farther to be done, in order to strengthen and confirm the liberties of the people. It is understood that the Earl was particularly excellent in his characters. Some of these, in loose papers, are still in the possession of the family. The largest fragment now remaining is in the early part of the work, where the author has drawn the characters of the principal Gentlemen who flourished in the county of Dorset, at the time in which he arrived to man's estate. From this fragment, a curious extract, some years since, made its way to the public. We mean the account of the Hon. William Hastings, of Woodlands in Dorsetshire, by his quality son, brother, and uncle to the Earls of Huntingdon; which account is said to have first appeared in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, and has since been published in the *Connoisseur*, and the *British Biography* (89). Were it not to be seen in books of easy access, we should here have inserted it with pleasure. It affords a striking example of Lord Shaftesbury's talent in characteristic composition; and Mr. Walpole, who in no other respect has spoken favourably of his Lordship, has observed, that it is a curious and well drawn portrait of our ancient English gentry (90).

(89) *Connoisseur*,
vol. iii. p. 75—
79. N° 81.

British Biog.
raphy, vol. vi. p.
170, 171. I
have examined
the whole of
Evans's edition
of Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*;
without finding
there the cha-
racter of William
Hastings.

(90) Walpole's
Royal and Noble
Authors, vol. ii.
p. 55, 56.

For the loss which was occasioned by Mr. Locke's timidity or prudence, he was solicitous to make some degree of reparation. Accordingly, he formed an intention of writing, at large, the history of his noble friend; and if he had accomplished his intention, his work would undoubtedly have been a very valuable present to the public. It must, therefore, be regretted, that he was prevented from proceeding any farther in the completion of his design than collecting the few materials which occur in his letter to a person of quality.

But though Lord Shaftesbury's own memoirs were thus

(p) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 482; where he is entirely mistaken as to his Lordship's having issue by his last wife, and not by his second.

(q) This appears from the inscription upon his monument.

had Anthony his son and heir (p); and thirdly, Margaret, daughter of William Lord Spencer, by whom he left no issue (q). Anthony, his only son and successor, was born on the 16th of January, 1651, and married Dorothy, daughter to John Earl of Rutland, by whom he had two sons, Anthony and Maurice, and four daughters, Lady Frances, married to

thus unfortunately destroyed, and Mr. Locke failed of executing his purpose, there was another Biographer, who wrote a Life of the Earl, soon after his decease. This was Thomas Stringer, Esq; of Ivy Church, near Salisbury, a Gentleman of great integrity and excellent character; who had held, we believe, under his Lordship, when High-Chancellor of England, the office of Clerk of the presentations; and who was much esteemed by some of the principal persons of the age. With Mr. Locke in particular, he maintained an intimate friendship to the time of his death, which happened in 1702. Mr. Stringer's account has been the ground-work on which the narrative intended for the public eye, by the noble family, has been built. It contained a valuable history of the Earl's life; but was probably much inferior in composition to what Mr. Locke's would have been; and indeed, in its original form, it was too imperfect for publication. Sometime about the year 1732, this manuscript, together with the rest of the Shaftesbury papers, was put into the hands of Mr. Benjamin Martyn, a Gentleman who was then known in the literary world, in consequence of having written a tragedy, entitled Timoleon, which had been acted with success at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Mr. Martyn made Mr. Stringer's manuscript the basis of his own work, which he enriched with such speeches of the Earl as are yet remaining, and with several particulars drawn from some loose papers left by his Lordship. He availed himself, likewise, of other means of information, which more recent publications had afforded; and prefixed to the whole an introduction of considerable length, wherein he passed very high encomiums on our great Statesman, and strengthened them by the testimonies of Mr. Locke and Monf. Le Clerc. He added, also, strictures on L'Estrange, Sir William Temple, Bishop Burnet, and others, who had written to his Lordship's disadvantage. One anecdote, which we well remember, it cannot but be agreeable to the public and to the noble family to see related. It is well known with what severity the Earl of Shaftesbury's character is treated by Dryden, in his Absalom and Achitophel. Nevertheless, soon after that fine satire appeared, his Lordship, having the nomination of a Scholar, as Governor of the Charter-House, gave it to one of the Poet's sons, without any solicitation on the part of the father, or of any other person. This act of generosity had such an effect upon Dryden, that, to testify his gratitude, he added, in the second edition of the poem, the four following lines, in celebration of the Earl's conduct as Lord Chancellor.

In Israel's court ne'er sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,
Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress,
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access.

When King Charles the Second read these lines, he told Dryden that he had spoiled by them all which he had before said of Shaftesbury.

Notwithstanding the pains that had been taken by Mr. Martyn, the late Earl of Shaftesbury did not think the work sufficiently finished for publication; and, therefore, somewhat more than twenty years ago, he put it into the hands of his friend, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Master of the Temple. All, however, that Dr. Sharpe performed, was to recommend it to the care of a Gentleman still living, who is distinguished for his accurate acquaintance with the history of England; and for the astonishing precision and extent of his memory with respect to the minutest circumstances of the facts, dates, and persons which occur in the whole course of that history. This Gentleman examined Mr. Martyn's manuscript with attention, pointed out its errors, made references, and suggested a number of instances in which it might be improved, but did not proceed much farther in the undertaking.

At length, the work was consigned to another person, who spent considerable labour upon it, enlarged it by a variety of additions, and had it in contemplation to avail himself of every degree of information which might render it a correct history of the time, as well as a narrative of the Life of Lord Shaftesbury. The reasons (not unfriendly on either side) which prevented the person now mentioned from completing his design, and occasioned him to return the papers to the noble family, are not of sufficient consequence to be here related. Whether the work is likely soon to appear, it is not in our power to ascertain. In the mean while, it is a necessary act of justice to the memory of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, and cannot but be agreeable to every one of his descendants, and to our readers in general, to mention a few of the things which may be expected to be elucidated, whenever the account of him shall be published.

In the twenty-first volume of the Parliamentary history, there is a long speech against Richard Cromwell's House of Lords, concerning which the writers of that history say, that they do not warrant the authenticity of it, because they think it too bold for the time. They add, "but that it is as old, is clear from all appearances." Indeed, soon after it is said to have been delivered, it was published under the title of "A seasonable Speech, made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House." According to the Shaftesbury papers, the person by whom it was actually spoken was Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper; and it reflects great credit on his spirit, courage, and eloquence. Were it not too long, we should gladly have inserted it from the Parliamentary History (91).

It is well known that few things have been deemed more censurable in the Earl of Clarendon's conduct, than the part he took with regard to the sale of Dunkirk. This transaction Lord Ashley strenuously opposed; and he was equally hostile to that Statesman's narrow principles and policy respecting the Dissenters. The penalties of the Act of Uniformity, and the severities of the Five Mile Act were regarded by him with the greatest abhorrence, and he contended against them to the utmost of his power.

Another object displayed in the unpublished Life of Lord Shaftesbury, is his zeal for the promotion of manufactures, trade, and commerce. This object he was particularly led to by his situation as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he employed himself upon it with unremitting attention and ardour. The numerous papers which are now in the possession of the family, relative to matters of a commercial nature, are full proofs of what is here asserted.

A farther circumstance, mentioned and enlarged upon to the credit of Lord Ashley, is his having prevented the King, in 1666, from going to war with the Hamburgers, on account of an attack which four Dutch men of war had made on some English merchant ships that lay in the Elbe. The city of Hamburg was in no degree blameable on this occasion. It was, however, with difficulty that Lord Ashley could dissuade his Majesty from proceeding to extremities. No account of this transaction has, we believe, made its way into any of our general histories.

After the Earl of Clarendon's disgrace, some popular measures were, for a short time, pursued by Government. The triple alliance was formed against the encroaching power of France; new regulations were issued with regard to the mode of conducting public business; several rules and ordinances were established and ratified, respecting navigation; a declaration was made by the King, to Parliament, in favour of Protestant Dissenters; and an order appeared in the Gazette, calculated to suppress, as much as possible, the practice of duelling. In these and other instances, the narrative endeavours to shew, that Lord Ashley was the principal Agent, and not Sir Orlando Bridgeman;

(91) Parliamentary History, vol. xxi. p. 297—310. second edit.

to Francis Stonehouse of Hungerford Park, in the county of Berks, Esq; Lady Elizabeth, wife of James Harris, of Salisbury, Esq; Lady Dorothy, who was espoused to Edward Hooper, of Hern-court in the county of Southampton, Esq; and Lady Gertrude, who died unmarried,

Bridgeman; who, though he was made Lord Keeper on the dismissal of the Earl of Clarendon, did not succeed that Nobleman in his political power and interest. Without presuming to determine this point, one thing is certain, and will decisively be proved by the work in question, that, at the period we are speaking of, Lord Ashley addressed a memorial to the King, which contained excellent advice with relation to the management of public affairs.

One of the most important parts of the Earl of Shaftesbury's life was whilst he was a Member of the CABAL; and, at this time, his conduct, with no small appearance of justice, has almost universally been considered as very liable to censure. The four things principally brought as charges against him, are the shutting up of the Exchequer; the Declaration of Indulgence; the issuing of Writs for vacant Boroughs, during the Recess of Parliament; and the Speech against the Dutch, in which was introduced, "Delenda est Carthago." That his Lordship was the person who gave or suggested the advice for shutting up the Exchequer, has been asserted by several writers, in consequence of a passage in Bishop Burnet, and an idle story related by Echard. We say an idle story related by Echard; for nothing can be more certain than that it is totally without foundation. So far was Lord Ashley from advising the measure in question, or even concurring in it, that it was directly opposed by him; and he contended so powerfully against it, that the design was at first laid aside. When it was renewed, he drew up his reasons in writing against it, and left them with the King. The paper containing these reasons, together with a letter of his Lordship to a friend, in which he justifies himself against the charge of having supported the scheme, will be found in the family narrative.

With respect to the Declaration of Indulgence, the advice was given by Sir Thomas Clifford, whose principal view in it was to favour the Papists; and, for the same cause, the measure was readily adopted by his Majesty. Lord Ashley, however, closed in with it, from his ardent zeal for Toleration, and his regard for the Protestant Dissenters. His reasons for this part of his conduct are specified in the work. He seems to have entertained a notion, which we have no intention of vindicating, that, for the sake of exercising mercy, and in matters of mere penalty, the King might exercise a dispensing power. Bishop Burnet, with an inaccuracy not uncommon in him, speaking of the Declaration, says, the Lord Keeper Bridgeman refused to put the Seal to it, as judging it to be contrary to law; and that on this account he was dismissed, and the Earl of Shaftesbury made Lord Chancellor (92). Now the fact is, that Sir Orlando Bridgeman did put the Seal to the Declaration, and that Shaftesbury was not appointed Lord Chancellor till eight months after that event.

Our great Statesman's conduct in issuing writs, before the meeting of Parliament, for the election of Members, in the room of those who were deceased, has often, and we do not say unjustly, been condemned. Burnet says, "that Lord Shaftesbury resolved to recommend himself to the confidence of the court by a new strain, never before thought of" (93); but this is an assertion which is grounded on a total ignorance of the subject. That in the three preceding reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James the First, and King Charles the First, several writs had been issued out, for electing Members, during the prorogation of Parliament, is clearly evinced in the work we are speaking of; and the reasons are assigned, why the Earl chose to obey the King's commands. Though we are far from believing that any thing can fully justify his compliance in this respect, it may, nevertheless, be remarked, that his memory ought not to be loaded with aggravations which are not founded in truth.

The last of the four accusations urged against him, as one of the Cabal, is his famous Speech, delivered

in Parliament, on the fourth of February, 1672-3, on the Dutch war. Even the candid Rapin observes, that the Earl of Shaftesbury must have had a forehead of brass to pronounce such a speech before so august an assembly (94). In the family narrative, great pains are taken to shew, that the Earl spoke only officially; that this was the constant mode in that reign; that the speech he himself had prepared was entirely changed by the council; that the offensive words in particular, "Delenda est Carthago," were there inserted; and that he was obliged to deliver the speech as it had been framed at the board. These things are maintained with a considerable degree of apparent strength; and it is sufficiently shewn, that his Lordship was far from being satisfied with the task which was imposed upon him. Whether he ought not rather to have given up his office, than thus to have submitted to compliances which were contrary to his inclination and his principles, is another question, which firm integrity will easily decide.

There are various other instances in which the manuscript so often referred to, endeavours to throw light on the Earl of Shaftesbury's character and conduct, and to clear him from the aspersions with which his name has been blackened. Many circumstances are, likewise, recorded concerning him, which have not yet appeared before the public eye. But not to touch on all the particulars that our memory might furnish, we shall only advert to his reception in Holland, and to the manner of his death, which last, as we have already seen, has greatly been misrepresented. Mrs. Macaulay Graham asserts, that in order to secure the protection of the States of Holland, he solicited the Magistrates of Amsterdam to be made one of the Upper Burghers of that city; but had the mortification to sustain a refusal, through the intrigues of the English Consul, who took care to put the Dutch in mind of the part the Earl had formerly taken against their Commonwealth. "Thus," adds our female historian, "did this unfortunate refugee, once the idol of a numerous party, once the terror of a government which he hated, and respected for his abilities even by those who were acquainted with his vices and imperfections, languish through a period of six weeks, surrounded only by a few inconsiderable refugees, and without receiving from the inhabitants of that place where he had sought an asylum, any of the common comforts usually paid to men in his station (95)." A very different representation of things is given in the narrative that is in the possession of the family. From that narrative it will appear, that, when the Earl of Shaftesbury arrived in Holland, he was visited by several of the States, and by persons of the greatest quality; that the principal men of Amsterdam assured him of their protection, and, for this purpose, made him a Burghers of their city; and that they shewed him all the respect and honours which were in their power. Indeed, these circumstances are confirmed by the testimony of Monf. Le Clerc, in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, than whom no one could be better informed upon the subject. With regard to the manner of the Earl's death, he did not expire, as hath often been represented, in the arms of Ferguson, but in the arms of Mr. Wheelock, one of his Gentlemen; and it is asserted, that he maintained, to the last, an uncommon patience, resignation, and fortitude of mind.

After the different, and, in various respects, contradictory accounts which have been given of Lord Shaftesbury by a number of writers, it may be thought difficult to form a just estimate of his character. However, as our advantages for coming to a judgment upon this head have been superior to those which were enjoyed by the general run of historians, we shall state our sentiments concerning him with integrity and impartiality. On his abilities, his eloquence, and the eminent talents he possessed for

(94) *Hist. of Eng.* vol. xi. p. 381. fourth edit.

(95) *Hist. of Eng.* vol. vii. p. 422.

(92) Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 429, 430. third edit.

(93) *Ibid.* p. 430.

unmarried, in 1704. His Lordship departing this life on the 10th of November, 1699, was succeeded by Anthony his son and heir (r), of whom an account will be given in the next article. (r) Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 385.

gaining an ascendancy over mankind, we need not enlarge; as these have already been sufficiently ascertained, and are acknowledged by most of his enemies. In private life he appears to have had many estimable qualities; nor have any proofs been afforded of the profligacy which has sometimes been ascribed to him. According to the records of the family, he was very constant in his attendance on divine worship, and kept a Chaplain in his house, whose name was Highmore. Dr. Benjamin Whichcot is likewise said to have lived much with his Lordship, and to have preached before him the greater part of the sermons that were afterwards printed. The friends of the Earl of Shaftesbury were ardently attached to him; and he numbered among his friends persons of the most respectable character. To have enjoyed the good opinion, the regard, and the affection, of such men as Mr. Stringer, Dr. Whichcot, and Mr. Locke, is no mean testimony in his favour. As to the Earl's public life, we are of opinion that it was often highly culpable; and that no history will ever be able to clear him of having occasionally been guilty of manifest inconsistencies, and submitted to shameful compliances. His bold and daring mind was not sufficiently restrained by scruples, when his ambition could be gratified; and perhaps there are instances in which the violence of his measures may be suspected of having been tarnished with the colours of revenge. But

however justly he may be censured for particular parts of his conduct, and whatever sacrifices he might make to the urgency of strong passions, his views appear to have been generally directed to the promotion of the interest and freedom of his country. Whilst we condemn his vehemence in the affair of the Popish Plot, we are convinced that, in other respects, the actions of the latter period of his life may be justified, and that the tyrannical designs of King Charles the Second merited the utmost warmth of his opposition. Upon the whole, there were three points in which, through the usual tenor of his life, the Earl of Shaftesbury was entitled to applause. These were his attention to the protection and advancement of Trade and Commerce; his endeavours to counteract the growing power of France; and his attachment to the cause of religious liberty. He wrote an Essay on Toleration, still preserved in the family, which was evidently the ground-work of Mr. Locke's admirable letters on that subject. Several of the measures proposed and supported by him were preparatory to those that were adopted at the Revolution; and he contributed, by his ardour, to raise and animate the spirit, which, in the end, produced that illustrious event; so that, amidst all his obliquities and faults, he deserves to be celebrated, as having been no small benefactor to the free Constitution of England.] K.

* * [COOPER (ANTHONY-ASHLEY), third Earl of Shaftesbury, was born on the 26th of February, 1670-71, at Exeter House in London, which was at that time the town residence of his grandfather, concerning whom so much has been said in the preceding article. His father was Anthony-Ashley Cooper, afterwards second Earl of Shaftesbury, and his mother the Lady Dorothy Manners, daughter of John Earl of Rutland (a). Of his father there is such a total silence in the histories of the times, and the memorials of the family, that he was probably of a very insignificant character, or at least, not at all distinguished by his mental abilities. Dryden speaks of him with great contempt, in his *Abraham* and *Achitophel*, as an unfeathered two-legged thing, and born a shapeless lump, like Anarchy (b). If this language had a reference to his external form, it was altogether unjust; for it appears from the pictures which remain of him, that in person he was remarkably handsome; and it has been imagined that his decease was hastened by his solicitude to remove some excrescence which began rather to disfigure his countenance. An improper application of remedies was productive of diseases that were fatal to his constitution, and ultimately the occasion of his death (c).]

(a) General Dictionary, Historical and Critical, vol. ix. p. 179.

(b) Johnson's English Poets, vol. xiii. p. 131.

(c) From the information of the Reverend and learned Mr. Huntingford.

The third Earl of Shaftesbury was destined to make a very different figure. Immediately upon his birth, his grandfather conceived so tender an affection for him, that he undertook the care of his education; and being sensible of the great advantages which would accrue from a good share of literature, he thought that no time could be too early for endeavouring to attain such a necessary and desirable object. That his grandson, therefore, might be as speedy as possible in his literary progress, he chose a method of instilling into him, as it were insensibly, the ancient languages, by placing a person about him, who was so thoroughly versed in the Latin and Greek tongues, as to be able to speak either of them with the greatest fluency. This person was a female, a Mrs. Birch, the daughter of a Schoolmaster in Oxfordshire or Berkshire: and a woman who could execute so extraordinary a task, deserves to have her name recorded with honour, among the learned ladies of England. Such was the effect of her instructions, that her pupil could read with ease both the Latin and Greek languages, when he was only eleven years old. At that age he was sent by his grandfather to a private school, where he continued till after the Earl's decease. In the end of the succeeding summer, 1683, he was carried by his father to Winchester School, then under the care of Dr. Harris. Here our young Nobleman was very indifferently treated by all excepting the Master, being frequently insulted on his grandfather's account, whose memory was extremely odious to the Zealots for despotic power. The ill usage which he met with at Winchester was so irksome to Lord Ashley, that he prevailed upon his father to remove him from that seminary, and to consent to his desire of going abroad. Accordingly, he began his travels in 1686 [A], under the care of Mr.

[A] Accordingly, he began his travels in 1686. Lord Ashley was accompanied in his tour, by Sir John Cropley, (with whom he continued in friend-

ship to the end of his life) and by Mr. Thomas Sclater Bacon. His Lordship spent a considerable time in Italy, where, as is evident from all his writings, he acquired

Mr. Daniel Denoune, a Scotch Gentleman of great ingenuity and integrity, and every way qualified for the employment of a tutor (*d*). The Biographers of the third Earl of Shaftesbury have generally represented him as having been principally under the tuition of Mr. Locke. There can be no doubt but that this great Philosopher was anxiously concerned for the improvement of the grandson of his intimate friend; and it is highly probable that his sentiments were consulted, and his advice followed, with regard to the mode of the young Gentleman's education. But that he ever acted in the capacity of a direct Tutor to him, appears to have been an opinion which hath been taken up without a sufficient foundation.

After a residence of three years abroad, Lord Ashley returned, in 1689, to England, and was offered a Seat in Parliament for some one of the Boroughs in which his family had an interest. There were, however, several reasons which induced him not to accept of such an offer at this particular time; and what prevailed upon him more strongly than any thing to decline the proposal, was a resolution he had formed of applying himself entirely to study, and encreasing his knowledge with regard to subjects of the greatest importance. In these views he happily succeeded, and laid a foundation in learning which was accurately extensive, and truly liberal. After ardently prosecuting his literary pursuits for nearly five years, he was elected, in consequence of Sir John Trenchard's death, a Burgess for Poole in Dorsetshire. He had not been long in Parliament before an opportunity was afforded him of expressing that spirit of liberty, which he maintained to the end of his life, and by which his conduct, on all occasions, was uniformly directed. The fact we refer to, was owing to the bringing in of the Bill for regulating Trials in cases of High Treason. One Part of the Bill in particular, which allows counsel to the prisoner, was regarded by most of the friends of liberty as a matter of the last importance. For this reason Lord Ashley had prepared a Speech in its behalf, which those to whom he shewed it judged to be a very proper one upon the occasion. But when his Lordship stood up to speak it in the House of Commons, he was so intimidated by the greatness of the auditory, that he lost his memory, and was totally unable to proceed. The House, after giving him a little time for recollection, called loudly for him to go on, which he did in the following terms: "If I, Sir, (addressing himself to the Speaker) who rise only to give my opinion on the Bill now depending, am so confounded, that I am unable to express the least of what I proposed to say; what must the condition of that man be, who, without any assistance is pleading for his life, and under apprehensions of being deprived of it?" This sudden turn of thought pleased the House extremely, and is believed to have had a greater effect than any of the other arguments that were urged in favour of the Bill. During the remainder of that Parliament, Lord Ashley persevered in the same mode of conduct, always zealously concurring in every motion that tended to the farther security of Liberty [*B*]; and though motions of this kind frequently came from persons with whom he had no connection in politics, and who belonged to a party of a different denomination, he, nevertheless, thought it his duty to support them, whenever he apprehended that the proposals they made were likely to be of service to the kingdom. With these principles and dispositions, it was justly to be lamented that the fatigues of attending regularly the business of the House of Commons, had in a few years such an effect upon his health, the frame of his body not

acquired no small degree of knowledge in the polite Arts. What his skill was in the art of painting in particular, may be determined by the treatise which he composed on the judgment of Hercules. It was his endeavour, while abroad, to improve himself, as much as possible, in every accomplishment. He did not, therefore, greatly seek the company of other English young Gentlemen; and whenever it happened that this could not be avoided, it was observed, that his discourse was principally addressed to their Tutors, from whom he might either learn something, or at least converse on such topics as were most agreeable to his genius. French was spoken by him so readily, and with so good an accent, that in France he was often taken for a native; and the ease and agility he displayed in performing the exercises in which that nation excelled, contributed to lead them into such an opinion (*1*).

(1) Gen. Dict. ubi supra, vol. ix. p. 179, note [*A*].

[*B*] Zealously concurring in every motion that tended to the farther security of liberty.] His zeal in defence of the freedom of the Constitution, notwithstanding the clamours to which he was exposed, will appear from the following passage of a letter of his to Thomas Stringer, Esq; his grandfather's friend, of whom mention has been made in the life of the first Earl of Shaftesbury.

London, February 15, 1695.

"I WILL not trouble you any farther now, nor indeed have I time. We have got the Bill to be engrossed, which lays an incapacity on the elector

"(as the late passed act does on the elected) in case of corruption, meat, drink, &c. and which obliges the Knight of the Shire to have 500*l.* a year, or the inheritance of it, as freehold within the county, and a Burgess 200*l.* a year somewhere at least in England on the same terms. You could, I believe, scarcely imagine with yourself, who these are in the world, or who they are in the House, who oppose this, and all other such Bills as this, might and main; and who they are that are condemned for flying in the face of government, as they call it, by being for such things as these are, and pressing such hard things on the Prerogative or Court. In short, you would hardly believe that your poor friend, who now writes to you, has sentence (and bitter sentence too) every day passed upon him for going, as you may be sure he goes, and ever will go on such occasions as these, whatever party it be, that is in or out at Court, that is, in possession of the places, and afraid of losing their daily bread, by not being servile enough, or that are out of places, and think by crossing the Court, and siding with good and popular things against it, to get into those places of profit and management. No more. My kind service to Mrs. Stringer, and my service too to your son. Your sincere friend, &c.

"A. ASHLEY (*2*)."

(2) Ibid. p. 179, 180, note [*C*].

being naturally robust, that he was obliged to decline coming again into Parliament, after the dissolution in 1698.

Lord Ashley being now at liberty to pursue the course of life that was most agreeable to his inclination, he went directly to Holland, where he spent his time in conversation with Monf. Bayle, Monf. Le Clerc, and several other ingenious and learned men who then resided in that country. The pleasure and improvement arising from an acquaintance with these Gentlemen, his Lordship found to be so great, that he was induced to continue there more than a twelvemonth. Being determined not to be interrupted in what was one of his principal objects in going to Holland, the diligent and effectual prosecution of his literary pursuits, he concealed his name and title, pretending to be only a Student in Physic. It was solely in that character that he contracted an intimacy with Monf. Bayle. However, a little before his return to England, being willing to be known to him by his proper appellation, he contrived to have Monf. Bayle invited to dinner by a friend (e), for the purpose of meeting Lord Ashley. That morning Monf. Bayle accidentally called upon his Lordship, and being pressed by him to stay, answered, that he could not by any means do it, because he had an appointment to meet Lord Ashley, and must be punctual to his engagement. The interview at dinner, occasioned, as may reasonably be supposed, no small degree of mirth; and the discovery contributed to strengthen the friendship that had already been formed, and which was preserved by an uninterrupted correspondence to Monf. Bayle's death. During this time, there was printed at London, in 8vo. an imperfect edition of Lord Ashley's "Inquiry concerning Virtue." It had been surreptitiously taken from a rough draught, sketched when he was no more than twenty years of age. His Lordship, who was greatly chagrined at this event, immediately bought up the impression before many books were sold, and set about completing the treatise, as it afterwards appeared in the second volume of the *Characteristics*. The person by whom he was thus unhandsonely treated was speedily discovered to be Mr. John Toland, who, in this transaction, repaid with ingratitude a very generous benefactor (f).

(e) Mr. Furly, an English Merchant at Rotterdam, a Quaker, and a man of excellent sense and learning.

(f) Gen. Diet. ubi *supra*, p. 179, 180.

Soon after Lord Ashley's return to England, he became, by the decease of his father, Earl of Shaftesbury. As he was endued with the prudence of paying a proper regard to his own affairs, he was involved in such a multiplicity of business on coming to the possession of his estate, that he was prevented from attending the House of Lords, during the first Session after he had succeeded to the Peerage. Nor did he appear in that House, in the second Session, till his friend the Lord Somers sent a messenger to acquaint him that his presence was necessary, on account of the Partition Treaty, which at that time was under the consideration of Parliament. This was in February 1700-1. The Earl of Shaftesbury immediately went post to London; and though, when Lord Somers's letter was brought to him, he was beyond Bridgwater in Somersetshire, and his constitution was ill calculated for sustaining any extraordinary fatigue, he travelled with such speed, that he was in the House of Peers on the following day; exhibiting an instance of dispatch, which at that time was more uncommon, and less easy to be performed, than it is at present. During the remainder of the Session, he attended his Parliamentary duty as much as his health would permit, being earnest to support the measures of King William, who was then engaged in forming the grand Alliance. Nothing, in the Earl of Shaftesbury's judgment, could more effectually assist that glorious undertaking, than the choice of a good Parliament. He used, therefore, his utmost efforts to facilitate the design; and such was his success, upon the election of a new House of Commons, (parties at that crisis being nearly on an equality) that his Majesty told him he had turned the scale. So high was the opinion which the King had formed of the Earl's abilities and character, that an offer was made him of being appointed Secretary of State. This, however, was an offer which his declining constitution would not permit him to accept. But although he was disabled from engaging in the course of official business, he was capable of giving advice to his Majesty, who frequently consulted him on affairs of the highest importance. Nay, it is understood, that he had a great share in composing that celebrated last Speech of King William, which was delivered on the 31st of December, 1701.

Upon the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, Lord Shaftesbury returned to his retired manner of life, being no longer advised with in relation to public concerns. At the same time, he was removed from the Vice-Admiralty of the county of Dorset, which had been in the family for three successive generations. This slight, though it was a matter of little consequence, was the only one that could have been shewn him, as it was the single thing which he had ever held under the Crown. The measure of taking it from him was supposed to have originated in certain Statesmen who resented his services to another party in the late reign. In the beginning of 1703, the Earl made a second journey to Holland, where he resided till nearly the close of the following year. Soon after this, the French Prophets occasioned a great disturbance throughout the nation by their enthusiastic extravagancies; and some were of opinion that, in order to suppress them, it was necessary to have recourse to methods of severity. Lord Shaftesbury, who had well considered the affair, and who abhorred any step which looked like persecution, apprehended that

that such measures tended rather to enflame than to cure the disease. This was the origin of his "Letter concerning Enthusiasm," which he sent to Lord Somers, then President of the Council, and which, being approved of by that Nobleman and other Gentlemen to whom it was shewn, was published in 1708, though without the name of the author, or that of the person to whom it was addressed. His "Moralist, a philosophical Rhapsody, being a Recital of certain Conversations on natural and moral Subjects," appeared in Jan. 1709; and in the May following his "Sensus Communis: An Essay upon the Freedom of Wit and Humour; in a Letter to a Friend." The three works now mentioned were printed at London in 8vo. It was in the same year that he entered into the marriage state, with Mrs. Jane Ewer, the youngest daughter of Thomas Ewer, Esq; of Lee in Hertfordshire. By this Lady, to whom his Lordship was related, he had an only son, Anthony the late Earl of Shaftesbury (g). It is certain that Miss Ewer was not the first object of our noble author's affections, and that he did not think of paying his addresses to her till after he had met with a disappointment with regard to another Lady of greater fortune and family. In forming this union, he seems to have been chiefly influenced by the solicitations of his friends; and evidently did not engage in it with any very romantic ideas of love and happiness [C]. In 1710, his "Soliloquy; or, Advice to an Author," was published, at London, in 8vo. While he was thus employing himself in literary composition, his health declined so fast, that it was recommended to him to seek assistance from a warmer climate. Having taken this resolution, he took leave, by letter, of several of his acquaintance, among the number of whom was Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and who had then been lately advanced to that title. As this letter is not in the usual strain of those addressed to Ministers of State, it shall be inserted below, together with another to the Lord Godolphin [D]. In July, 1711, the Earl of Shaftesbury set out for Naples,

(g) Gen. Dict.
ubi supra, p. 180
—182.

[C] *He seems to have been chiefly influenced by the solicitations of his friends, and evidently did not engage in it with any romantic ideas of love and happiness.* In a letter written to his friend, Robert Moleworth, Esq; afterwards Lord Viscount Moleworth, previously to his marriage, he thus expresses himself: "What other people will say of such a match I know not, nor what motives they will assign for it, when interest is set aside. Love, I fear, will scarcely be a tolerable pretence in such a one as I am: and for family, I have a brother still alive, whom I may have still some hopes of. What a weakness, then, would it be thought in me, to marry with little or no fortune, and not in the highest degree of quality neither? Will it be enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, with a right education, fit for a mere wife; and with no advantages, but simple innocence, modesty, and the plain qualities of a good mother and a good nurse? This is as little the modern relish, as that old fashioned wife of Horace's;

"Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
"Pernicis uxor Appuli.

"Can you or my friends who press me to this, bear me out in it? The experiment, however, shall be made, if I live out this summer: and you shall hear me say as the old batchelor in the Latin Menander, with a little alteration;

"*Etsi hoc molestum, atque alienum a vita mea*
"Videtur, si vos tantopere istuc voltis, fiat."

After his Lordship's marriage, having received, from the same friend, the compliments that are usual on such an occasion, he returned the following answer: "Were I to talk of marriage, and forced to speak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or raillery, I should doubtless offend the most part of sober married people, and the ladies chiefly. For I should in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happiness of my new state, and the merits of my wife in particular, by saying, *that I verily thought myself as happy a man now as ever.* And is not that subject enough for joy? What would a man of sense wish more? For my own part, if I find any sincere joy, it is because I promised myself no other than the satisfaction of my friends, who thought my family worth preserving, and myself worth nursing in an indifferent crazy state, to which a wife (if a good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found, and if by her help or care I can regain a tolerable share of health, you may be sure it will be employed as you

VOL. IV.

"desire, since my marriage itself was but a means to that end (3)."

If we did not make allowances for the effect which a continued indisposition of the body is apt to have upon the mind, we should be ready to say, that these letters do not place Lord Shaftesbury in the most amiable point of view.

[D] *It shall be inserted below, together with another to the Lord Godolphin.* They are as follows.

"Reygate, March 29, 1711.

"MY LORD,

"THE honour you have done me in many kind inquiries after my health, and the favour you have shewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I have left for my recovery, by trying the air of a warmer climate, obliges me ere I leave England to return your Lordship my most humble thanks and acknowledgments in this manner, since I am unable to do it in a better. I might, perhaps, my Lord, do injustice to myself, having had no opportunity of late years to pay my particular respects to you, if I should attempt: any otherwise to compliment your Lordship on the late honours you have received, than by appealing to the early acquaintance and strict correspondence I had once the honour to maintain with you and your family, for which I had been bred almost from my infancy to have the highest regard. Your Lordship well knows my principles and behaviour from the first hour I engaged in any public concern, and with what zeal I spent some years of my life in supporting your interest, which I thought of greater moment to the public, than my own or family's could ever be. What the natural effects are of private friendship so founded, and what the consequence of different opinions intervening, your Lordship, who is so good a judge of men and things, can better resolve with yourself, than I can possibly suggest. And being so knowing in friends, (of whom your Lordship has acquired so many) you can recollect how those ties or obligations have been hitherto preserved towards you, and whose friendships, affections, and principles you may for the future best depend upon in all circumstances and variations public and private. For my own part, I shall say only, that I very sincerely wish you all happiness, and can with no man living congratulate more heartily on what I account real honour and prosperity. Your conduct of the public will be the just earnest and insurance of your greatness and power; and I shall then chiefly congratulate with your Lordship on your merited honours and advancement, when by the happy effects it appears

(3) Supplement
to the Biographia
Britannica;
p. 37.

* 3 Z

"evidently

Naples, and pursuing his journey by way of France, was obliged to pass through the Duke of Berwick's army, which at that time lay encamped near the borders of Piedmont. Here he was entertained by that famous General in the most friendly manner, and every assistance was given him to conduct him in safety to the Duke of Savoy's dominions. Our noble author's removal to Italy was of no service to the re-establishment of his health; for after having resided at Naples about a year and a half, he departed this life on the 4th of February, Old-style, 1712-13, in the forty-second year of his age. The only pieces which he finished after he came to this city, were the "Judgment of Hercules," and the "Letter concerning Design," which last was added to that impression of the Characteristics that appeared in 1732. It was in 1711 that the first edition was published of all the Characteristics together, and in the order in which they now stand. But this publication not being entirely to his Lordship's satisfaction, he chiefly employed the latter part of his life in preparing his writings for a more elegant edition, which was given to the world in 1713, soon after his decease. The several prints that were then first interspersed through the volumes were all invented by himself, and designed under his immediate inspection; and for this purpose he was at the pains of drawing up a most accurate set of instructions, the manuscript of which is still preserved in the family. That no mistakes might be committed, the Earl did not leave to any other hands so much as the drudgery of correcting the press. In the three volumes of the "Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times," he completed the whole of his works which he intended for the public eye. Not long before his death he had formed a scheme of writing a discourse on Painting, Sculpture, and the other Arts of Design, which, if he had lived to have finished it, might have proved a very pleasing and useful work, as he had a fine taste in subjects of that kind: but his premature decease prevented his making any great progress in the undertaking. In 1716 some of his letters were published at London, in 8vo. under the title of "Several Letters written by a noble Lord to a young Man at the University [E]. Five years after-

" evidently in the service of what cause, and for the
 " advantage of what interest they were acquired and
 " employed. Had I been to wish by what hands the
 " public should have been served, the honour of the
 " first part (your Lordship well knows) had fallen to
 " you long since. If others, from whom I least
 " hoped, have done greatly and as became them, I
 " hope, if possible, you will still exceed all they have
 " performed, and accomplish the great work so glo-
 " riously begun and carried on for the rescue of li-
 " berty, and the deliverance of Europe and mankind.
 " And in this presumption I cannot but remain with
 " the same zeal and sincerity as ever,

" MY LORD, &c.

" Reygate, May the 27th, 1711.

" MY LORD,

" BEING about to attempt a journey to Italy to
 " try what a warmer climate (if I am able to reach it)
 " may do towards the restoring me a little breath and
 " life, it is impossible for me to stir hence, till I
 " have acquitted myself of my respects the best I
 " can to your Lordship, to whom alone, had I but
 " strength enough to make my compliments, and pay
 " a day's attendance in town, I should think myself
 " sufficiently happy in my weak state of health. I
 " am indeed, my Lord, little able to render services
 " of any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myself in
 " such a capacity to any one, except your Lordship
 " only. But could I flatter myself that ere I parted
 " hence, or while I passed through France, or stayed
 " in Italy, I could any where, in the least trifle, or in
 " the highest concern, render any manner of service
 " to your Lordship, I should be proud of such a com-
 " mission. Sure I am, in what relates to your honour
 " and name (if that can receive ever any advan-
 " tage from such an hand as mine) your public as well
 " as private merit will not pass unremembered into
 " whatever region or climate I am transferred. No
 " one has a more thorough knowledge in that kind
 " than myself, nor no one there is, who on this ac-
 " count has a juster right to profess himself, as I shall
 " ever do, with highest obligation and most constant
 " zeal,

" MY LORD,

" Your Lordship's most faithful and most
 " Obedient humble Servant,

" SHAFTESBURY (4)."

[E] *Several letters written by a noble Lord to a young Man of the University.* These letters were written to Michael Ainsworth, of the parish of St. Giles's, where Lord Shaftesbury lived, at whose expence he was educated and maintained at Oxford. The collection contains ten letters upon philosophical and theological subjects, but were never designed by the author to be made public. They contain many valuable reflections upon the most important subjects; of which we shall give the reader a specimen. In the second letter, which is dated May 10, 1707, he observes, that *the highest principle, which is the love of God, is best attained, not by dark speculations and Monkish philosophy, but by moral practice and love of mankind, and a study of their interests, the chief of which, and that which only raises them above the degree of brutes, is freedom of reason in the learned world, and good government and liberty in the civil world. Tyranny in one is ever accompanied or soon followed by tyranny in the other. And when slavery is brought upon a people, they are soon reduced to that base and brutal state, both in their understandings and morals. True zeal therefore for God and religion must be supported by real love for mankind; and love of mankind cannot consist but with a right knowledge of man's great interests, and of the only way and means (that of liberty and freedom) which God and nature has made necessary and essential to his manly dignity and character. They therefore, who betray these principles and the rights of mankind, betray religion even so as to make it an instrument against itself.* In his third letter he remarks that *it is the business of all, as many as are raised in knowledge, above the poor illiterate and laborious vulgar, to explain, as far as possible, the reasons of the divine laws, delivered to us in positive commands by our sacred legislator, their consent with the law of nature, their suitableness to society, and to the peace, happiness and enjoyment of ourselves.* "It is there alone, that we have need of recourse to fire and brimstone, and what other punishments the Divine Goodness (for our good) has condescended to threaten us with, where the force of these arguments cannot prevail. Our business within ourselves is to set ourselves free, according to that perfect law of liberty, which we are bid to look into. . . . And I am delighted to read these words from you, viz. that we are made to contemplate and love God intirely, and with a free and voluntary love. But this, you will see, is a mystery too deep for those souls, whom you converse with, and see around you. They have scarce heard of what it is to combat with their appetites and senses."

(4) Gen. Dict.
 ubi supra, p. 183.

afterwards, in 1721, another collection of the same kind appeared, entitled, "Letters from the Right Honourable the late Earl of Shaftesbury, to Robert Molesworth, Esq; now Lord Viscount of that Name, with two Letters written by the late Sir John Cropley: to which

" senses. They think themselves sufficiently justified, as men, and sufficiently qualified as holy men, and teachers of religion, if they can compass matters, by the help of circumstances and outward fortune, so as happily to restrain those lusts and appetites of theirs within the bounds of ordinary human laws. Hence those allurements of external objects (as you well remark) they are so far from declining, that they raise and advance them by all possible means, without fear of adding fuel to their inflamed desires, in a heart, which can never burn towards God, till those other fires are extinct. God grant, that since you know this better way, this chaste and holy discipline, you may still pursue it, with that just and pious jealousy over your own heart, that neither your eyes, nor any of your senses, may be led away to serve themselves, or any thing, but that Creator, who made them for his service, and in whom alone is happiness and rest." In the fourth letter, dated April the 2d 1708, he tells us, that of virtue there can be no reward but of the same kind with itself: nothing can be superadded to it. And even heaven itself can be no other, than the addition of grace to grace; virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge; by which we may still more and more comprehend the chief virtue, and highest excellence, the giver and dispenser of all. In the fifth letter, dated January the 28th 1708-9, he remarks, that "all that we call improvement of our minds in dry and empty speculation; all learning or whatever else, either in theology or other sciences, which has not a direct tendency to render us bonester, milder, juster and better, is far from being justly so called. And even all that philosophy, which is built on the comparison and compounding of ideas, complex, implex, reflex, and all that din and noise of metaphysics; all that pretended study and science of nature called natural philosophy, Aristotelian, Cartesian, or whatever else it be, all those high contemplations of stars and spheres and planets; and all the other inquisitive curious parts of learning, are so far from being necessary improvements of the mind, that without the utmost care they serve only to blow it up in conceit and folly, and render men more stiff in their ignorance and vices." He observes afterwards, that we never more need a just cheerfulness, good humour, or alacrity of mind, that when we are contemplating God and Virtue. So that it may be assigned as one cause of the austerity and harshness of some men's Divinity, that in their habit of mind, and by that very morose and sour temper, which they contract with their hard studies, they make the idea of God so much after the pattern of their own bitter spirit. . . . But here is the great and essential matter of the last consequence to our souls and minds, to keep them from the contagion of pleasure. And to shew you, that I am not by this an imitator of the severe ascetic Monastic race of Divines, or an admirer of any thing that looks like restraint in knowledge, or learning or speculation, consider of this that I am going to say to you, and carry your reflection as far back, as to that first little glimmering of ingenuity, which shewed itself in you in your childhood, I mean the art of painting. Had you been to have made one of those artists of the nobler kind, who paint history, and actions, and nature, and had you been sent by me into Italy or elsewhere, to learn the style and manner of the great masters; what advice, think you, should I have given you? I say, what advice, not as Christian, or Philosopher, or man of virtue, but merely as a lover of the art; supposing I had even been of a very vicious life, and had no other end in sending you abroad than to have procured pictures, and have got you a masterly hand in that kind, and to have employed afterwards for my own use, and for the ornament of my house. Most certainly my advice must have been this; (and thus any other master or patron of common sense would have accosted you;) "You are now going to learn what is excellent and beautiful in the way of painting. You will go where there are many pictures of many different hands, and quite contrary in their manner and

style. You will find many judges of different opinions; and the worst masters, the worst pieces, the worst styles and manners will have their admirers. How is it you should form your Relish? By what means shall you come to have a right admiration yourself, and praise and imitate only what is truly exquisite and good in the kind? If you follow your sudden fancy and bent, if you fix your eye on that, which most strikes and pleases you at the first sight, you will most certainly never come to have a good eye at all. You will be led aside, and have a florid, and gay, and foolish fancy; and any lewd tawdry piece of dawbling will make a stronger impression on you than the most majestic chaste piece of the soberest master; and a FLEMISH or a FRENCH Manner will more prevail with you than a true ITALIAN. How shall we do then in this case? Why even thus, (for what way is there else?) Make it a solemn rule to yourself, to check your own eye and fancy, which naturally leads to gaiety; and turn it strongly on that, which it cares not at first to dwell upon. Be sure that you pass by on every occasion, whatever little idle piece of a negligent loose kind may be apt to detain your eye; and fix yourself upon the nobler, more masterly, and studied pieces of such, as were known Virtuoso's, and admired by all such. If you find no grace or charm at the first looking, look on, continue to observe all that you possibly can; and when you have got one glimpse, improve it, copy it, cultivate the idea, and labour till you have worked yourself into a right taste, and formed a relish and understanding of what is truly beautiful in the kind." This is what any ordinary master or pattern of common good sense would have said to you upon your enterprise on painting; and this is what I now say to you on your great enterprise on knowledge and learning. This is the reason I cry out to you against pleasure; to beware of those paths, which lead to a wrong knowledge, a wrong judgment of what is supremely BEAUTIFUL and GOOD. In the sixth letter dated February the 8th, 1709, his Lordship writes thus. "Time will be, when your greatest disturbance will arise from that antient difficulty, *ποδὶν τὸ καλόν*. But when you have well inured yourself to the precepts and speculation, which give the view of its noble contrary (*τὸ καλόν*), you will rest satisfied. But be persuaded in the mean time, that wisdom is more from the heart than from the head. Feel goodness, and you will see all things fair and good. Let it be your chief endeavour to make acquaintance with what is good, that by seeing perfectly, by the help of reason, what good is and what ill, you may prove whether that, which is from revelation, be not perfectly good and conformable to this standard. For if so, the very end of the gospel proves its truth; and that, which to the vulgar is only knowable by miracles, and teachable by positive precepts and commands, to the wise and virtuous is demonstrable by the nature of the thing. So that how can we forbear to give our assent to those doctrines, and that revelation, which is delivered to us, and enforced by miracles and wonders? But to us the very test and proof of the divineness and truth of that revelation is from the excellence of the things revealed. Otherwise the wonders themselves would have little effect or power; nor could they be thoroughly depended on, were we even as near to them as those, who lived more than a thousand years since, when they were freshly wrought, and strong in the memory of men. This is what alone can justify our easiness of faith; and in this respect we can never be too resigned, too willing, or too complaisant. Mean while let your eye be simple, and turn it from the *αἰθερ* to the *θεός*. View God in goodness and in his works, which have that character: dwell with honesty, and beauty, and order; study and love what is of this kind; and in time you will know and love the author (5)."

(5) Gen. Dict. ubi supra, p. 134, 135.

is prefixed a large Introduction, by the Editor (*b*).” This editor was Mr. Toland, who, in the present, as well as in the former case, assumed a liberty not very agreeable to the family. In their opinion, as the correspondence was almost entirely of a private nature, it was on that account unfit for public view. However, it set his Lordship’s integrity in the most amiable point of light. As to Mr. Toland’s introduction, it is chiefly founded on conjecture, and many things in it are absolutely false. An extract or two from the letters will be inserted below [*F*]. The Earl of Shaftesbury had an esteem for the works of the best English Divines; one remarkable instance of which was displayed in his writing a Preface to a volume of Dr. Whichcot’s Sermons, published in 1698. Copies of these Sermons had been taken in short-hand, as they were delivered from the pulpit; and the Earl had so high an opinion of them, that he not only introduced them to the world by his Preface, but had them printed under his own particular inspection (*i*). In his letters to a young man at the University, he speaks of Bishop Burnet and Dr. Hoadly in terms of great applause, and has done justice to the merits of Tillotson, Barrow, Chillingworth and Hammond, as the chief pillars of the Church against Fanaticism (*k*). But whatever regard his Lordship might have for some of our Divines, it was to the writings of Antiquity that his admiration was principally directed. These were the constant objects of his study, and from them he formed his system of Philosophy, which was of the civil, social, and theistic kind. His favourite books were the moral works of Xenophon, Horace, the Commentaries and Enchiridion of Epictetus as published by Arrian, and Marcus Antoninus. These authors he always carried with him in his various excursions, and they are now extant in his library, filled throughout with marginal notes, references, and explanations, all written in his own hand (*l*). To this catalogue Plato should undoubtedly have been added, of whom it is evident that the Earl of Shaftesbury was a diligent reader, an ardent admirer, and a zealous imitator. Simplicius is, likewise, spoken of by him in high terms of approbation, as may be seen in his letter to a Student (*m*). In the Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, Lucian is mentioned as one of the ancient writers whom his Lordship admired. But this is certainly a mistake, for it appears, on the contrary, that he had a particular aversion to that author (*n*).

(*b*) These Letters were published at London, in 8vo.

(*i*) Gen. Dict. ubi supra, p. 182 — 186.

(*k*) Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, p. 36, 37. note [*l*].

(*m*) British Biog. vol. vii. p. 439, 440.

(*l*) Gen. Dict. ubi supra, p. 186.

(*n*) This Remark, communicated by Dr. Towers, is grounded on the authority of the Letters to a Student.

(*s*) Philological Inquiries, p. 28, 29.

Concerning his Lordship’s brother, Maurice Ashley Cooper, it may not be improper to take notice, that he was the author of a translation of Xenophon’s Cyropædia, or the institution of Cyrus. “This translation,” says the late Mr. James Harris, “is made in all the purity and simplicity of the original, and to it the translator has prefixed a truly philosophical Dedication to my mother, who was one of his sisters. I esteem it an honour to call this author my uncle, and that not only from his rank, but much more from his learning and unblemished virtue; qualities which the love of retirement (where he thought they could be best cultivated) induced him to conceal, rather than to produce in public (*o*).”

The only child left by the third Earl of Shaftesbury was Anthony Ashley Cooper the fourth Earl; a Nobleman concerning whom Mr. Huntingford remarks, that there never existed a man of more benevolence, moral worth, and true piety; and this is a character which we can confirm by our own testimony, having had the honour of enjoying his acquaintance and correspondence. We were particularly informed by him, that, whilst he had the greatest reverence for the memory and character of his father, and a high esteem

[*F*] An extract or two from the letters will be inserted below.] In the seventh letter to Mr. Moleworth, dated from Beachworth, in Surry, January the 6th, 1708-9, his Lordship writes thus: “I never thought I should see any of the great men at Court so inclinable to public good, as to regard or hearken to a man, who has chiefly that at heart. And, to say truth of myself, I always thought I had a stubbornness of nature, which would hinder me from making a right advantage of good Ministers, whenever we should come to have any such. But being taken down very early in my life from those high imaginations I had, and those hopes of doing service in the plain way of business and Parliaments, the mortification wrought so far in my advantage, that I became milder and more tractable; and in this condition you found me, when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a particular mark of friendship recommended me to a great man, and brought me under obligation to him. The little time I have had since with him, I employed the best I could, in such advices and such offer of service as became me. Nor do I think I have been any way unfortunate in giving the least offence, at raising that frightful idea, which courtiers are apt to have of patriots and men of rigid virtue. I flatter myself egregiously, or I am well in his opinion, and have lost no ground. But if it be so, and as I faithfully believe, I will be sworn, there never was

“a more disinterested man in his station; for if I may judge by myself, he leaves it to his friends, and those he has obliged to be grateful, and to act for him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts them; but for his part, he lays no burdens, nor requires any service in return.” In the fourth letter dated from Beachworth, November the 4th, 1708, he writes thus: “You may think me melancholy, if you will. I own, there was a time in public affairs, when I really was; for saving yourself, and perhaps one or two more (I speak the most) I had none that acted with me against the injustice and corruption of both parties; each of them inflamed against me, particularly one, because of my birth and principles; the other, because of my pretended apostasy, which was only adhering to those principles, on which their party was founded. There have been apostates indeed since that time. But the days are long since past, that you and I were treated as Jacobites. What to say for some companions of our’s, as they are now changed, I know not; but as to my own particular, I assure you, that since those sad days of the public, which might have helped on perhaps with that melancholy or spleen which you fear in me, and for certain have helped me to this ill state of health, I am now however as free as possible; and even in respect to my health too, excepting only the air of London, I am, humanly speaking, very passable (*6*).”

(*6*) Gen. Dict. ubi supra, p. 186.

for

for his writings, he did not concur with him in those parts of his works which appear to be sceptical with regard to the Christian Religion.

Such are the circumstances of the third Earl of Shaftesbury's life, the materials of which we have principally taken, not from the Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, but from the great General Dictionary; and that for a very sufficient reason. The article in that work was written by the late Earl, as he himself informed the present Biographer. On the authenticity, therefore, of its facts we may safely rely; and in other respects it is superior to the account which has been drawn up by one of our predecessors.

It now remains that we consider Lord Shaftesbury as a writer: and in this character such different representations have been given of him; he has been so much applauded, and so much condemned, that it will be necessary to be somewhat copious on the subject. And that we may the more effectually attain our purpose of forming a just estimation of him in his literary capacity, we shall pursue his works in the order assigned to them by himself; after which we shall take a general survey of him as an author, and attend particularly to his style and composition.

The first piece which occurs in the Characteristics, is his "Letter concerning Enthusiasm," with regard to which we have but few remarks to make. We have before seen that his view in publishing it, was laudable, as his design was to prevent the French Prophets and their adherents from being persecuted: and it will scarcely now be denied that it was better to treat them with contempt than severity. As to the tract itself, we do not think that it is entitled to any high degree of applause. It is written with vivacity, and sometimes with humour; but, on the whole, it is a desultory performance, and there are in it several exceptionable passages. There is but little precision in it; nor does it convey much philosophical information on the subject of Enthusiasm. However, on its first appearance, it greatly excited the public attention, both at home and abroad [G].

He

[G] It greatly excited the public attention, both at home and abroad.] Very soon after its appearance, it was attacked in a pamphlet in 8vo. entitled, "Remarks upon a Letter by a Lord concerning Enthusiasm, not written in Raillery but good Humour."

(7) In octavo.

Another Answer was published in May, 1709 (7), under the title of "Bart'lemy Fair: or, an Enquiry after Wit, in which due Respect is had to a Letter concerning Enthusiasm, by my Lord ***." The author of this publication was Mr. Wotton. A third attack came out in the same year, entitled, "Reflections upon a Letter concerning Enthusiasm, by Lord *****: In another Letter to a Lord (8)."

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

In 1708, a French translation of the "Letter concerning Enthusiasm," was printed at the Hague (9). Even the great Leibnitz condescended to make this tract the object of his attention: for he wrote some remarks upon it in French, which are published by Monsieur des Maireaux, in the second Volume of "Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Mess. Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, et autres Auteurs celebres." Printed at Amsterdam,

(10) Gen. Dict. ubi supra, p. 181, 182. note [F].

In 1720 (10). The following extract, from the General Dictionary, will farther explain our noble Author's sentiments and views upon the point in question. "Lord Shaftesbury had perhaps a greater antipathy to Enthusiasm than most other persons, having seen many of the fatal consequences attending this deception in some people, with whom he was particularly acquainted. He wrote a little treatise upon the subject some years before the *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*, which he addressed to his brother, and which has never been made public. We shall quote the following passage from it, where he speaks of himself and his brother. *Being risen both of us pretty late in the morning, which was Sunday, we went, you know, to Church for the first time this new year. Thither I never went with truer zeal, in a better disposition, or with wholesomer reflections. And, what satisfied me still the more, it was by appointment, that we were that day to receive the Sacrament together, having had no opportunity of a long time. Here we both of us joined in blessing that good Providence, which had by reason and education separated us from the impure and horrid superstitions, monstrous enthusiasms, and wild fanaticisms of those blasphemous Visionaries we saw abounding in the world, and which had given us on the contrary side such established rules of worship, as were so decent, chaste, innocent, pure; and had placed us in a Religion and Church, where in respect of the moderate party and*

far greater part, the principle of Charity was really more extensive than in any Christian or Protestant Church besides in the world; where zeal was not phrensy and enthusiasm; Prayer and Devotion not rage and fits of loose extravagance; Religious discourses not cant and unintelligible nonsense, nor the character of a Saint resembling that of their inspired and godly men or women leaders; but where a good and virtuous life, with a hearty endeavour of service to one's country and to mankind, joined with a religious performance of all sacred duties, and a conformity with the established rites, was enough to answer the highest character of Religion, and where all other pretences to gifts and supernatural endowments beyond these moral and Christian perfections were justly suspected and treated as villainy, cheat, imposture, and madness. In a letter of his dated May the 5th 1709, he writes thus of the *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*: "I think your genius has dictated right to you about a little pamphlet, which, it seems, is commonly sold with the *Reflections* lately wrote upon it; which, if short, I would not for once debar you from, but have you hear what is said in answer, lest you should seem to yourself mistaken or diffident, as to the truth. For my own part, I cannot but think from my heart, that the author of the pamphlet (whatever air of humour he may give himself, the better to take with the polite world) is most sincere to virtue and religion; and even to the interest of our Church. For many of our modern assertors of toleration have seemed to leave us destitute of what he calls a *public leading* or *ministry*; which notion he treats as mere enthusiasm or horrid irreligion. For in truth Religion cannot be left thus to shift for itself, without the care and countenance of the Magistrate. But in the *Remarks* or *Reflections* I find the answers are so far from understanding this plain sense of *leading*, that they think it means only *leading by the nose*. So excellent are these Gentlemen at improving ridicule against themselves. They care not who defends religion, or how it is defended, if it be not defended in their way. They cry out upon a deluge of Scepticism breaking out and overwhelming us, in this witty knowing age; and yet they will allow no remedy proper in the case, no application to the world in a more genteel, polite, open, and free way. They for their parts (witness Dr. A——y against the good Mr. H——y) have asserted virtue upon baser principles and more false and destructive by far, than Epicurus, Democritus, Aristippus, or any of the ancient Atheists. "They

The next treatise is the "Sensus Communis: an Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour." This work is more considerable in point of extent than the former one, but is nearly entitled to the same character. The noble author, in our opinion, is far from being specific in his ideas. Some of the sentiments here advanced had been occasionally thrown out in the Letter concerning Enthusiasm; but in the present tract he enters into a larger defence of the application of raillery to subjects of speculative enquiry, and among the rest to matters of religious opinion. His advocates have asserted, that unjust representations have often been given of the positions maintained by him upon this head [H]. This assertion we acknowledge to be true; but, at the same time, we are convinced, that Lord Shaftesbury, by the inaccurate and unguarded manner in which he hath written, hath laid himself fairly open to animadversion and censure. Many persons have expressed great disapprobation of his ideas concerning the use of wit and humour. To expose his Lordship's notions in this respect, is the business of the first of Dr. Brown's Essays on the Characteristics. The Doctor contends, with great ingenuity, that Ridicule is a species of Eloquence; that reason alone is the detector of falshood, and the test of truth; that ridicule can never pretend to this character; that it is one of the most powerful engines, by which error can be maintained and established; and that its proper object is folly of conduct and chiefly affectation. What Dr. Brown maintained was not admitted without controversy. Several writers appeared in defence of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and amongst others, the Reverend Mr. Charles Bulkley, an ingenious and learned Dissenting Minister

(11) Gen. Dict.
ubi supra, p. 181,
 182. note [F].

"They have subverted all morality, all grounds of honesty, and supplanted the whole doctrine of our Saviour, under pretence of magnifying his revelation. In Philosophy they give up all foundations, all principles of Society, and the very best arguments to prove the Being of a Deity. And by the way, this pamphlet, which they are so offended at, is so strong on this head, that the author asserts the Deity even on the foundations of his *innate idea*, and the power of this notion even over Atheists themselves, and by the very concession of Epicurus and that sect (11)."

[H] *That unjust representations have often been given of the positions maintained by him upon this head.* We shall here insert what has been urged in his Lordship's defence, in the General Dictionary. "This author has been much misrepresented with respect to his notions of wit and ridicule. From his having recommended them in some cases as useful, he has been treated as an advocate of that low, mean and vicious buffoonery, which without decency or distinction seeks a laugh from every thing. The falshood of this charge may be sufficiently seen from an impartial view of what he has said on this subject, and that more particularly in this second treatise. His opinion if fairly examined, seems indeed to be no more than this, that ridicule may be made of excellent use, either against *ridicule itself*, when false and misapplied, or against *grave, specious, and delusive imposture*. It is with a view to the rendering it subservient to these two purposes, that he justly condemns other uses of it more licentious, and with great care distinguishes the decent from its contrary. Thus (vol. i. p. 63.) "To go about indoltriously (says he) to confound men in a mysterious manner, and to make advantage or draw pleasure from that perplexity they are thrown into, by such uncertain talk; is as unhandsome in a way of raillery, as when done with the greatest seriousness, or in the most solemn way of deceit—*Again*—It is certainly a mean, impotent and dull sort of wit, which amuses all alike, and which leaves the most sensible men, and even a friend, equally in doubt and at a loss to understand what one's real mind is upon any subject. This is that gross sort of Raillery, which is so offensive in good company. And indeed there is as much difference between one sort and another, as between fair-dealing and hypocrisy, or between the genteel wit and the most scurrilous buffoonery. —*Again*, vol. i. p. 128.—By this time (my friend!) you may possibly, I hope, be satisfied, that as I am in earnest in defending raillery, so I can be sober too in the use of it. It is in reality a serious study to learn to temper and regulate that humour, which nature has given us as a more lenitive remedy against vice, and a kind of specific against superstition, and melancholy delusion. There is a great

difference between seeking how to raise a laugh from every thing, and seeking in every thing what justly may be laughed at." See also pages 82, 3, 4, 5. of the same vol.—But a more remarkable instance than all these may be given from a manuscript epistle of this author to Monsieur Coste, when censuring a criticism of Monsieur Dacier (who would suppose the 34th Ode B. 1. of Horace to be ironical banter) he says, "There is a due proportion in irony well known to all polite writers, especially Horace, who so well copied that noted Socratic kind. Go but a little further with it, and strain it beyond a certain just measure, and there is nothing so offensive, injurious, hypocritical, bitter, and contrary to all true simplicity, honesty, or good manners."

"As to those uses of ridicule which he allows, with regard to imposture he tells us (vol. i. p. 11.) that we can never too much honour or revere any thing for grave, if we are assured the thing is grave, as we apprehend it. The main point is to know always true gravity from the false; and this can only be by carrying the rule constantly with us, and freely applying it not only to the things about us, but to ourselves. For if unhappily we lose the measure in ourselves, we shall soon lose it in every thing besides. Now what rule or measure is there in the world, except in considering the real temper of things, to find which are truly serious and which ridiculous? And how can this be done, unless by applying the ridicule, to see whether it will bear? But if we fear to apply this rule in any thing, what security can we have against imposture in all things?" Again, as to the use of ridicule against ridiculers themselves, and universal scoffers, he very pertinently says (vol. i. p. 134.) that "if it be the complaint of our standing Reformers, that they are not heard so well by the Gentlemen of fashion; if they exclaim against those airy wits, who fly to ridicule as a protection, and make successful sallies from that quarter; why should it be denied one, who is only a volunteer in this cause, to engage the adversary on his own terms, and expose himself willingly to such attacks, on the single condition of being allowed fair play in the same kind?"

"So little, as appears from hence, was this author an advocate for a vague, indecent, and boundless ridicule, or inclined to employ his wit and humour, otherwise than under the abovementioned restrictions, and when the above occasions called for it. What indeed he contended for, was not the droll and the buffoonish, but the humorous, the easy, and the facetious, the same genius and spirit, in which one of the most important facts of our Christian faith has been lately defended, and in which Free-thinking itself was once vigorously attacked; both of them with universal approbation as well of the manner, as of the argument (12)."

(12) *Ibid.* p. 182.
 note [H].

of the city of London [I]. In a work which was ascribed to the late Mr. Ramsay, the painter, the author attempted to shew that Ridicule is of two kinds, and that it may be applied to opinions as well as to manners: and we cannot avoid expressing our concurrence with the writer in this view of the subject. The usual objects of Ridicule are, indeed, certain improprieties and peculiarities of character and conduct, and to assert, in general, that it is the test of truth, is advancing a false position. Reason is undoubtedly the genuine and proper test of truth. Nevertheless, Ridicule may in some cases be justly applied to opinions. There are tenets so flagrantly absurd, that it is not easy to refrain from viewing them in the light of Humour and Raillery; and perhaps the best way of exposing them, may be to display them in that light. That some of the doctrines of Popery (not to mention other doctrines) cannot stand this mode of trial, has more than once been evinced, and particularly appears in Tillotson's Rule of Faith. We confess, however, that Ridicule, when applied to grave and important subjects, is a very dangerous weapon; that it ought to be adopted with the utmost discretion, and that it hath often been made use of in an improper manner.

In the third work, the "Soliloquy; or, Advice to an Author," the Earl of Shaftesbury rises in his literary character; for there are not many things in the performance which are liable to much censure. Dr. Brown speaks of this treatise in terms of high applause. "Here," says the Doctor, "bating only a few accidental passages, which will be occasionally pointed out hereafter, we shall have little more to do, than to approve and admire; the whole dissertation being, in its general turn, one continued instance of its author's knowledge and refined taste in books, life, and manners. I could dwell with pleasure on the beauties of this work, if indeed they needed an explanation. But that noble union of truth and eloquence which shines through the whole, as it supercedes, so it would disgrace any attempt of this kind. To the work itself therefore, I recommend the Reader (p)." Perhaps this encomium is carried higher than strict truth and justice will warrant. The writer of the present article, upon a late re-perusal of the "Advice to an Author," did not find himself struck with that admiration of it which he experienced in his younger days. There appeared to be too many things in it of a desultory, not to say of a trifling nature. It contains, however, a variety of excellent matter; and what the noble Lord has advanced in recommendation of self-examination, and in defence of critics and criticism, is particularly valuable. In this treatise those passages occur, which are supposed to cast a censure on the Philosophy of Mr. Locke, and for which the Earl of Shaftesbury hath often been condemned. One of them is as follows: "In reality, how specious a study, how solemn an amusement is raised from what we call philosophical speculations!—the formalities of ideas—their compositions, comparisons, agreement, and disagreement! What can have a better appearance, or bid fairer for genuine and true philosophy? Come on then. Let me philosophize in this manner; if this be indeed the way I am to grow wise. Let me examine my ideas of space and substance; let me look well into matter and its modes; if this be to look into MYSELF; if this be to improve my understanding, and enlarge my mind. Let me observe, therefore, with diligence, what passes *here*; what connection and consistency, what agreement or disagreement I find

(p) Essays on the
Characteristics,
p. 109, 110.
fifth edit.

[I] And, amongst others, by the Reverend Mr. Charles Bulkley.] This Gentleman, in a piece entitled "A Vindication of my Lord Shaftesbury on the Subject of Ridicule," observes, "that as his Lordship was fully persuaded, that the highest Ridicule may possibly take place in matters of speculation, controversy, and argument, and that it hath actually been introduced into them; so, he, as well as others, knows that the natural and proper rule by which to discover what was ridiculous in Reason's Province was the use of reason: in like manner, as our sense of order, beauty and proportion judges and determines as to what is ridiculous in Architecture, Painting, and Dress, or whatever else must be supposed naturally to fall under our cognizance and inspection. But then he justly supposed, that there must be some certain way and method of using this reason, which might be more successful than any other, not only towards detecting the ridiculous, but also towards discovering the solid and the true. This method it was his design in the two treatises to recommend;" and it was "no other than reasoning upon every subject in an easy, cheerful, good humoured way, which the noble author recommends in opposition to that sour and melancholy, that magisterial and imposing manner of treating religion, which, in his opinion, has done such infinite mischief in the world. Nothing can be plainer than that his Lordship uses the word Ridicule as synonymous to freedom, famili-

arity, good-humour, and the like." Mr. Bulkley, throughout his pamphlet, endeavours to prove, that Lord Shaftesbury's Test of Ridicule is "no other than the Test of free and cheerful Enquiry, or that unrestrained, sociable, and pleasant manner of investigating truth, and examining opinions, which the noble author had observed, with such high approbation, in the writings of the ancients." His Lordship was vindicated, likewise, in this respect, in an anonymous piece, entitled, "Animadversions on Mr. Brown's three Essays on the Characteristics." In this publication it is contended, that it was the Earl of Shaftesbury's design "to recommend the Way of Ridicule, the cheerful and facetious Exercise of Reason, as a Preservative from the Gloom of Superstition, and the Extravagances of Enthusiasm." The same author farther remarks, that his Lordship, in his Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour, "has favoured us with a specimen of that humorous kind of writing which he means to recommend. And whoever reads it in an accurate and studious manner, will not find his humour to be (as Mr. Brown represents it) a light, trifling and superficial wit; which diverts itself with unmeaning jokes, and ambiguous innuendoes; but will be pleased to see how chaste it is, how happily tempered with gravity in treating the most important subjects, and how successfully it is employed in defence of Liberty, Honesty, and Religion (13)." (13) British Biog. vol. vii. p. 444, 445.

within:

within: whether, according to my present ideas, that which I approve this hour, I am likely to approve as well the next: and in case it be otherwise with me, how or in what manner I shall relieve myself; how ascertain my ideas, and keep my opinion, liking and esteem of things the same. If this remains unolved; if I am still the same mystery to myself as ever, to what purpose is all this reasoning and acuteness? Wherefore do I admire my Philosopher, or study to become such a one myself (q)? These sentiments are pursued by our noble author, in a manner that is very unjust and illiberal. It was, likewise, an act of ingratitude in him, thus to treat the man to whom he was under so many personal obligations, and who had been so closely connected with, and attached to his family. We should, however, remember how much the Earl of Shaftesbury was devoted to the sentimental philosophy, which was directly opposite to that of Mr. Locke. It ought also to be added, that his Lordship, in one of his works, has spoken highly in favour of the "Essay on human Understanding." That book he recommended to a Student, as no less fit to qualify for business and an intercourse with mankind, than for the Sciences and University. "No one," says he, (meaning Mr. Locke) "has done more towards recalling of true philosophy from barbarity into the use and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer sort, who might well be ashamed of it in its other dress. No one has opened a better and clearer way to reason. And above all I wonder to hear him censured by any Church of Men, for advancing reason and bringing the use of it so much into Religion (r)."

(r) Supplement to Biog. Brit. p. 34. note [B].

The second volume of the *Characteristics* opens with the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," for the introduction of which preparations had been made by many sentiments occasionally delivered in the former treatises. On the whole, it is a very valuable performance, being finely written, and containing an excellent display of the nature, tendency, and effects of virtuous and benevolent dispositions and actions. Here, if any where, Lord Shaftesbury must be allowed to appear to great advantage. We do not mean, however, to assert that the work is perfect, or that it is not in some respects liable to censure, or, at least, to just criticism. Though, from its first appearance it was much admired, and continued long to be held in admiration, it was, nevertheless, early the subject of animadversions. It was attacked by Dr. Bernard de Mandeville, in his "Fable of the Bees," as founded on chimerical principles. But the attack of such a writer was an honour, not a discredit to the work. Dr. Fiddes, in the Preface to his "General Treatise of Morality, founded upon Principles of Reason only," has vindicated the "Inquiry" against Mandeville's censures: and has pointed out the truth and beauty of the sentiments advanced by Lord Shaftesbury. Another writer, who distinguished himself in defence of his Lordship, was the ingenious Professor Hutcheson, of Glasgow. Indeed, this Gentleman may be considered as having founded in some degree, his system of morals on that of our noble author; or, at least, there was such a coincidence in their ideas, that they must ever be ranked as supporting the same principles, and engaged in the same cause. Several writers, however, of characters far superior to that of Mandeville, and totally abhorrent of his sentiments, have expressed their dissatisfaction with some parts of the "Inquiry concerning Virtue." Mrs. Cockburn, while she allows that the Earl of Shaftesbury's notions of moral Virtue were very noble and very just, and perfectly agreeable to Dr. Clarke's doctrine, says, that he seems to be defective in the foundation (s). Bishop Butler, with that sagacity which he so eminently possessed, has made some strictures on the "Inquiry," that are too rational and too important to be omitted; and, therefore, they shall be inserted below [K]. The Philosophers,

(q) *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 299, 300.

(s) Mrs. Cockburn's Works, vol. ii. p. 268. 294.

[K] *And, therefore, shall be inserted below.* "The not taking into consideration this authority, (the authority of reflection or conscience) says the Bishop, which is implied in the idea of reflex approbation or disapprobation, seems a material deficiency or omission in Lord Shaftesbury's inquiry concerning virtue. He has shewn beyond all contradiction, that virtue is naturally the interest or happiness, and vice the misery of such a creature as man, placed in the circumstances which we are in this world. But suppose there are particular exceptions; a case which this author was unwilling to put, and yet surely it is to be put: or suppose a case which he has put and determined, that of a sceptic not convinced of this happy tendency of virtue, or being of a contrary opinion. His determination is, that it would be *without remedy*. One may say more explicitly, that leaving out the authority of reflex approbation, or disapprobation, such an one would be under an obligation to act viciously; since interest, one's own happiness, is a manifest obligation, and there is not supposed to be any other obligation in the case. "But does it much mend the matter, to take in that natural authority of reflection? There indeed would be an obligation to virtue; but would not the obligation from sup-

posed interest on the side of vice remain?" If it should, yet to be under two contrary obligations, that is, under none at all, would not be exactly the same, as to be under a formal obligation to be vicious, or to be in circumstances in which the constitution of man's nature plainly required, that vice should be preferred. But the obligation on the side of interest really does not remain. For the natural authority of the principle of reflection is an obligation the most near and intimate, the most certain and known: whereas the contrary obligation can at the utmost appear no more than probable; since no man can be *certain* in any circumstances, that vice is his interest in the present world, much less can he be certain against another: and thus the certain obligation would entirely supersede and destroy the uncertain one; which yet would have been of real force without the former.

"In truth, the taking in this consideration, totally changes the whole state of the case; and shews, what this author does not seem to have been aware of, that the greatest degree of scepticism which he thought possible, will still leave men under the strictest moral obligations, whatever their opinion be concerning the happiness of virtue. For that mankind upon reflection felt an approbation of what was good, and disapprobation

Philosophers, in general, who deduce the principles of virtue from self-love only, and refer the obligation of it solely to the Will of God, are, of course, direct enemies to the moral system of Lord Shaftesbury, and are not sparing of their censures of it, whenever it comes in their way. Of this class was Dr. Brown, who hath made the "Inquiry" the particular object of his animadversions, in the second of his Essays on the Characteristics. Whilst we acknowledge the ingenuity and importance of some of the Doctor's observations, we are far from thinking that he appears to as great advantage in this as in other parts of his work. In opposition to Dr. Brown, our noble author found an able defender in Mr. Bulkley, who published a pamphlet, the title of which was "A Vindication of my Lord Shaftesbury, on the Subjects of Morality and Religion, being farther Remarks on a Book entitled Essays on the Characteristics." Dr. Reid, in his late Treatise on the active Powers of Man, hath spoken of his Lordship, in different places, in language of approbation, and hath reckoned him with the judicious Moralists (t). Lord Monboddo is transcendent in his praises of the "Inquiry." "I have elsewhere said," observes his Lordship, "that the Inquiry is the best book in English upon the subject of Morals; and I am not at all disposed to retract that opinion, but, on the contrary, after having read it over again—I am fully convinced, that it is the best demonstration to be found, in any book that I know, ancient or modern, of the most important truth, the foundation, I think, of theism, that virtue is the greatest happiness, and vice the greatest misery of men: for we cannot otherwise be convinced ourselves, nor convince others, that the world is under the government of Supreme Intelligence, Power and Goodness (u)."

(t) Essays on the active Powers of Man, p. 145.

(u) Origin and Progress of Language, vol. iv. p. 351. note.

In the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," the Earl of Shaftesbury appeared in the close, the logical, and the didactic form. But in the "Moralists, a philosophical Rhapsody," he assumes a higher tone, and figures in a new character. Here he presents himself in the mode of dialogue, and is the emulator of the Ancients, and particularly of Plato, in the boldest poetic manner of that eminent Philosopher. Whatever may be thought of some things in the "Moralists," and especially of the rapturous kind of language into which his Lordship is frequently carried, it is, we think, on the whole, a work of great and extraordinary merit. Dr. Brown had asserted, that the noble author hath strangely attempted to ridicule and dishonour religion in every shape (w). But, Mr. Bulkley has justly observed, that this assertion is so far from being true, that the whole treatise we are speaking of is written in defence of a Deity and a Providence; and that the cause of pure, genuine and perfect theism is maintained in it with such strength of judgment, such superiority of reason, such invincible force of argument, such a commanding eloquence, and such a sublime strain of piety, as cannot but naturally and justly recommend it to the strictest attention of all who interest themselves in that highest and most momentous subject (x). With regard to the mode of composition adopted in the "Moralists," Bishop Hurd ranks it among the best of the kind which we have in our language. "There are,"

(w) Essay on the Characteristics, p. 230.

(x) British Biog. vol. vii. p. 445.

bation of the contrary, he thought a plain matter of fact, as it undoubtedly is, which none could deny, but from mere affectation. Take in then that authority and obligation, which is a constituent part of this reflex approbation, and it will undeniably follow, though a man should doubt of every thing else, yet, that he would still remain under the nearest and most certain obligation to the practice of virtue; an obligation implied in the very idea of virtue, in the very idea of reflex approbation.

"And how little influence soever this obligation alone can be expected to have in fact upon mankind, yet one may appeal even to interest and self-love, and ask, since from man's nature, condition, and the shortness of life, so little, so very little indeed, can possibly in any case be gained by vice; whether it be so prodigious a thing to sacrifice that little to the most intimate of all obligations; and which a man cannot transgress without being self-condemned, and unless he has corrupted his nature, without real self-dislike? This question I say may be asked, even upon supposition that the prospect of a future life were ever so uncertain.

"The observation that man is thus by his very nature a law to himself, pursued to its just consequences, is of the utmost importance; because, from it, it will follow, that though men should, through stupidity or speculative scepticism, be ignorant of or disbelieve any authority in the universe to punish the violation of this law; yet, if there should be such authority, they would be as really liable to punishment, as though they had been beforehand convinced, that such punishment would follow. For in whatever sense we understand justice, even supposing what I think would be very presumptuous to assert,

that the end of divine punishment is no other than that of civil punishment, namely, to prevent future mischief; upon this bold supposition, ignorance or disbelief of the sanction would by no means exempt even from this justice: because it is not foreknowledge of the punishment, which renders obnoxious to it; but merely violating a known obligation.

"And here it comes in one's way to take notice of a manifest error or mistake, in the author now cited, unless perhaps he has incautiously expressed himself so as to be misunderstood; namely, that *it is malice only, and not goodness, which can make us afraid*. Whereas in reality, goodness is the natural and just object of the greatest fear to an ill man. Malice may be appeased or satiated; humour may change: but goodness is a fixt, steady, immoveable principle of action. If either of the former holds the sword of justice, there is plainly ground for the greatest of crimes to hope for impunity: but if it be goodness, there can be no possible hope, whilst the reasons of things, or the ends of government, call for punishment. Thus every one sees how much greater chance of impunity, an ill man has in a partial administration, than in a just and upright one. It is said, that *the interest or good of the whole, must be the interest of the universal Being, and that He can have no other*. Be it so. This author has proved, that vice is naturally the misery of mankind in this world. Consequently it was for the good of the whole, that it should be so. What shadow of reason then is there to assert, that this may not be the case hereafter? Danger of future punishment (and if there be danger, there is ground of fear) no more supposes malice, than the present feeling of punishment does (14)."

(14) Preface to Butler's Sermons, vol. i. p. xxii—xxviii. Glasgow edit.

says the Bishop, "in English three Dialogues, and but three, that are fit to be mentioned—all of them excellently composed in their way, and it must be owned, by the very best and politest of our writers. The Dialogues I mean are, the "Moralists" of Lord Shaftesbury; Mr. Addison's "Treatise on Medals;" and the "Minute Philosopher" of Bishop Berkeley." According to Dr. Hurd, the sole fault of these applauded persons is, that they suffered themselves to be misled by modern practice, and with every ability to excel in this nice and difficult composition, have written beneath themselves, only because they did not keep up to the ancient standard. An essential defect in his opinion, runs through them all. "They have taken," he adds, "for their Speakers, not real, but *fictitious* Characters; contrary to the practice of the old writers; and to the infinite disadvantage of this mode of writing, in every respect (y)." Perhaps the Bishop has here carried the matter somewhat too far. However, without disputing the propriety of his general sentiments upon the subject, one thing is plain, that the Earl of Shaftesbury is regarded by him as amongst the first of our authors in the dialogistical form of composition. But the most complete eulogium on the "Rhapsody," is that which is given by Lord Monboddo: nor hath this learned writer satisfied himself with bestowing upon it some general praises, but hath favoured the public with a large and elaborate analysis of it, from which its excellence will more fully be displayed. This analysis our readers will be glad to see below [L]; and when they have perused it, they will be sensible that it is not necessary to add any farther testimonies in commendation of the "Moralists."

(y) Hurd's moral and political Dialogues, vol. i. Pref. p. xiv—xvi.

Concerning

[L] *This analysis our readers will be glad to see below.*

"The finest dialogue of modern times, so fine, that I think it may be compared with any thing of the kind we have got from antiquity, is my Lord Shaftesbury's rhapsody, entitled *The Moralists*. It has every thing which a dialogue requires; for it has a fable, characters, manners, incidents, and scenery too, and in short, every thing belonging to a dramatic piece. The subject of it is the conversion of a sceptic to theism. This conversion is made by a Philosopher, who is possessed of the noblest of all passions, an enthusiastic admiration of God and Nature. So here are two very different characters distinctly marked: and in the course of the action, which lasts three days, there are other characters introduced; for my Lord has not fallen into the error, which, I think, Plato has committed, of making but one conversation of his ten books of *Polity*, and likewise only one of his thirteen books of *Laws*, and so drawing out each of these dialogues to an immeasurable length, an error, which, as I have observed, Cicero has also avoided. In the first day's conversation, Philocles (so the sceptic is called, who is the narrator of the dialogue), recites a conversation which passed betwixt him and his friend Palemon, in the Park at London, upon the subject of the miseries of human life, in which Philocles having thrown out some things of the sceptical kind that gave offence to Palemon, as tending to show, that there is no distinction of right and wrong in actions, any more than of truth and falsehood in arguments,—Philocles, using the privilege, as he says, of a sceptic, entertained him with a discourse of some length upon the order and beauty which appears in nature, the government of the universal mind, which we ought from thence to infer, and to conclude, that all those ills natural and moral, of which they had been speaking, were no more than ills in appearance, being only the necessary consequences of the universe being a system. This sudden change having surprised Palemon, he asked Philocles what had produced sentiments so different from those he had before expressed. In answer to this, Philocles informs him, that some days ago he had had a conversation with a friend in the country, whom he calls Theocles, who had made a perfect convert of him to the firm belief of theism, and the government of an universal mind of infinite goodness and wisdom. This conversation Palemon earnestly desired to hear; but, as it was then growing late, Philocles could not satisfy him at that time, but promised that he would become author for his sake, and set it down in writing.

"This is the first day's conversation, and I think a very natural and proper introduction to what is principal in the piece, viz. the conversations with Theocles, which make the subject of the two other days. The scene of these is Theocles's country seat, where Philocles had gone upon a visit to him. There he finds him in the forenoon, walking in the fields

with a Virgil in his hand. This rural scene is very well described. Here, after some discourse, which the company, that Theocles had with him, naturally gave occasion to, the conversation took a philosophical turn; and they began to talk of pleasure and happiness, and of what was good or ill in human life. Upon this subject they at last agreed, that, what made perfect happiness, was the love and admiration of what was perfectly beautiful and good. Such an object, Theocles said, was to be found in the universe, and which he promised to discover to him the next morning; for, by this time, a servant had come from the house to let Theocles know, that company was come to dine with him.

"And here we have an episode very naturally introduced, in which we have two new characters that give an agreeable variety to the piece, and furnish matter for conversation on different subjects, but all having a relation to the principal subject of the piece. One of these characters is an old Gentleman, a religious bigot, and a man not at all of pleasant manners: the other is a modest young Gentleman, and more agreeable in conversation.

"The dinner was such, as to give occasion to Theocles to speak in praise of the virtue of temperance; from which it appears to have been a dinner very different from what is now given by men of fashion. From temperance in eating and drinking, they came to speak of temperance with respect to wealth and honours, and of virtue in general. Upon this subject it was observed, that to exalt virtue and its happiness, was understood by some religious men to be depressing and undervaluing religion: for virtue, they said, was misery; and that there was no happiness in this life, nor any except what religion promised in our future state. By arguing in this way, Theocles observed it was impossible to convince an atheist, who, if he believed that there was so much disorder in the present state of things, would not be disposed to think better of the future, and never could be persuaded, that the world was under the government of a Wise and Good Being. This naturally led the conversation to speak of atheism, and of the common way of arguing against Atheists; when it was observed, that if an author argued calmly against Atheists, and stated the arguments fully and fairly, he was understood to be a friend to them. This, it was said, was the case of the learned and pious Dr. Cudworth: and the same objection was made to a late author, viz. the author of the *'Inquiry concerning Virtue.'* And here Lord Shaftesbury introduces, I think not improperly, a defence of his own work from the mouth of Theocles, who speaks of that author as his friend, and therefore very willingly undertakes his defence in a pretty long discourse, where he shows, that the only way to convince an Atheist, is to treat him with good manners, and with calmness and moderation: that solidly to refute the arguments

Concerning the third volume of the *Characteristics*, we have little to say. It is entitled, "Miscellaneous Reflections on the preceding Treatises, and other critical Subjects:" and

is

ments of the Atheists, and to establish upon sound principles the existence of a Deity, must necessarily be previous to our belief in any revelation from that Deity: that genuine theism and just notions of the Divinity must necessarily produce that divine love, which is acknowledged to be the perfection of religion, arising from the high idea we have of the Being which is the object of it. This, he says, was what his friend recommended, maintaining that we were not truly religious, unless our devotion proceeded from such a principle, and not from the hopes of reward, or the fears of punishment; though such motives might be very properly used, with those who were by nature incapable of so liberal a devotion. This, says Theocles, I think is sufficient to defend the morality of my friend's inquiry, and shew, that it is nowise inconsistent with religion, but quite the contrary. At the same time, as his work is entirely confined to morality, he has not proved that a Being exists worthy of that disinterested love and admiration, in which he makes the perfection of religion to consist: to supply this defect, says he, I must become preacher, and give you a system of theology agreeable to his principles.

"Here this conversation ended, by the coming in of some visitants, who took up the remaining part of the afternoon in other discourse. In the evening, the scene is changed from the house to the fields, and all the rest of the company being gone, Philocles, with the old Gentleman and his young friend who remained, insisted with Theocles, that he should give them the sermon he had mentioned, which accordingly he did, taking occasion to begin it from observations made by Philocles upon the structure and organization of the plants they saw in the fields.

"And here begins what may be called the catastrophe or *denouement* of the piece, to which every thing preceding has a tendency more or less; I mean the demonstration of the existence of a Sovereign Mind and Supreme Intelligence, given by Theocles in language as beautiful and as much ornamented as science can be delivered in. Nor does Philocles forget his character of sceptic, and the part assigned to him of objecting to the arguments of Theocles, which part he acts exceedingly well; and thus the argument is fully laid before us, and according to the fair method in which even atheism, as Theocles thinks, should be treated, every thing is said in its behalf that can be said, but to which Theocles gives a sufficient answer. In this debate the old Gentleman takes a part suitable to his character, answering or endeavouring to answer the objections of Philocles, but in an angry passionate way: whereas the answers of Theocles are perfectly mild and good humoured; for he is a most amiable enthusiast, without any mixture of that passion, violence, and furious zeal, which we often see in religious enthusiasts.

"What follows after this is to be considered as corollaries or consequences of Theocles's demonstration; tending at the same time to strengthen it, by shewing that his theory is agreeable to fact and observation. The last conversation of this second day is after supper, and the subject of it is prodigies, miracles, apparitions, and other things altogether out of the ordinary course of nature. By these the old Gentleman would prove the existence of a Deity; but Philocles, taking up the argument of Theocles, shews that it is only from order, regularity, and uniformity in the operations of Nature, that we can infer the existence of a Supreme Intelligence; but from such violation of the laws of Nature, as those mentioned by the old Gentleman, and the confusion in the system thence resulting, nothing could be inferred except either the chaos and atoms of the Atheists, or the magic and demons of the Polytheists. This conversation is agreeably varied and distinguished from the preceding conversations of the same day, not only by the subject, but by Theocles, who was the chief Speaker in those, saying nothing in this, and likewise by the modest young Gentleman, who had been only

a hearer before, now taking a very proper part in the conversation, and joining Philocles to the great offence of the old Gentleman, who gave him a rebuke in such rough terms, that Philocles interposed, and finished the argument, which the young Gentleman had so well begun, but his modesty would not allow him to finish.—And thus ends the second day.

"The third and last day begins with Theocles dismissing his two guests early in the morning, (such was the custom in those days) and going out to his morning walk in the fields, where Philocles finds him. It is the same beautiful rural scene, where these two met the preceding morning. Here Theocles, at the desire of Philocles, addressed that Universal Mind in a strain very different from that in which he had proved the existence of such a Mind. Before he reasoned as a Philosopher, now he speaks as one inspired, not by the demon which inspired the Delphic priests or the Sybil of Virgil, but by Divine Love, which is mild, gentle, and humane. There is nothing therefore in Theocles of the *os rabidum*, or the *fera corda*, though his language be so much elevated, that it may be said to be *nil mortale sonans*. It is of that kind which the antients called dithyrambic, but much less obscure than the dithyrambics of Pindar, nor indeed is it at all obscure. It has those *loose numbers*, of which, as we have seen, the antients speak so much, as much as our language will admit; and the only fault I find with it is, that the numbers are sometimes too much stricted and altogether verse, though that happens but very rarely. But, upon the whole, I think it the most splendid language we have in prose, and the finest stile of the kind in English, but absolutely unfit for any other purpose, except for that for which the author has employed it.

"There are, I know, who, now that inspiration has ceased, will think such extatic effusions altogether unnatural. But those men know not the powers of human nature, and judge of other men by themselves. Even now the *Improvisatoris* and *Improvisatrices* of Italy will pour forth extempore, upon any subject assigned to them, a great many of their *ottavo rima* verses, of more difficult composition than any verse we now use in English, and much more difficult than the measured prose of Theocles. And I have no doubt, but one of these, if he was as great a Philosopher as Theocles, could make verses extempore upon the same subjects.

"The first Rhapsody of Theocles, is an invocation in very sublime language, but without any thing like what we call Fustian or Bombast, of that Sovereign Mind, the existence of which he had proved, praying for assistance to enable him to trace, in the works of creation, the marks of Wisdom, Goodness, and Power.

"In the second Rhapsody (or rant, as those who are not initiated into this Sublime Philosophy, would call it), he, in a still higher strain, goes through the works of nature, observing how the vital principle, diffused through the whole, operates in so many different ways, producing still new forms out of the ruins of the old, so that, amidst the greatest seeming profusion, nothing is lost. Here a great deal is said of matter and of mind, and of those two entities so difficult to be apprehended, Time and Motion. Then he proceeds in the same rapturous strain to survey the heavens, describing the sun, the planets, and the fixed stars, in language equal, if possible, to the subject.

"The subject of the third Rhapsody, is this our earth; where, in describing the minerals and the four elements, and particularly fire diffused, as he says, through the whole globe, and animating every thing in it, he shows more of natural knowledge than I thought he had been possessed of.

"In his fourth and last *transport*, he surveys the surface of this our globe, going through every climate and every country of it, where there is any thing very remarkable, and describing with great accuracy, as well as great pomp of language, all the wonderful scenes which it presents to us.

"Betwixt

is a kind of defence and explanation of what had gone before. This volume abounds with pleasantries, and contains a number of ingenious remarks; but we cannot regard it as deserving

“ Betwixt these fallies there is interjected a great deal of close reasoning by way of question and answer in the Socratic manner, which was very proper in a conversation betwixt them two, but would, I think, not have been so proper in the mixt company they were in before. The tendency of this reasoning, is to strengthen still farther, the proof of the existence of a Mind in nature, which unites the whole, and makes *one* of the universe. For proof of this, he appeals to every plant and every animal, in every one of which it is evident, that there is some one thing, which makes a *whole* of each of them. And, as every thing in nature is connected, as well as the parts of a plant or animal, for the same reason, there must be something in nature which makes a whole of it. In this interlude, as it may be called, there is a most satisfactory answer given to an objection made before by Philocles, but which had not been answered, namely, that though there may be union, order, and regularity, in so much of the system of the universe as we see, yet all might be disorder and confusion in the rest of the universe, which is infinite with respect to the small part of it than we can discover; for, if it were so, says Theocles, the infinite must prevail over the finite, and all be disorder and confusion.

“ Betwixt the second and third Rhapsodies there is nothing interposed, but an interruption which Theocles makes to himself, supposing that Philocles had something to object to what he had said; but Philocles saying that he had nothing to object, he proceeded to descant, as I have said, upon the elements and minerals.

“ Betwixt the third and fourth there is also nothing interposed except an admonition of Philocles, that he would not insist so much upon the power of the element of fire, which, though so friendly to life, Theocles had said, might, when let loose, destroy every thing, and bring on an universal conflagration. But, says he, describe to me the mass of nature as it appears upon this our earth; and accordingly Theocles proceeds to give that beautiful map of the earth above mentioned.

“ The conclusion of the work is very proper and suitable to the main design. The subject of this conclusion is, *1mo*, Beauty, and the different kinds of it: *2do*, The necessity of philosophizing in order to be happy. As to Beauty, he shows, that it is essential both to virtue and religion; for beauty is the object of love, and we love no person, no action, no thing, in which we do not perceive beauty. Now, there can be no virtue without the love of virtue, nor any religion without the love of God. We must therefore perceive beauty both in God and in Virtue. Then he proceeds to shew, that body has in itself no beauty, but that the beauty we admire in it is all from mind: so that what we admire in the works of art is the genius of the artist; and the beauty in the works of nature, where else can it be, but in the Mind of the Sovereign Artist, who therefore is the fountain of all Beauty, whether of body or of mind, as well as of all Intelligence. As there can be no love without admiration, and as admiration to a great degree is enthusiasm, he from thence derives the enthusiasms of Poets, Painters, Musicians, and the nobler enthusiasm still of the truly virtuous man, and the noblest of all enthusiasms, that arising from the love and admiration of the Supreme Beauty.

“ He next proceeds to show, that the sense of the *fair* and the *beautiful*, the *pulchrum* and *bonestum*, the *graceful* and the *becoming*, not only in outward forms, but in sentiments and actions, is in man from nature, not from art or teaching, institution or habit. This is so clear a proposition, that I wonder it should be denied, or even doubted of by any: and yet I am told, that in a book lately published upon the subject of morality, it is at least doubted of, if not denied. I think the author might have as well doubted whether such a thing as virtue or religion existed; or indeed whether such an animal as man existed: for I hold that there is nothing, which more eminently distinguishes

the man from the brute, than the sense of the fair and the beautiful.

“ The other thing he mentions in the conclusion of the dialogue, namely, the utility of philosophy, does also belong to the subject; for it was very proper, after having philosophized so much, to show that it was not to no purpose, but on the contrary, of the highest use. This he proves, not by a continued discourse, as he proves other things, but by close pungent interrogations and answers, which, at the same time that they are most convincing, make a beautiful variety in the style; and he concludes the whole by showing, that, in fact, all men do philosophize right or wrong; for they deliberate about what is useful or hurtful, what contributes to their happiness or not; and, even if they should determine not to deliberate at all, but to follow every fancy or conceit that is uppermost, still that will be in some sort to philosophize.

“ Thus I have analyzed this most beautiful piece; so beautiful in its style and composition, that it shews the author well qualified to write upon the Beautiful, which indeed is the chief subject of the piece. I will conclude with some general observations upon it.

“ And, in the first place, as the principal thing, according to Aristotle, in every dramatical piece, such as I hold this to be, is the fable, that principal part in the Moralists is, I think, admirable: for, at the same time that there is a perfect unity in it, there is a greater variety of characters and incidents, than in any dialogue of Plato, and more than even in Cicero's dialogue *De Oratore*, where the two days are not near so well filled up as the three days of the Moralists; and there are several changes of the scene, besides the introduction of new personages, which I think are very agreeable. It is therefore a fable of the kind which Aristotle calls complex; and which, if the unity of the action is preserved, he prefers to the simple.

“ The style is such as might be expected from a thorough well bred Gentleman, well acquainted with life and manners, at the same time an accomplished scholar, and who in his travels had acquired a very high taste for the fine arts, as appears from many passages of his writings. The style of such a writer must needs be copious and rich in all the ornaments which the knowledge of mythology, antient history, and the fine arts can furnish. His style is too luxuriant, as I have observed elsewhere, in some other of his writings; but I think it is chaste and sober enough in this piece. The style of the Rhapsodies of Theocles, is, as I have observed, very uncommon, excellent however of the kind, but very different, as it ought to be, from that of the dialogue, which is easy and natural, and a very good imitation of the conversation of Gentlemen upon learned subjects: and it has that politeness, which I have commended so much in Cicero's dialogue, particularly in what is said by the two principal personages Theocles and Philocles, and which has a contrast in Shaftesbury, that is not to be found in Cicero; I mean the roughness and ill-breeding of the old Gentleman.

“ As to the philosophy of this work, though it do not belong to the subject of this volume, I cannot help making some observations upon it. It is plainly a supplement, as the author has told us, to the *Inquiry concerning Virtue*; and he has in it carried the philosophy of morals to theology, and, I think, the most sublime theology that is to be found in English: and he has very properly connected the doctrine of morals, that is, the knowledge of ourselves, with theology; for, as I have observed elsewhere, we can know nothing of Divinity, without first knowing ourselves. He has therefore founded morality and theology upon the same principle, namely, that the beautiful and good are one and the same thing; and that what is beautiful and good in the characters of men, is beautiful and good, but in an infinitely higher degree, in the Divinity. This proposition therefore, that the beautiful and the good are the same, and which is a fundamental proposition in this treatise, I hold to be the basis

erving of any great applause. It is written, on the whole, in a desultory manner; and there are in it many exceptionable passages, especially with respect to revelation. The ingenious author of "Pompey the Little," in one of his introductory chapters, has humorously reckoned the "Miscellaneous Reflections" among the nothings.

Lord Shaftesbury's advocates have taken great pains to shew the connection that subsists between his different works: and that we may do full justice to his Lordship upon this head, we shall transcribe what has been advanced by the writer of his life in the General Dictionary [M]. That there is a connection between our noble author's treatises, and

basis both of morality and theology, though it be not so laid down in any treatise of morality in modern times, nor explicitly in any antient work, as far as I know, upon that subject.

"And, as beauty is the object of love, without which, as I have observed, love cannot be conceived, I find a wonderful agreement betwixt the philosophy of my Lord Shaftesbury upon this subject and the doctrine of our holy religion. The first and fundamental precept of the law, as our Saviour tells us, was 'to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself.'—Again, our Saviour says to his Disciples, 'a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.'—'By this shall all men know, that ye are my Disciples, if ye have love one to another.' And St. Paul, in that remarkable passage in I. Corinthians chap. 13, where he commends love, makes it the essential duty of every Christian, without which nothing that he can do, neither prophesying, understanding mysteries, nor working miracles, nor even martyrdom, will signify any thing.

"From this principle of beauty, which he has made the foundation, as we have seen, both of virtue and religion, Shaftesbury has deduced a demonstration of the Being, as well as the Attributes of God, better, I think, than what is to be found in any modern book: for he has proved, from the order, regularity, and beauty we see in all the works of Nature above, below, and round about us, that Supreme Intelligence governs in the universe; and, as there can be no beauty without an unity of design, and as such unity appears to be in every particular work of Nature, and in the whole, as far as falls under our observation, he from thence very justly, I think, infers that there is but one Supreme Intelligence (13)."

[M] *What has been advanced by the writer of his life in the General Dictionary.*

"With regard to the Characteristics, as they stand here methodised, it is to be observed that the several pieces, which compose them, are not only perfectly finished in themselves, according to the nature and genius of that species of writings to which each belongs, but that all together they form a complete whole, whose parts have a certain order and relation to each other, and which cannot be inverted without the whole's being injured.

"Such a dependency and connexion of the several joint tracts, is what the author himself in many places hints at. See vol. iii. p. 135, 189, 190, 284, 285, &c. Particularly vol. iii. p. 190, he says, that in this joint edition it will appear, that the three former treatises are preparatory to the fourth, and the fifth a kind of apology for this revived treatise concerning virtue and religion.

"Indeed, as he had a peculiar system, as well of Divinity as of Ethics, and had many things to advance, to which the ears of mankind had been little accustomed, it was necessary before he assumed the formal systematic and didactic character, that he should first appear in the preparatory, the corrective, or refutative.

Sincrum est nisi vas, &c.

To this preparatory therefore or refutative method may be referred the treatises of his first volume. And though in general they may be all three said to attack the follies, vices, and false taste of mankind, and so prepare the mind for the better doctrine it was to receive from the two following; yet each piece in particular seems to have a peculiar end of its own.

Vol. IV.

"The letter concerning Enthusiasm for instance, is more immediately levelled against the primary and most capital enemy of all true philosophy, and liberal sentiment, superstition. The causes of this evil are here accurately inquired into, and its sources traced to a natural passion, which if properly managed and turned upon its proper objects, is shewn to be productive of whatever is most amiable. This passion we are told is no other than enthusiasm, concerning the nature and rise of which he informs us (vol. iii. p. 20) that *there is a power in numbers, harmony, proportion, and beauty of every kind, which naturally captivates the heart, and raises the imagination to the opinion or conceit of something majestic and divine.* He adds in another place, (vol. iii. p. 37.) that *in itself this is a very natural and honest passion, and has properly nothing for its object, but what is good and honest.* It is apt however, he confesses, to run astray. And by modern examples, says he, *we know perhaps yet better than by any antient, that in religion the enthusiasm, which works by love, is subject to many strange irregularities; and that which works by fear, to many monstrous and horrible superstitions.* These then are those excesses of it, which he here professes to encounter, and against which he makes no small use of the weapons of wit and ridicule.

"It was this manner of attack, as well as a constant pursuit of it through his following pieces, which made it necessary that in his second treatise he should accommodate his reader to that free, easy, and humorous method, to that spirit of mirth and wit, and raillery, which he uses so freely upon occasions and subjects, where the usual style had been only the most grave and magisterial. As the method indeed was new, so it well wanted an apology. But of this see above remark [H] upon the essay, &c.

"The third treatise called *Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author*, besides a great share of subjects in common with the treatises abovementioned, has still something farther which is peculiar to its self. As the philosophy he had to exhibit, was calculated not only to furnish the head, but to mend the heart; as it was to correct those fancies and opinions, which are the springs of all our actions, for this reason it was absolutely necessary that the reader should be taught to turn his eye inward, and shewn how to recognize within himself the order as well as disorder, the œconomy as well as confusion of his own passions, appetites, imaginations and sentiments. This, in the judgment of this author, was the only means, by which a man might come to be sensible (vol. iii. p. 147) *who or what he is; whence he arose or had his being; to what end he was designed; and to what course of action he is by his own natural frame and constitution destined.* And (to use the words of vol. ii. p. 285) *as we have more or less of this intelligence or comprehension of ourselves, so this author held that we were accordingly more or less truly men, and either more or less to be depended on in friendship, society, and the commerce of life.* To assist therefore in this important business of self-converse and examination, appears to have been the principal purpose and design of the soliloquy.

"And now if we may suppose by the force of these previous treatises the dark and suspicious apprehensions of superstition to have been dissipated; the freedom of wit and humour to have been justified and established; and the method of self-converse and inspection to be made intelligible; we may well consider the preparatory part of his philosophy to have been discharged, and no obstacle left unremoved, which might prevent passing to the didactic part or preceptive.

* 4 C

To

(13) Origin and Progress of Language, vol. iv. p. 344—371.

(z) *Characteristics*, vol. ii. p. 263—290.

and that it was intended by himself, cannot be denied; but whether that connection be so accurate and close as is represented below, may justly be called in question. Perhaps the "Letter concerning Enthusiasm" and the "Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour" might have been spared without any loss to the most valuable part of his Lordship's design; and the same may be said of the "Miscellaneous Reflections." The "Advice to an Author" may be considered as in some degree preparatory to the "Inquiry concerning Virtue;" and between the "Inquiry concerning Virtue" and the "Moralists" there is a real and apparent union. This union has been fully insisted upon, and well displayed, in the last of the works now mentioned (z). The "Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment of Hercules" and the "Letter concerning the Art, or Science of Design," are two adventitious pieces, which have been annexed to the "Characteristics" ever since the edition of 1713. With respect to these pieces it may be sufficient to observe, that they afford specimens of the noble Writer's love for the fine Arts, and of that degree of taste in them to which he had arrived.

On the whole of the Earl of Shaftesbury's character as an author, much has been said to his praise, and much to his disadvantage. Mr. Bulkley and others have bestowed upon him the highest commendations. With these persons must be joined Lord Monboddo, who, speaking of the Rhapsodist in particular, is not afraid to pronounce it not only the best dialogue in English, out of all degree of comparison, but the sublimest Philosophy, and if we will join with it the Inquiry—the completest system both of Morality and Theology, that we have in our language, and, at the same time, of the greatest beauty and elegance for the style and composition. "Whatever may be said," continues our learned Grammarian, "against the other writings of Lord Shaftesbury, I never heard any serious objection made against this piece of his, though I know Mr. Pope has endeavoured to ridicule the rapturous Visions of Theocles. And I know very well that in my younger days, that is, about fifty years ago, all his writings, and particularly his Rhapsody, were much esteemed. But I do not know how it has happened, none of his writings at present appear to be in any estimation. I should wonder the more at this, if I did not know some other fine writings that appear to be forgot in much less time; such as the Art of Health by Dr. Armstrong, as fine a didactic Poem as in any language, and for diction and versification not exceeded by any thing in English: and the Castle of Indolence, written by his friend Mr. Thomson, is the best allegorical and descriptive poem that I know in any language, and the richest and best rhyming versification, for so long a work, that is to be found in English. As to my Lord Shaftesbury's works, they are now so much out of fashion, that I have no doubt that I shall give offence to several readers, by endeavouring to bring them again into vogue. But I do not write to flatter the prejudices of any man, or set of men, but to do justice to all authors, both ancient and modern, dead or living, as far as I am able. The faults of Lord Shaftesbury I have censured pretty freely elsewhere, and particularly the too great freedom which he has used with religion upon some occasions, to which he appears to have been provoked by the arrogance and high style of authority which was assumed by some Churchmen of those days. But in this work, at the same time that he has established the truth of natural Religion, better than any other writer in English, there is not a word in the whole work that carries the least insinuation against the Christian Religion; but on the contrary, he makes Palæmon, in the end of the second Section of the first Part, speak of Christianity in the most respectful terms. And what have we got to put down such a writer as Lord Shaftesbury? Writings, which for the honour of the nation ought not to be mentioned.—I would have those writers of the day, who affect to despise such a writer as Lord Shaftesbury, try to produce a dialogue like the Moralists; or if they say that they have not time or leisure to compose a work of such length, (for I am sure they will not think that they want genius or learning) let them try to write but a Letter of such elegance and style, and politeness of compliment, as the Letter on Enthusiasm (a)."

(a) *Origin and Progress of Language*, vol. iv. p. 383—388.

Several of the authors who have distinguished themselves by their direct opposition to many of the sentiments which occur in the *Characteristics*, have, nevertheless, mixed no small degree of applause with their censures. "I have again perused, with fresh pleasure, and fresh concern," says Mr. Balguy, in his Letter to a Deist, "the volumes of Cha-

"To this therefore we arrive in his second volume, where, as he confesses himself (vol. iii. p. 187) *the reader is about to see him in a new aspect, a formal and professed Philosopher, a system writer, a dogmatist, and expounder*. Here then we have his real sentiments, his philosophy and system. Here is the completion of that, to which his former treatises were but preparatives, and to which they are considered as being wholly made subservient, like those drugs and medicines, which Physicians often administer, only to prepare the body for that subsequent regimen, from which

alone it is to expect a sound and healthful establishment.

"As to the third volume (excepting the two last small treatises, which are independent and foreign) it is, what its name declares, a number of miscellaneous reflections upon the whole; a sort of defence and explanation of what had gone before; a comment, in which not only the scope and genius of his philosophy, but the nature, species, conduct, and design of each particular treatise are examined and criticised with the greatest wit and accuracy (14)."

(14) *Gen. Dis.* ubi *supra*, p. 183, 184. note [M].

"*Characteristics*

“ characteristics—I heartily wish the noble author had been as unprejudiced in writing, as I
 “ was in reading. If he had, I am persuaded his readers would have found double plea-
 “ sure and double instruction. It seems to me, that his Lordship had little or no temp-
 “ tation to pursue any singularities of opinion by way of distinction. His fine genius
 “ would sufficiently have distinguished him from vulgar authors, in the high road of truth
 “ and good sense; on which account his deviations seem the more to be lamented. The
 “ purity and politeness of his style, and the delicacy of his sentiments, are, and must be
 “ acknowledged by all readers of taste and sincerity. But nevertheless, as his beauties
 “ are not easy to be overlooked, so neither are his blemishes. His works appear to be
 “ stained with so many gross errors, and his fine thoughts are so often mingled with
 “ absurdities, that however we may be charmed with the one, we are forced to condemn
 “ the other.” Mr. Balguy hath farther observed, with regard to the “ Inquiry concern-
 “ ing Virtue,” which is the immediate object of his animadversion, that though he cannot
 agree in every particular contained in it, he finds little more to do than to tell how much
 he admires it; and that he thinks it indeed, in the main, a performance so just and exact,
 as to deserve higher praises than he is able to give it (b).

(b) Balguy's
Tracts, p. 1—4.

Dr. Brown's encomium on the “ Advice to an Author,” we have already mentioned. But with regard to the Characteristics in general, his commendations are more restricted; for he observes, that the Earl of Shaftesbury hath mingled beauties and blots, faults and excellencies, with a liberal and unsparing hand. At the same time, the Doctor applauds that generous spirit of freedom which shines throughout the whole. “ The noble author,” says he, “ every where asserts that natural privilege of man, which hath been so often
 “ denied him, of seeing with his own eyes, and judging by his own reason. It may pos-
 “ sibly appear strange to some, why he should so extremely labour a point so plain. But
 “ in justice to his Lordship, these Gentlemen must remember, or be informed, that in for-
 “ mer times, some well-designing men among ourselves, from a groundless dread of the
 “ unlimited freedom of the press, attempted to make the most unnatural and cruel sepa-
 “ ration between truth and liberty. Having shaken off the corruptions of Popery, and
 “ established what they thought a pure and perfect system, they unhappily stopped short
 “ in their full career of glory; preposterously attempting to deprive others of that com-
 “ mon privilege which they had nobly exercised themselves. This mistaken spirit seemed
 “ entirely subdued by the excellent Locke and others, about the time of the Revolution.
 “ But at the period when our noble author wrote, it not only revived, but was heightened
 “ by a terrible accession of bitterness and rancour. Hence those frequent sallies of invective
 “ which he throws out against those intolerant principles, which he justly stigmatizeth as
 “ equally impolitic, irrational, and unchristian.—It will ever be our truest praise therefore,
 “ to join the noble apologist in his encomiums on freedom; the only permanent basis
 “ on which religion and virtue can be established. Nor can we less approve his frequent
 “ recommendations of politeness, cheerfulness, and good humour, in the prosecution of
 “ our most important inquiries. The morose, contemptuous, and surly species of compo-
 “ sition is generally an appendage to bigotry, as appears in instances innumerable, both
 “ among the mistaken friends and enemies of religion. On the contrary, the amiable
 “ qualities of cheerfulness and good-humour cast a kind of sun-shine over a composition,
 “ and naturally engage us in favour of the writer. They resemble that gentle smile that
 “ often lights up the human countenance, the never-failing indication of a humane temper.
 “ How naturally then must we be disposed to listen; how open our minds to receive convic-
 “ tion, when we perceive our opponent's intention is benevolent? When we perceive
 “ that his aim is not victory but information: that he means not to insult but to instruct
 “ us (c)!”

(c) Essays on the
Characteristics,
p. 2, 3, 5, 6.

Another direct antagonist of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Dr. Leland, has observed, that no impartial man will deny him the praise of a fine genius. “ The quality of the writer,” continues the Doctor, “ his lively and beautiful imagination, the delicacy of taste he hath
 “ shewn in many instances, and the graces and embellishments of his style, though perhaps
 “ sometimes too affected, have procured him many admirers. To which may be added
 “ his refined sentiments on the beauty and excellency of virtue, and that he hath often
 “ spoken honourably of a just and good Providence, which ministers and governs the
 “ whole in the best manner; and hath strongly asserted, in opposition to Mr. Hobbes, the
 “ natural difference between good and evil; and that man was originally formed for
 “ society, and the exercise of mutual kindness and benevolence; and not only so, but for
 “ religion and piety too. These things have very much prejudiced many persons in his
 “ favour, and prepared them for receiving, almost implicitly, whatever he hath
 “ advanced (d).”

(d) View of the
Principal Deisti-
cal Writers, vol. i.
p. 49. fourth
edit.

There are writers, and those too of no mean name, who have spoken concerning Lord Shaftesbury as an author, in the language of general contempt and indignation. In this number we are sorry to reckon the admirable Jortin; who in the case before us, has, we think, departed from that candour of expression, which might have been expected from a man of so liberal a mind. He calls his Lordship a conceited, fantastical, and half-learned writer (e). The eminent Poet Gray is not less severe. “ You say,” addressing himself

(e) British Biog.,
vol. vii. p. 445.

to Mr. Stonehewer) "you cannot conceive how Lord Shaftesbury came to be a Philosopher in vogue; I will tell you. First, he was a Lord; secondly, he was as vain as any of his readers; thirdly, men are very prone to believe what they do not understand; fourthly, they will believe any thing at all, provided they are under no obligation to believe it; fifthly, they love to take a new road, when that road leads no where; sixthly, he was reckoned a fine writer, and seemed always to mean more than he said. Would you have any more reasons? An interval of above forty years has pretty well destroyed the charm. A dead Lord ranks but with Commons: vanity is no longer in the matter, for the new road is become an old one. The mode of freethinking is like that of ruffs and farthingales, and has given place to the mode of not thinking at all. Once it was reckoned graceful, half to discover and half conceal the mind; but now we have been long accustomed to see it quite naked. Primness and affectation of stile, like the good breeding of Queen Anne's court, has turned to hoydening and rude familiarity (f)."

(f) Mason's
Memoirs of the
Life of Mr. Gray,
p. 263, 264.

Dr. Johnson, as we are informed by Sir John Hawkins, bore no good-will to Lord Shaftesbury; "neither did he seem at all to relish the cant of the Shaftesburian School, nor inclined to admit the pretensions of those who professed it, to tastes and perceptions which are not common to all men; a taste in morals, in poetry, and prose writing, in painting, in sculpture, in music, in architecture, and in government! A taste that censured every production, and induced them to reprobate every effort of genius that fell short of their own capricious standard (g)."

(g) Life of Dr.
Samuel Johnson,
p. 255.

The grand point in which our noble Author has rendered himself justly obnoxious to the friends of religion, is his having interspersed through the *Characteristicks* a number of insinuations that appear to be unfavourable to the cause of Revelation. There have not, however, been wanting many among his admirers, who have thought that he ought not to be reckoned among the Deistical writers. The author of "*Animadversions upon Dr. Brown's three Essays on the Characteristicks*," observes, that it is "imprudent, to say no worse, in some sincere advocates for Christianity, to reject the friendly advice and assistance of so masterly a writer as the Lord Shaftesbury, and to give him up to the Deists, as a Patron of Infidelity (h)."

But it is matter of fact, and not considerations of prudence or imprudence, that must determine the question. In support of his Lordship's having been a believer in our holy religion, may be alledged, his Preface to *Whichcot's Sermons*, and his Letters to a Student at the University; in both which works he constantly expresses himself in such language as seems to indicate that he was really a Christian. And with regard to the "*Letters*" it may be remarked, that they were written in 1707, 1708, and 1709, not many years before his Lordship's death. Nevertheless, there are in the *Characteristicks* so many sceptical passages, that he must be considered as having been a doubter at least, if not an absolute disbeliever, with respect to Revelation. But if he must be ranked amongst the Deists, we agree with the observation of one of his Biographers, that he is a very different Deist from numbers who have appeared in that Character; his general principles being much less exceptionable (i).

(h) British Biog.
supra, p. 445.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 446.

The insinuations that have been thrown out by the Earl of Shaftesbury, to the prejudice of the scriptures, have been frequently animadverted upon, and fully confuted. Occasional strictures on his writings occur in Berkley's "*Minute Philosopher*," in Warburton's "*Divine Legation of Moses*" and in a multitude of other works. Bishop Warburton has entered pretty copiously into the question, whether Ridicule be a Test of Truth (k). In the productions of Mr. Balguy, Dr. Brown, and Dr. Leland, Lord Shaftesbury's direct and principal antagonists, will be found a compleat answer to whatever is justly exceptionable in the *Characteristicks*; and a particular consideration of that part of his Lordship's scheme which represents a regard to future rewards, as derogating from the dignity and excellency of virtue, as well as of his objections to the New Testament, because it does not inculcate, as positive duties, the love of our country and private friendship. On the last of these heads, Mr. Melmoth, in the concluding note to his elegant translation of Cicero's "*Laelius*," has made some remarks so admirably judicious, that we cannot fail of gratifying our readers, by giving them a place below [N].

(k) *Divine Legation of Moses*, vol. i. fourth edit. Dedication, p. 12 —23.

That

[N] *We cannot fail of gratifying our readers, by giving it a place below.* "The antient moralists were not agreed in what class of social merit to rank friendship; some placing it high in the scale of moral virtues, and others considering it as having no claim, in a strict and proper sense, to be admitted into their number. The notions of two celebrated moderns in estimating the value of this connection, are at a still greater distance from each other. The noble author of the *Characteristicks*, animated with a warm sensibility of the moral charms of this generous affection; and not being able, it seems, to discover that it is either enjoined, or encouraged, by the Christian institution; imputes this pretended omission as a capital

defect in the code of evangelical ethics. On the contrary, a late ingenious advocate for that sacred cause, which it was the unhappy direction of this accomplished Nobleman's learning and talents to depreciate; far from discerning any thing laudable or meritorious in private friendship, has attempted to prove, that "it is totally incompatible with the genius and spirit of the gospel." Thus the very same supposed circumstance, which appears to have been no inconsiderable obstruction to the noble philosopher's faith; is assigned by the elegant defender of Christianity, as one of those internal marks which authenticate its Divine origin!

—Mihi

That a man of Lord Shaftesbury's excellent character, and whose principles were, in various respects, so favourable to piety and virtue, should, in any degree, have been hostile to

—*Mibi convivæ prope dissentire videntur
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato:
Quid dem, quid non dem? Renuis tu, quod Jubet alter.*
HOR.

Widely, however, as these admired writers differ in their moral taste; there is one point in which they may be perfectly united: for the same mode of reasoning which overturns either of their respective positions, will equally confute both.

"That private friendship does not expressly enter into the precepts of Christianity, is unquestionably true: for, the nature of the connection necessarily excludes it from being the subject of a religious, or moral, obligation. The distinctive character of this relation, consists in a spontaneous sentiment of the heart, unconstrained and uninfluenced by compulsive, or external, motives of every kind and degree. To attempt therefore to produce a voluntary affection, by the authority of a positive command; would be to publish a law evidently destructive of its own end: for, its sanctions could no sooner operate as primary, or determining, inducements, than the sentiment they were designed to create would utterly be prevented from existing.

"But a general ordinance for this purpose, would not merely be absurd; it would be unjust: because it would require universally, what is not in every man's power to perform. A great variety of circumstances must concur, to form and cement this union: and these are of a nature so exceedingly contingent and fortuitous, that they are frequently never realized in the course of the longest life. Indeed, they so rarely meet together, that what a sagacious observer of mankind remarks concerning love, holds equally true in respect to friendship; *il est du véritable comme de l'apparition des esprits; tout le monde en parle, mais peu de gens ont vu.*

"If what the noble author requires from Revelation is, in the first instance, inconsistent with the essential nature of its object; it implies, in the next, an assertion no less contrary to fact: for although friendship could not, either in reason or justice, have been commanded by the precepts, it is evidently encouraged by the spirit of Christianity. Universal benevolence or good will to mankind, is the vital principle that animates and pervades the whole system of evangelical morality: and it is by a proper cultivation of this enlarged and comprehensive virtue, that the heart is best prepared and qualified to enter into the engagements, and discharge the offices, of private friendship. This the noble moralist himself acknowledges in a subsequent treatise: for when the religion of his country was not in his immediate contemplation, and his inveterate prejudices had not their usual object to call them forth; his Lordship asks "can any friendship be so heroic, as that towards mankind? Do you think—that particular friendship can well subsist without such an enlarged affection and sense of obligation to society?" This kind of reasoning, however, when applied to revelation, will not satisfy his demands; he contends, that "friendship is no essential part of a Christian's charity." But if there were any force in this objection, it would overshoot its intended aim, and wound natural religion no less than revealed; as friendship, for the reasons above assigned, can no more be the essential part of a theist's benevolence, than it is of a Christian's.

"In confirmation of his Lordship's opinion, he cites the authority of Bishop Taylor, who asserts that "the word friendship, in the sense we commonly mean by it, is not so much as named in the New Testament; and our holy religion takes no notice of it." But it may be questioned, perhaps, whether this very respectable ornament of our Church, would have been able to justify his assertion in its full latitude. Does not Christ himself make the most honourable mention of friendship, in the precise and proper sense of that word? For, discoursing with his disciples upon the subject of his approaching crucifixion, he illustrates the magnitude of that benevo-

lence which induced him to submit to the painful and ignominious death he was going to suffer, by a comparison drawn from the highest possible instance of human amity: "Greater love than this," he observes, "hath no man, than that he layeth down his life for his friends." To which he immediately adds, "ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you:" that is, ye shall stand to me in the same relation as that term imports. For, the meaning of the word friends in the latter of these passages, must bear the same sense it evidently does in the former; otherwise the idea would be suddenly changed, without the least mark to distinguish its difference.

"But the texts just cited, are not more unfavourable to the learned Prelate's assertion, than that of the ingenious author of the "Internal Evidence." For it cannot, surely, be supposed with the least degree of reason, that our Saviour, either by way of analogy, or comparison, would have chosen to represent himself under a character, the genuine principles of which "are totally incompatible with the genius and spirit" of those moral laws, which it was one great object of his divine commission to confirm, or promulgate.

"Nor is it solely by necessary implication, or circumstantial inferences, that the Christian revelation recognizes friendship: it strongly and expressly recommends and encourages this amiable alliance; if exhibiting it in the noblest and most animating exemplar, may be allowed to have an immediate and direct influence over the heart of man. Two very remarkable instances for this purpose occur, in the history of our Saviour's life: and they have repeatedly been pointed out. Nevertheless, as the principal writers who have animadverted upon the respective tenets under examination, have contented themselves with slightly alluding to them; it may not, perhaps, be altogether unnecessary to state them in all their striking circumstances; especially as they seem to have been overlooked, or not duly considered, by the truly Right Reverend Author, on the credit of whose opinion Lord Shaftesbury has endeavoured to support his own.

"The Evangelist, in relating the miracle which Christ performed at Bethany by restoring a person to life who had lain some days in the grave; introduces his narrative by emphatically observing, that "Jesus loved Lazarus;" intimating, it should seem, that the sentiments which Christ entertained of Lazarus, were a distinct and peculiar species of that general benevolence with which he was actuated towards all mankind. Agreeably to this explication of the sacred historian's meaning, when the sisters of Lazarus sent to acquaint Jesus with the state in which their brother lay; they did not even mention his name; but pointing him out by a more honourable and equally notorious designation, the terms of their message were, "Behold! He whom thou lovest is sick!" Accordingly, when he informs his disciples of the notice he had thus received, his expression is, "our friend Lazarus sleepeth." Now that Christ did not upon this occasion use the word friend in its loose undistinguishing acceptation, but in a restrained and strictly appropriated sense; is not only manifest from this plain account of the fact itself, but appears further evident from the sequel. For, as he was advancing to the grave, accompanied with the relations of the deceased, he discovered the same emotions of grief as swelled the bosoms of those with whom Lazarus had been most intimately connected; and sympathizing with their common sorrow, he melted into tears. This circumstance was too remarkable to escape particular observation: and it drew from the spectators, what one should think it must necessarily draw from every reader, this natural and obvious reflection, "behold! how he loved him!"

"But in the concluding catastrophe of our Saviour's life, he gave a still more decisive proof that sentiments of the strongest personal attachment and friendship, were not unworthy of being admitted into his sacred bosom: they were too deeply, indeed, im-

pressed,

to Revelation, has been matter of regret to many of his admirers; and they have endeavoured to account for so disagreeable a circumstance. Mr. Huntingford has favoured us with some anecdotes and observations upon the subject, which we insert with peculiar pleasure. "From undoubted authority it is related, that the Preface prefixed to Dr. Whichcot's volume of Sermons, was dictated by Lord Shaftesbury to his sister the Lady Elizabeth, who with her own hand wrote it as he proceeded in pronouncing it. From the sentiments contained in this Preface, there is every reason to believe what Bishop Butler used to assert, that had Lord Shaftesbury lived in the present century, when Christianity is more perfectly understood, he would have been a good Christian. The intolerant doctrines of the Church, which in the last century were unfortunately too prevalent, and the intemperate zeal of those Ministers who signalized themselves by enforcing those doctrines, gave great offence to the benevolent mind of this Philosopher: and the transition, from a dislike of such teachers, to disapprobation of the system, which he erroneously conceived to inculcate and encourage persecution and spiritual pride, was easy and natural. And hence it seems to have arisen, that the letters in which Mr. Locke recommended Christianity to his Lordship, were of no avail. It is to be lamented that these letters are not now to be found; though many years have not elapsed since they were read by two Gentlemen, who were so affected by the strong and pressing terms in which Mr. Locke expressed his sentiments, that they could not abstain from tears. Perhaps however these letters might have less effect on his Lordship's mind, from a degree of dislike with which he considered Mr. Locke's philosophy respecting the human mind, and its being void of natural tendencies to what is right and fit. Mr. Locke does not seem to have been so thoroughly read in ancient philosophy, or indeed ancient learning of any kind, as Lord Shaftesbury was; and it is said that disputes on the real excellence of such learning were sometimes carried on between them with a degree of warmth; insomuch that Mr. Locke, in a great measure, lost the affection of Lord Shaftesbury. No man seems to have studied the Greek Philosophers to more effectual purpose than the author of the *Characteristicks*; for he has not only caught their manner of investigating the subject, not only explained the magnanimous principles on which the best school founded its system, but has left indisputable marks of a mind deeply impressed with a love of rectitude."

There is a tradition, that, amongst other difficulties which occurred to the Earl of Shaftesbury with regard to the truth of the Christian Revelation, he was startled at the idea of its containing the doctrine of the Eternity of Hell Torments; that he consulted some eminent Churchmen, whether the New Testament positively asserted that doctrine; and that, upon being assured that it did, he declared himself incapable of assenting to a system of Religion which maintained a tenet so repugnant to all his views of the benignity of the great Governor of the Universe. If his Lordship had lived in the present day, he would have found a number of Divines who would have given him quite a different answer. They would have informed him, that, in their opinion, Christianity holds out no doctrine of so dreadful a nature; and that, at the very utmost, it only denounces the final extinction of the impenitently wicked; so that such, if there be any such, who after all, shall remain incorrigibly corrupt and abandoned, will, at length, no longer exist in the Creation of God.

The stile of Lord Shaftesbury's compositions is a point upon which various and contradictory sentiments have been entertained. For a considerable time he was deemed one of our most polite and elegant writers; and how highly he was thought of in this respect, has appeared from several of the passages already cited. A recent authority in his favour

pressed, to be extinguished even by the most excruciating torments. In those dreadful moments, observing among the afflicted witnesses of his painful and ignominious sufferings, that faithful follower who is described by the historian as "the disciple whom he loved;" he distinguished him by the most convincing instance of superior confidence, esteem and affection that ever was exhibited to the admiration of mankind. For, under circumstances of the most agonizing torments, when it might be thought impossible for human nature to retain any other sensibility but that of its own inexpressible sufferings; he recommended to the care and protection of this his tried and approved friend, in terms of peculiar regard and endearment, the most tender and sacred object of his private affections. But no language can represent this pathetic and affecting scene, with a force and energy equal to the sublime simplicity of the Evangelist's own narrative: "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus, his mother and his mother's sister,—and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple (standing) by, whom he loved; he saith to his mother,—behold thy son! then he saith to the

"disciple, behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her to his own home."

"It may safely be asserted, that among all those memorable examples of friendship, which have been celebrated with the highest encomiums by the ancients; there cannot be produced a single instance, in which the most distinguishing features of exalted amity are so strongly displayed, as in the foregoing relation. The only one, perhaps, that bears even a faint similitude to it, is that famous transaction, recorded by a Greek author, which passed between Eudamidas and Aretheus. But when the very different circumstances attending the respective examples, are duly considered; it must be acknowledged, that the former rises as much above the latter in the proof it exhibits of sublime friendship, as it does in the dignity of the characters concerned."

"Upon the whole then it appears, that the divine Founder of the Christian Religion, as well by his own example as by the spirit of his moral doctrine, has not only encouraged but consecrated Friendship (15)."

(15) *Laelius: or an Essay on Friendship*; by Marcus Tullius Cicero. With Remarks by William Melmoth, Esq. p. 328—343.

is Mr. Knox. "It is to be lamented," says this ingenious Essayist, "for the sake of virtue, that Lord Shaftesbury was a sceptic. His style was a fine imitation of Plato, and displays such beauties, as might conceal the ugliness of a deformed system (l)." On the other hand, Mr. Walpole observes concerning our noble author, that his writings are much more estimable on account of their breathing the virtues of the mind, than for their style and manner; and that he delivers his doctrines in extatic diction, like one of the magi inculcating philosophic visions to an eastern auditory (m). It is obvious to remark, that this stricture can only be deemed just with regard to a small part of his Lordship's works, and especially the Rhapsodies that occur in the "Moralists." Dr. Campbell has pointed out a great fault which sometimes occurs in the Earl of Shaftesbury's Compositions; and that is, the becoming unintelligible from the affectation of excellence. "I proceed," says the Doctor, "to give examples of a still higher order, in sentences more complicated. These I shall produce from an author, who, though far from being deficient in acuteness, invention, or vivacity, is perhaps, in this species of composition, the most eminent of all that have written in the English language." In proof of this assertion, three sentences are alledged, which undoubtedly deserve the censure cast upon them (n); but it is observable, that they are taken from the "Miscellaneous Reflections," which we do not reckon amongst the most valuable parts of the Characteristics. Of all the criticisms that have been made upon Lord Shaftesbury's style, that of Dr. Blair is the most full, and the most judicious. Upon the head of precision the Doctor expresses himself as follows.

"Lord Shaftesbury's faults, in point of precision, are much greater than Mr. Addison's; and the more unpardonable, because he is a professed philosophical writer; who, as such, ought, above all things, to have studied precision. His style has both great beauties, and great faults; and, on the whole, is by no means a safe model for imitation. Lord Shaftesbury was well acquainted with the power of words; those which he employs are generally proper and well sounding; he has great variety of them; and his arrangement, as shall be afterwards shown, is commonly beautiful. His defect, in precision, is not owing so much to indistinct or confused ideas, as to perpetual affectation. He is fond, to excess, of the pomp and parade of Language; he is never satisfied with expressing any thing clearly and simply; he must always give it the dress of state and majesty. Hence perpetual circumlocutions, and many words and phrases employed to describe somewhat, that would have been described much better by one of them. If he has occasion to mention any person or author, he very rarely mentions him by his proper name. In the treatise, entitled, "Advice to an Author," he descants for two or three pages together upon Aristotle, without once naming him in any other way, than the Master Critic, the Mighty Genius and Judge of Art, the Prince of Critics, the Grand Master of Art, and Consummate Philologist. In the same way, the Grand Poetic Sire, the Philosophical Patriarch, and his Disciple of Noble Birth, and lofty Genius, are the only names by which he condescends to distinguish Homer, Socrates, and Plato, in another passage of the same treatise. This method of distinguishing persons is extremely affected; but it is not so contrary to precision, as the frequent circumlocutions he employs for all moral ideas; attentive, on every occasion, more to the pomp of language, than to the clearness which he ought to have studied as a Philosopher. The moral sense, for instance, after he had once defined it, was a clear term; but, how vague becomes the idea, when, in the next page, he calls it, "That natural affection, and anticipating fancy, which makes the sense of right and wrong?" Self-examination, or reflection on our own conduct, is an idea conceived with ease; but when it is wrought into all the forms of, "A man's dividing himself into two parties, becoming a self-dialogist, entering into partnership with himself, forming the dual number practically within himself;" we hardly know what to make of it. On some occasions, he so adorns, or rather loads with words, the plainest and simplest propositions, as, if not to obscure, at least, to enfeeble them (o)."

In the article of the construction and distribution of his sentences, Dr. Blair observes, that Lord Shaftesbury has shewn great art. He is, indeed, in the Doctor's opinion, unfit to be considered as a general model. "But, as his ear was fine, and as he was extremely attentive to every thing that is elegant, he has studied the proper intermixture of long and short sentences, with variety and harmony in their structure, more than any other English author: and for this part of composition, he deserves attention (p)." Dr. Blair farther remarks, that some writers practise that degree of inversion which our language bears, much more than others: Lord Shaftesbury, for instance, does it much more than Mr. Addison; to which sort of arrangement is owing, in a great measure, that appearance of strength, dignity, and varied harmony which his Lordship's style possesses. The words are often placed, not strictly in their natural order, but with that artificial construction, which may give the period most emphasis and grace (q). "Of later writers," adds the Doctor, in another lecture, "Shaftesbury is, upon the whole, the most correct in his numbers. As his ear was delicate, he has attended to music in all his sentences; and he is peculiarly happy in this respect, that he has avoided the monotony into which writers, who study the grace of sound, are very apt to fall: having diversified his periods with great variety (r)." In treating concerning simplicity and affectation of style, Dr.

(l) Essays moral and literary, vol. ii. p. 176. Edit. of 1782.

(m) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 105.

(n) The Philosophy of Rhetoric, vol. ii. p. 72. —74.

(o) Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, vol. i. p. 192, 193.

(p) Ibid. p. 207, 208.

(q) Ibid. p. 234.

(r) Ibid. p. 263.

Blair is far less favourable to the compositions of Lord Shaftesbury; and as the Doctor has here taken occasion to give a general view of his Lordship's character in the point we are considering, the whole passage shall be produced.

"Of authors, who, notwithstanding many excellencies, have rendered their style much less beautiful by want of simplicity, I cannot give a more remarkable example than Lord Shaftesbury. This is an author on whom I have made observations several times before, and shall now take leave of him, with giving his general character under this head. Considerable merit, doubtless, he has. His works might be read with profit for the moral philosophy which they contain, had he not filled them with so many oblique and invidious insinuations against the Christian Religion; thrown out, too, with so much spleen and satire, as do no honour to his memory, either as an author or a man. His language has many beauties. It is firm, and supported in an uncommon degree: it is rich and musical. No English author, as I formerly shewed, has attended so much to the regular construction of his sentences, both with respect to propriety, and with respect to cadence. All this gives so much elegance and pomp to his language, that there is no wonder it should have been sometimes highly admired. It is greatly hurt, however, by perpetual stiffness and affectation. This is its capital fault. His Lordship can express nothing with simplicity. He seems to have considered it as vulgar, and beneath the dignity of a man of quality, to speak like other men. Hence he is ever in buskins; full of circumlocutions and artificial elegance. In every sentence, we see the marks of labour and art; nothing of that ease, which expresses a sentiment coming natural and warm from the heart. Of figures and ornament of every kind, he is exceedingly fond; sometimes happy in them; but his fondness for them is too visible; and having once laid hold of some metaphor or allusion that pleased him, he knows not how to part with it. What is most wonderful, he was a professed admirer of simplicity; is always extolling it in the ancients, and censuring the moderns for the want of it; though he departs from it himself as far as any one modern whatever. Lord Shaftesbury possessed delicacy and refinement of taste, to a degree that we may call excessive and sickly; but he had little warmth of passion; few strong or vigorous feelings: and the coldness of his character led him to that artificial and stately manner which appears in his writings. He was fonder of nothing than of wit and raillery; but he is far from being happy in it. He attempts it often, but always awkwardly; he is stiff, even in his pleasantry; and laughs in form, like an author, and not like a man (s)." (s) Ibid. p. 396, 397.

We have been the more large in our extracts from Dr. Blair, because he has so particularly considered the Earl of Shaftesbury's style, and because his sentiments upon the subject appear, on the whole, to be very accurate and judicious. On the re-perusal of the Characteristics, we have been clearly convinced that the noble author was almost always excellent in the disposition of his words, but that in the choice of them he is frequently liable to censure. A striking instance of his nicety, not to say fastidiousness, with regard to composition, is displayed in the difference between the surreptitious edition of his Inquiry concerning virtue, and the corrected one, as it now stands in his works. It affords a curious and useful example of the *Limæ Labor*; the art of polishing language, breaking long sentences, and working up an imperfect draught into a highly finished performance (t). (t) Ibid. p. 397, 398. note. There is one disagreeable circumstance in reading Lord Shaftesbury's compositions, which is, that he adopted the fashion which at that time prevailed, of writing many of our words in a contracted form. This was then supposed to contribute to the ease and politeness of style; but it was far far from producing such an effect; and accordingly, it is now wisely rejected by our best authors.

It has been mentioned before, that it was customary with the Earl of Shaftesbury to write notes in the margin of the ancient authors that were his principal favourites. This custom he exercised very copiously with regard to Horace. By the friendship of Mr. Huntingford, we are enabled to give a large specimen of his Lordship's remarks on the Satires and Epistles of his admired Poet; and we are persuaded that it will be an acceptable present to our classical and critical readers [O]. It is observable, that the Earl of Shaftesbury entertained exactly the same idea concerning the design of the Epistle to the Pisos,

[O] *And we are persuaded that it will be an acceptable present to our classical and critical readers.* Mr. Huntingford's communication is entitled, "A critical Epistle from George Isaac Huntingford to Henry Addington, Esq; containing notes on Horace, by the Author of the Characteristics," and is as follows.

DEAR SIR,

You may remember perhaps that part of our last conversation was on the various excellencies of Horace. You expressed your opinion, that the works of this author were particularly calculated for the reading of a Gentleman, abounding as they do with so many exquisite strokes of satire on the foibles of Human Nature, and containing such an extensive knowledge

of men and the world. You were perfectly right in this, as in every other opinion. Horace is indeed a most thorough master of Moral Science; and no wonder, since he was educated in that best school of ancient philosophy, the Socratic.

The writings of all the Socratics, and particularly those of Xenophon (who has most faithfully as well as most elegantly recorded the tenets of his Master) perpetually teach us, "to know ourselves; to study mankind; to form liberal and magnanimous sentiments of morality, which may be not only *beautiful* in speculation, but also *practicable* in common life." The doctrines of this sect Horace imbibed (as plainly appears from his works) at that early period of his age when he says of himself,

Adjecere

Pisos, which has since been so ably and judiciously supported by Mr. Colman. We need not add, that Mr. Colman could not have any knowledge of his Lordship's opinion upon the subject. The

Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ:
Scilicet ut possẽm curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter silvas Academi quærere verum.
Lib. 2. Ep. 2. V. 43.

It were to be wished that Horace had uniformly adhered to this high philosophy: but dire necessity compelled him to court the favour of Augustus, and to accommodate himself to the dissolute Mæcenas; from which unfortunate circumstances he became tainted with Epicurean notions. These notions he seems to have favoured for some time, but at length however he happily emerged from so degrading and degenerate a system, and rose again with all the dignity and superior beauty of his first principles.

The different influence, which at different times these various changes of philosophy could not fail to produce on the mind and writings of this Poet and Moralist, is so strongly marked in very many of his Odes, Satires, and Epistles, that it can scarcely escape any observant reader. But no one seems to have noted it so accurately, as the truly noble, because truly virtuous, author of the Characteristics. Indeed that elegant scholar and admirable philosopher seems to have studied the writings of Horace with uncommon attention; for he has left behind him some valuable notes, which are written with his own hand in a Cambridge edition of that author. Some of these notes may perhaps be thought worth your perusal, and therefore they are transmitted to you for your inspection.

LIB. I. Ode 34. Infanientis Sapientiæ.

Ab Epicureis discedens jam Senex ferè Horatius solùm Socraticam Sapientiam amplectitur. Vid. inf. Epist. 1. Neque adeo scurra aut impius Horatius ut ironicè hic *risus captans*, pietatem et Patriæ Ritus ita palam contemneret, et malignè laudans roderet. Hæc illa esset *Ærugo Mera* (Sat. 4. V. 100). *Quod Vitium procul abfore chartis promisit.* At ille magis apertè quidem et ingenuè quando Epicureus fuit, opinionem suam de Providentiâ profitetur. Sat. 5. Circa Deos tamen et Deorum templa quanta Cura et Pietas Horatii, Vide Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 104. Testantur quoque tot Odæ in honorem Deorum. Vid. Od. 6. Lib. 3.

V. 5. *Relictos.* Quia olim in Academiâ et Philosophiâ Socraticâ nutritus. Ut inf. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 45.

Satyrarum LIB. I.

Sat. 1. V. 1. Quis fit.

Inconstantia causam quærit. Respondet Avaritiam speciosis nominibus velatam. (Inf. V. 30, &c.) Cupiditatem inexplibilem extra naturam. (V. 50.) Hinc Invidia, Æmulatio, Dolor (V. 109, &c.) et exitus e vitâ querulus. V. 117.

V. 14. Fabium.

Vide Vet. Comment. et Inf. ad Vers. 82. Sat. 3. de Labeone, et rursus ad Vers. 3. Ep. 4. de Cassio. ubi apparet Horatium idem fecisse in gratiam Augusti. Sic etiam Sat. 6, V. 24 et 107. Vide et Inf. Sat. 7. V. 1.—et Sat. 8. Lib. 2. V. 1.

V. 29. Caupo—Miles—Nautæ.

Hi omnes Avari, insatiabiles, miseri. Nemo avarus ergo se probat: omnes diversa laudant, sibi invident invicem, &c. V. 108.

V. 31. Ut in otia, &c.

Eadem Hominis Avari Excusatio.—Infr. V. 80.

V. 80. At si condoluit.

Excusatio Hominis Avari. Ut sup. V. 31.

V. 88. At si.

Respondet superiori, *At si* (V. 80.) ubi Avarus loquitur: hinc Horatius. Et est argumentum a fortiori: ut sup. V. 84. *Non filius*, &c.—Quomodo ergo habebis *Qui affideat, fementa parat*, &c. (V. 82.) Noli ergo excusationes istas adferre. (V. 80 et 31.) Avaritiamque defendere, sed tandem aliquando *fit finis quærendi*, &c.

VOL. IV.

V. 90. Operam perdas.

Etiam cooperante Naturâ, operam avaritiâ perdas. Surdi Cognati. Afini ad Lyræ.

V. 92. Denique fit finis.

Cum superioribus conjungo, ut sit sensus, at si in ipsis Cognatis retinendis operam perdas, tandem aliquando *fit finis quærendi*, &c. possunt tamen hæc in eodem sensu disjunctivè legi, sine mutatione inter-punctionis, et hoc rectius.

V. 108. Illuc.

1. 6. Sup. V. 95 et 101. Priora enim de avaris se non probantibus, et huc faciunt, jam inde a Versu 30.

V. 108. Nemon' ut Avarus.

Itane fieri? Ut nemo avarus, &c.—Sic Lambinus, latinitatis optimus judex, sensu quidem optimo. Cruquius ex M. S. legit, *nemo ut sine elisione quod* in Horatio non adeo rarum. Sic imitator Horatii Persius. Sat. 4. V. 23.

Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere, nemo.

Quòd autem *Avarus se probat* Horatius non dicit, sed e contra, viz. Inconstantia, Invidia, Æmulatio, causam esse Avaritiam (Vide Sup. Annot. V. 1.) Neque iste quidem Atheniensis sordidus, de quo sup. V. 65, &c. ideo vitam suam et lucrandi genus laudavit, quia lucrum ipsum omnimodum et ex omni re probavit. Si Mercator enim fuit, adversâ Tempestate aliquando militem laudavit; si agricola, civem, &c.—ut supra in initio Satyræ. Si ergo legimus *nemo ut*, possumus interrogationis notas amittere: si verò Lectionem receptam sequimur, sensus tamen erit affirmativus, *itane scilicet comparatum esse vel a naturâ constitutum, ut nemo avarus*, &c.? et sic, ni fallor, Lambinus accipit; aliter non tam benè, pessimè autem qui Avarum a cæteris distinguunt, quasi alius Horatio esset Avarus, alius Inconstans, ut inf. in Annot. Cantab.

V. 117. Inde fit.

Inde. i. e. Ab eadem hac avaritiâ. Ergo ne hoc sensu quidem Avarus se probat, et ad extremum miser est.

SAT. 2.

V. 77. Pœniteat te.

Scilicet. Te tuo non rerum vitio laborantem. Dum tibi res, non te rebus subjungere studes. Vid. Epist. L. 1. V. 19. Sic Epist. 17. V. 24. *Tentantem majora*, &c. non æquo animo presentia quæque accipientem, sed splendidiora et difficiliora captantem—sicut inf. V. 108, &c.—Sunt hæc tamen Epicurea vel Cyrenaica magis quàm Stoica. Hi enim neminem nisi suo vitio laborare dixerunt: illi laborare quidem, sed multum referre, *suo vitio rerumne laboret quis*.

V. 117. Verna.

Sic Lucretius secundum præcepta Epicuri (quem et noster in prioribus his Satyris sequitur) et *jacere humorem collectum in corpora quæque*.—In hac enim Philosophiâ, ne umbra quidem τὸ καλὸν.

SAT. 3. Ad Mæcenatem. V. Inf. V. 64.

V. 1. Omnibus, &c.

Correptus, credo, a Stoico quodam et coram Mæcenate Horatius apologiam hanc Mæcenati scribit, et contra Stoicos et Severiores invehitur. Anticipatione utitur in initio: ac veluti infra (Ep. 15.) propter inconstantiam suam, ubi Mænio se confert, sic in hac Satyrâ cum Tigellio. Et hinc quidem cum Stoicis verum Bellum. Inf. Sat. 3 et 7. Lib. 2. fictum gerit.

V. 29. Iracundior est, &c.

Planè Ipsus Horatius est. Et in sequentibus his 6 versibus seipsum describit, uti nominatim inf. V. 63. Hic verò tacitè quia seipsum laudat magis quàm infra, Sat. 6. V. 70. Vide integrum locum et confer. De Iracundiâ autem et Asperitate Suâ erga Monitores etiam Amicos, Vid. Ep. 8. V. 9. Vide et Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 210. Confer et V. 63, &c. infra.

V. 66. Communi Sensu.

Stoicus loquitur (Vide sup. V. 1.) et est hic *sensus communis*

* 4 E

The fate of Lord Shaftesbury as an Author, may furnish useful instruction to those who build their expectations on literary fame. For a considerable time he stood in high reputation

communis idem quod Juvenalis indicat. Sat. 8. V. 73. viz. *κοινοῦ νομοῦ*. Vid. Casaub. et Gat. in Mar. Ant. Sat. 16. Lib. 1. Neque adeo Stultus aut fatuus accusator Horatii, ut illum puræ putæ stultitiæ argueret.—Vide quod infr. Sat. 4. V. 77.—*Sine sensu*; quod planè ad societatem refertur.

V. 76. Stultis.

Ironice, credo, contra Stoicos. Sic inf. L. 2. Sat. 3. V. 81. *Dum doceo insanire omnes*. Si omnes irascuntur, insaniunt omnes et stulti sunt. Sed omnes irascimur (inquit Horatius) ergo omnes Stultifumus.

V. 82. Labeone insanior.

V. Vet Comment. et Sup. Sat. 1. V. 14. Vide etiam Lambinum, et Chabotii censuram. Alibi etiam Horatius hoc facit in gratiam Augusti (Hactenus enim Aulicus fuit, nec *Liba recusavit*. Inf. Ep. 10. V. 10.) et quia a partibus Reipublicæ olim steterat, unde illi in Aulâ Principis invidia conflata. Nunquam tamen ipsam Causam deseruit, neque de viris majoribus (Catone Scil. vel Bruto) malè loquitur: de Minoribus verò sæpe occasione quovis modo arrepta. Sic est Sat. 6. V. 24 et 107. Vid. Inf. Sat. 1. Lib. 2. V. 76.

V. 96. Paria.

Stoicum Dogma; sed inter spinosa et subtiliora disciplinæ; ad Praxin minimè referentia; in Logicis reservata; neque a Nobilioribus (Arriano Scil. et Marco Ant.) tractatum est. Non tam acriter tamen Horatius in hoc dogma, inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c. Ubi potius favet Stoicis etiam in hoc paradoxo.

V. 113. Nec Natura.

Hæc omnia cum Epicureis Horatius: postea non item. V. inf. Sat. 2. V. 75. Lib. 2.

V. 122. Magnis parva mineris.

Imperitissimus sanè Stoicus (sive Crispinus sive alius aliquis Romæ) qui hæc dixerit: nec reverà philosophus, sed imitator ipsius, quales tunc temporis Romæ multi. Sic infra Damasippus (Sat. 3. Lib. 2.) et ipse Davus (Sat. 7. ejusdem libri) introducitur.

SAT. 4.

V. 1. Eupolis, &c.

Apologia hæc est pro Satyris suis: plures ergo ante hanc scripsit. Sequitur Apologia altera pro hac ipsâ Satyrâ inf. Sat. 10. Prima quoque Sat. Lib. 2. Apologia est, uti et 6ta hujus Libri. quæ potius Epistola est, quàm Satyra.

V. 6. Pendet.

Significat, Satyram (cujus inventor Lucilius) veteris Comœdiæ locum occupasse.

V. 11. Lutulentus.

V. inf. Sat. 10. V. 50. et Od. 29. Lib. 3. V. 36.

V. 44. Comœdia.

Quia in initio Epistolæ Satyras Romanæ inventionis Lucilianas cum Comœdiâ Græcâ Veteri conjunxit, tanquam inde derivatas.

V. 47. In est.

Horatius quidem inesse dicit. Vide Artem Poet. V. 93 et 148.

V. 63. Aliàs.

Inf. Art. Poet. V. 93. Ubi Horatius affirmativè: regulas etiam de Comœdiâ tradens a versu 153 ad 178.

V. 91. Nigris.

Quia priùs dixerat Horatio Censor ille, *Ledere gaudes, pravus*, niger es. Sup. V. 78. Quis verò, et omnium maximè niger est, Horatius dicit. V. 100.

V. 136. Hoc.

De seipso et suo facto loquitur.

V. 137. Simile.

De irâ suâ intellige. Vide infr. Ep. 20. V. 25. et Ep. 8. V. 9.—Vid. et Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 210, 211.

V. 142. Plures.

Vide Epist. Ad Augustum. V. 108, &c.

SAT. 5.

V. 101. Deos, &c.

Juvenis adhuc Horatius et *parcus Deorum cultor*,

ut in Od. 34. Non sic postea. Vid. Sat. Sequent. V. 114. et quæ supra ad Od. 34. Lib. 1. Scripta est hæc Satyra Anno ab ter. Cond. 713, quando Pax inter Octavium et Antonium. Sup. V. 27.

SAT. 6.

Tota Apologetica est hæc Satyra, vel potius Epistola Horatii, commendantis se Mæcenati. Omnia enim ad seipsum referuntur, nec reverà apologiam relinquit, quanquam, V. 45. *Nunc ad me redeo* inquit. Sed tacite et cum aliis collatione factâ, seipsum laudat. Non immerito ergo, inf. V. 70. *Ut me collaudem*.—Vide Annot. Inf. V. 19. 24. &c.

V. 8. Ingenuus.

Rectè Vet. Com: Ingenuus, hic ad morum probitatem pertinet.

V. 22. Vel merito quoniam.

V. Inf. V. 49.—Et Ep. 20. V. 21.

V. 19. Populus Lævino, &c.

Vide interim (inquit Horatius) quanta ambitionis vis, etiam in ignotis! Populo enim non favente, censore et senatu prohibente, nihilominus pergunt (et *fulgente trahit*, &c.) etiam exclusi (uti *Tullius*) redeunt rursus, instant, clamant. Mox verò exclamante populo, *Tunc Syria*, &c.—reclamat ambitiosus. *At Novius*, &c. respondent omnes, *Hoc tibi*, &c. *Tunc ergo Paulus et Messala*? Ille vero, Homo impudens, pro se dicere, et eodem modo clamare non desistit. Eandem excusationem semper profert. Supra omnes vociferatur, et exultans *sonat* (*cornua quod vincatque tubas*). *Saltem tenet hoc nos*. i. e. *Saltem hoc nobis conceditur*. Hæc nostra est Solatio. V. Inf. V. 44.

V. 24. Ignotos.

Tacite se Mæcenati commendat Horatius. Non enim, inquit, quia ignobilis ideo ambitiosus non sum (Ignobiles enim æquè ac Nobiles ambitiosi sunt) sed quia Bonus, Modestus, et *Vitâ et peccore puro*. Inf. V. 51. 55. 57. et 64. Et est quidem tota hæc Satyra quasi Epistola Apologetica et commendabilis.

V. 24. Tulli.

Tullius hic senatu motus a Cæsare quasi Pompeianus: occiso vero Cæsare recepit latum Clavum, et Tribunus Militum factus est.

V. 40. At Novius.

Apologia Hominis Ambitiosi novi, rursus alia Apologia inf. V. 90.

V. 44. Saltem tenet hoc nos.

Verba Ambitiosi Hominis qui *Paulus et Messala sibi videtur*, clamans perpetuò, *at Novius Collega*, &c. Quid illi facias? Silebit nunquam: eandem cantilenam cantabit *Saltem tenet hoc nos*. i. e. *Solatur* (nam ita Lambinus; quanquam verba hæc ad Populum refert, ut Commentatores omnes: quod moror.) Sic sup. Sat. 2. V. 53. *Verum hoc se amplectitur uno, hoc amat, et laudat Matronam nullam ego tango*. Hæc Amatoris, illa Ambitiosi vox est: Horatii verò longè discrepans et *Vox et Ratio* inf. V. 90 et 93. Non enim solatur se vel defendit, sed congratulatur sibi. Vid. Sup. V. 19.

Tenet nos—verbum *tenet* hic in bonam partem sumitur, ut inf. Ep. 18. V. 23. *Quem tenet argenti fitis*. Sic etiam, Sat. 3. Lib. 2. V. 45. *Hæc magnos formula reges tenet*. inf. autem Epist. 7. V. 18. *tam teneor dono*.

V. 46. Rodunt.

Verisimile est Horatium hanc Satyram ante, Od. 3. Lib. 4. scripsisse. Vide istic, V. 16.

V. 47. Olim.

Temporibus Bruti et Reipublicæ. Hinc Horatio Invidiæ crevit qui *Majores pennas*, &c.—Inf. Ep. 20. V. 21.

V. 49. Diffimile.

Quasi seipsum damnans, ut sup. V. 22. Etiam hoc modo purgans se Mæcenati et Augusto, quod olim pro Republicâ stetit, a Bruto honoratus, olim enim ambitiosus (inquit) fui. Nunc non ita. Non ergo jure mihi invideat.

V. 114. Assisto divinis.

Non jam ergo amplius, uti olim *Parcus Deorum cultor*, &c. Od. 34. Lib. 1. Quanquam aliter accipiunt

reputation as a polite writer, and was regarded by many as a standard of elegant composition. His imitators, as well as admirers, were numerous, and he was esteemed the Head of

cupiunt Vet. Com. et Torrentius, fortè non immeritò. Mæcenati enim scribit, et nondum senex Horatius.

V. 123. Tacitum juvet.

Sup. Sat. 4. in fine. *Hæc ego mecum compressis agito labris.* Hic ergo philosophica ista intelligit, quæ ad sui emendationem pertinent, non poetica et vulganda. Id enim est *chartis illudere*, et aliis scribere; hoc verò *philosophari*, dum tacitus sibi legit et scribit. Sic inf. Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 143. *Sed veræ numerosque modosque ediscere vitæ.*—Seneca de Tranquil. Cap. 10. *In studiis puto meherculè melius esse res ipsas, &c.—minus molestiarum habet Funus tacitum, &c.*—Sequitur, Quæro meherculè tacitus, &c.

SAT. 7.

Pugna hæc jocosa inita est paulo ante cladem Philipensem (ut constat ex versu 18 et 19, infra). Scripta verò postea, si ipsi quidem Horatio fides adhibenda est Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 50. Ille enim, si Respublica stetit, omnino Poeta nunquam exstitisset, minùs adhuc scurriles hos ludos scripsisset. Nec credibile est Horatium serium, et res serias adeò atque arduas sub Amico et Patrono Bruto agentem, pro Patriâ periclitantem, Tribunum etiam Militum, talia scripsisse. *Decisus* vero *Pennis* Paupertati succumbens, postquam Poeta factus est, atque *audax* victum quærebat, facetiis jocisque ad Cæsarianos Victores se commendans, non mirum est, si occasionem hanc citò arripuit recentem adhuc injuriam ulciscendi sine magnâ Bruti Nominis reverentiâ. Quòd si Bruto et Cassio et præcipuis istis viris pepercit Horatius, non tamen eodem modo et aliis militantibus, et eidem causæ faventibus.

Perfusus hic Græcus, Dives; et Rupilius olim Prætor et in Triumviratu proscriptus, ut in Vet. Com. An ergo tunc temporis et in Castris Bruti odiosum erat *Proscripti* nomen? Id quasi odiosum tamen Horatius profert, et in initio Statim in Rupilium jactat. Mortuo ergo Bruto et in humili statu Horatii, sub tyrannide scripta est hæc Satyra. Vid. Annot. ad Sat. 3. V. 82. et ad Sat. 1. V. 14.

SAT. 9.

V. 44. Paucorum.

Garruli, non Horatii, verba. Turn. et Torr.

V. 45. Nemo.

De Mæcenate intelligendum. Cruq. et Torr.

V. 47. Hunc.

Me. *δεικτικῶς* Lamb.

V. 54. Velis.

Velis me tradere. Ut sup. V. 44. Garruli verba sunt. Commentatores Horatium quoque garrulum faciunt, dum hæc et quæ sup. V. 44, 45. illi tribuunt. Neque Horatio digna Ironia hæc, nec rei vel tempori conveniens. Laborat Horatius. Longè abest quòd colloquia jam ferat. Longissimè verò quòd Hominem hunc sponte accendat.

V. 55. Eoque Difficiles.

Optimè Turnebus. Sicut et in superioribus. *Qui se facile* (inquit) *vinci expugnarique sentiunt, se muniunt, &c.* Hæc omnia garrulus, difficultates preponderans, minuens. Vid. infra Horatius, V. 60. *Hæc dum agit.* Ille enim omnia: Horatius nihil, vel faltem negativè, et ad dissuadendum; ut Vers. 48. Vid. sup. V. 14.

V. 64. Lentissima.

Languida, labentia, quasi mortua, *Prensationi* minimè respondentia. Hinc potius *prensare*. Quia sic Candidati et Supplices.

LIB. 2. SAT. 1.

V. 7. Verum nequeo dormire.

Non sic infra, Sat. 3. V. 1. et Ep. 1. V. 10. et Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 20, 25, &c. ad 57. (Hæc ergo Satyra prius scripta) Neque idem ardor infra (Sat. 6. V. 17.)

V. 29. Melioris.

Genere, Censu, Ingenio, inf. V. 75. Vide et V. 70. Ubi Lucilium Optimum et Divinum planè virum fuisse constat. Ergo non solum Ingenio sed Vir-

tute *melioris utroque.* Et hoc potius intelligo, renuente Torrentio, aliisque.

V. 53. Imperet.

Apologeticè ad Trebatium Jur. Consultum. scilicet quòd coactus Satyram scribit.

V. 76. Magnis.

Brutum intelligit, non Augustum: quanquam priorem in posterioris gratiam non nominat. Vid. infr. Ep. 20. V. 23, et supra ad Sat. 3. V. 82.

SAT. 2.

Vetus Commentator, Ofellum quendam narrat quædam Sectæ Stoicæ e Græco transtulit. Alii ergo Stoicum, alii Epicureum, alii Medium, ego ne Philosophum quidem fuisse credo, neque ad examen Dogmatum descendisse: quippe qui *Rusticus Colonus Abnormis.* Horatius vero ipse loquens, sententiamque Ofelli explicans jam statim a versu 53, Philosophiam sequitur Epicuræ plane contrariam. Vid. V. 79. Ubi de Divinitate Animæ. Sic de Pietate, Societate, et Amore Patriæ, V. 103, 104, 105, et reversus iterum ad ipsa Ofelli verba (ad Philosophiam paululum detorta) de *Proprio* et rebus quæ sunt *in ipso*, ut Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 158, &c. Talia enim hæc sunt *Nam propriæ Telluris Herum, &c.* V. 129, et *Nulli Proprius, V. 134.* Sequitur Hortatio ista *Vivite Fortes, Fortiaque adversis, &c.* Fortiorem ergo severiorem et sanctiorem Philosophiam (Socraticam nempe) Horatius hic sequitur *iterato cursu* ut Od. 34. L. 1. Hæc ergo Satyra non inter priores, sed post Sat. 3^m et 5^m, aliasque Libri primi. Nihil autem ad rem quicquid Ofellus supra de Voluptate, V. 19. Sic enim indocti, imò ipsi Stoici ad indoctos et extra Scholam. Quàm fortiter autem Socraticum agit Horatius etiam Ofelli personam planè induens, uti Vers. 5, 6, 7, videre licet ex Max. Tyrio qui ex iisdem fontibus ista hausit (his equidem simillima) Diff. 1. *Ἰσται γὰρ περὶ καὶ φυτὰ, καὶ λίθοι, καὶ φῶται, καὶ θυμοὶ, καὶ ὄρμαι, καὶ σχήματα, καὶ χροαὶ, ὑπο τῆς ἐθερῆς συναγεγνημένα, καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτῃ ἀνακρινόμενα παρσκευακὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀναπέπτικε μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα—ὡς περὶ ἐν Συμπόσιῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ πολλῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεῖ, &c.*—Scio equidem Ofellum hæc non dicere. Horatius verò huc spectat: et suo (i. e. Socratico) more, præcepta tradit. Interim notandum est simplicius multo et rudiùs Ofellum dicere, quando in fine iterum redit, V. 112. Atque hæc tertriâ vice Manifestior venit, Horatio Historicum agente et fidelitèr omnia narrante. In tres ergo partes præcipuas divisa est hæc Satyra, ubi ter narrat Horatius; in initio, scilicet et rursus, V. 53, et apertius denique, V. 112. Ergo V. 53, legendum est *Distabat*, ex omnibus ferè M. S. ut fatentur Commentatores: et hinc Marcelli (quem secutus est Dacierus) eo magis inepta videtur applicatio *Lupi et Canis*, V. 64. quia hæc a prioribus disjunguntur, et Horatius quæ de novo Ofelli Sententiam explicat.

Nemo est vel paululum versatus in Libris Socraticis (Xenophontis præcipuè) qui non statim ista agnoscat, unde *putas, &c.* V. 18. et in secundâ parte, V. 80. *Alter ubi dicto citius, &c.* Tota enim hæc Satyra Civilis, agilis, fortis, pia; non Epicurea vel Aristippica. Vid. Ep. 1. V. 16.—Mirum equidem non est quòd Horatius in Satyrâ sequenti (V. 11.) Platonem præcipuè comitem habuisse ait. Hos enim Nobilissimos Socraticos (Xenophontem scilicet et Platonem) imitari nunquam destitit, non ut Philosophus solum, sed ut Poeta. Sic in arte Poeticâ, V. 310. *Rem tibi Socraticâ, &c.*

V. 10. Indomito.

i. e. *Fero. Forti.* (Vet. Com.) Equitatum Romanum intelligit, unde *vel si Romana, &c. Græcari*, i. e. Græcanicis Exercitationibus (Pilâ, Disco) uti. Turn. et Lamb.

Græcari. Non hoc in pejori sensu Horatius: absurdum hoc et indignum. Verum Græcari quid sit, non comico sensu ex Plauto, sed ex Livio discit: Ille enim de Scipione, L. 29. "Ipsius etiam Imperatoris non *Romanus* modo sed ne *militaris* quidem cultus jactabatur. Cum Pallio Crepidisque inambulare in Gymnasio,

of the School of the sentimental Philosophy. Of late years, he has been as much depreciated as he was heretofore applauded; and in both cases the matter has been carried to an

naſio, Libellis etiam Palæſtræque operam dare; æquè ſegniter molliterque Cohortem totam Syracuſarum amœnitate frui!"

V. 11. Pila.

Molliſſimus Homo Mæcenæ aſſuetus etiam hoc modo Græcari et pilâ ludere. Sup. Sat. 5. V. 48, 49.

V. 18. Unde putas.

Unde? a Naturali appetitu, Naturam ergo ſequens non Gulæ ſerviens ſuaviter vives. Huic Unde contrarium eſt illud Unde infra, V. 31. nec rectè diſjunxit Cantabrigienſis Noſter, qui alias quidem optimè Periochas diſtinguit.

V. 53. Diſtabit.

Diſtabat, omnes ſerè M. S. ſic ſup. V. 2. præcepit. et inf. V. 112, &c. Ofellum novi narrantem, i. e. Narrabat hæc.

V. 55. Alio.

Hæc et ſequentia uſque ad V. 112. Horatius magis ex ſua quàm Ofelli perſonâ profert. Confer cum Sat. 2. Lib. 1. V. 24, &c.

V. 64. Hæc.

Inepta mihi videtur Dacieri a Marcilio deſumpta Applicatio Lupi et Canis ad Lupum Tiberinum (Sup. V. 31.) et Avidienum Canem (V. 56.)

V. 67. Albuti.

Non hic Avaritia Luxuriæ opponitur, ſed Elegantiæ Negligentia. Optimè ergo Torrent. et ſic ſupra Horatius (Sat. 2. Lib. 1.) poſt Figellium et Fuſidium oppoſitos ad Ruſillum et Gorgonium tranſit.

V. 73. Sederit.

Quam facile digreſſeris. Vet. Com. Non quæ placuerit. Hoc enim ad Voluptatem ſpectat, contra Ofelli ſenſum.

SAT. 3.

V. 9. Multa.

Sic Ep. 8. V. 3. Hic autem de Scriptis, illic de Moribus.

V. 10. Si vacuum.

Sic Epist. 7. Lib. 1. V. 10. Quod ſi Bruma, &c. Ubi tamen ſcripta non promittit, ſibi ſtudent et jam ſeneſcens: hæc quidem non Juvenis.

V. 11. Platona.

Signanter nominavit Platonem, ex hujus enim Alcibiade poſtérieure Materia et Seges Satyræ. Theod. M. V. 92. Vitium.

i. e. Malum Stoicè. Cruq. ſed in utroque ſenſu. quia inf. ſibi nequior. V. 94. Stoicis quidem Dogmatibus omnino in contrarium et perverſè utitur Stertinius, Staberi cauſam agens εἰρωνικῶς. Sic inf. V. 97. Clarus erit.

V. 104. Si quis emat citharas.

Ex Xenophontis Oecon. ut monet Lambin. Vide et Απομν. Lib. 1. in fine.

V. 132. Quid enim.

Nil mutandum cum Lambino. Hic enim το Quid enim? Idem valet quod πῶς ἢ; vel τί ἢ; uſitatiſſimum in Dialogis (Vid. Arrian.) ubi Philoſophus pro Diſcipulo ſive Adverſario reſpondet vel interrogat πῶς ἢ; quo modo et hic Stertinius pro Parricidâ ito.

V. 169. Antiquo Cenſu.

Dives antiquo cenſu, i. e. Mediocri non hodierno; quia Privatus illis Cenſus erat brevis, (Qd. 15. L. 2.) Hodiè vero Si quadringentis ſex ſeptem millia deſint, Plebs eris (Ep. 1.) inde ſtatim infra, V. 178. Quod ſatis eſt, &c. et Natura coerces. Sic Antiquis Moribus, Antiquâ Fide, &c.

V. 192. Conſulere.

Socratico more. Viciffim.

V. 223. Circumtonuit.

Vide Lamb. et quid Torr. de Bellonæ fanaticis, et ſic Stoico quidem ſenſu Ambitioſi, et Glorioſi, Fanatici: haud abſimile quod, ſup. Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 23. ſed fulgente, &c.

V. 287. Meneni.

In Gente Meneniâ (celebri quidem) Conſulem fuiſſe quendam non ſatis ſanæ mentis ait Lambinus, ex Dion. Halicar. L. 9. Cruquius tamen inveniffe ſe ait in quibuſd. M. S. Menæci. Sed ridiculè prorfus explicat. Nunquam enim Stoicus vel Pius aut Bonus

quiſquam inter Antiquos Menæci factum damnaret. Longè aliter Epictetus apud Arrian. L. 3. C. 20.

V. 308. Ædificas.

Confer hæc cum iis quæ infra in fine, Sat. 7, et Epist. 1. et cum Epist. 8. et Ep. 15. in fine.

V. 310. Corpore.

Vide Ep. 20. V. 24. et Epist. Auguſti in Vitâ Horatii. Sed per brevitateſtaturæ, tenuitateſtaturæ et anguſtias Rei familiaris præcipuè ſignificat (ut ait Lamb.) ad illam tamen alteram Brevitateſtaturæ alludens.

V. 323. Cultum.

Non ſimpliciter de Veſtitu ſed de omni Vitâ intelligendum; quo ſenſu ſup. Sat. 2. V. 66. Cultum enim appellant interdum Latini Vitæ colendæ Rationem. Lamb. in iſtum locum, ubi exempla poſuit, et inter alia hunc Horatii Verſum. (Horatius autem quamquam lautius vixerit, Genioque in Juventute præcipuè indulſerit, in Veſtitu tamen non adeo curioſus. Vid. Epist. 1. V. 96. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 31.

SAT. 4.

V. 2. Signa.

Vide Heinſium et Arriani præſationem, et locum Platonis in Thæteto a Daciero citatum. Talia ſunt Philoſophorum ὑποσημασία (Xenophontis ἀποσημασμέναι) ἀποσημασμέναι.

V. 94. Fontes.

Hæc cum dicit Horatius ironice contra Epicureos, ſeriò innuit fontes ſe adire velle Socraticos, quos ſuis Catius oppoſuit, V. 3. Hanc ergo Satyram inter poſteriores pono.

SAT. 5.

Hanc Satyram inter iſtas pono quarum cauſâ Horatius dictus erat nimis acer. Sat. 1. L. 2. Vide inf. V. 20. Scriptam ergo Satyram hanc credo ante, Sat. 1. L. 2. et Sat. 4. L. 1. — Satyra hæc Νεκρίας Homericæ quaſi quoddam ἀποσημασμένον eſt. Ubi enim deſinit Homericus Ulyſſes conſulere Tireſiam, ibi incipit Horatianus. Heinſius.

V. 20. Hoc.

Ingenioſè ſed minùs rectè Dacierus in hunc locum, illud hoc ad Paupertatem referens, non ad Contumeliā illam: quippe indignum (ait) Ulyſſis ut ita ſentiret. Horatius vero antiquiorem potiùs quàm novam et Sanctiorem Comœdiam ſecutus, non modò hic ſed ubique in hæc Satyrâ abutitur Perſonis Ulyſſis, Penelopes, et Tireſiæ, et eſt in hæc Satyrâ in alios acerrimus et contumelioſus, Vid. Sup. Verſ. 1.

V. 22. Dic.

De Teſtamenti enim nondum dixit, et Ulyſſes hic quaſi tardus inducitur, ignarus ſcil. morum iſtorum. et hoc etiam ad Comœdiam illam licentioſiorem facit, et ad Contemptum Ulyſſis.

SAT. 6.

V. 7.

Facturus in futuro, quaſi olim tale aliquid feciſſet. Vid. inf. Sat. ſeq. V. 110. In hanc partem peccare paululum Horatius fortè potuit, in illam non potuit, quia minimè avarus.

V. 9. Denormat.

Normam noſtrates Quadram vocant. Sic Anglicè to break ſquares, et inf. Ep. 6. V. 35.

V. 17. Quid prius.

Scribit adhuc libenter et gaudens Horatius; ardor tamen minor eſt. Vid. ſup. Sat. 1. V. 7.

V. 38. Signa.

Sigillum Auguſti intelligit, cujus cuſtos Mæcenæ teſte Dione et Xiphilino.

V. 40. Septimus.

Hoc tempore ergo Horatius circiter 34 annos natus.

V. 42. Duntaxat ad hoc.

Nec mentitur Horatius (ut vult Dacierus) nec Mæcenatem notat vel ludit (ut Vet. Com.) ſed de initio Amicitie loquitur. Quam lentus in hæc re Mæcenæ. Vide ſup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 60.

V. 65.

an extreme. At length, it is to be hoped, that he will find his due place in the ranks of literature; and that, without being extravagantly extolled, he will continue to be read, and in

V. 65. Meique.

i. e. Amici, Familiares, (ut Vet. Com.) non servi vernæque procaces, qui libatis dapibus, Herilis mensæ reliquiis pascebantur, ut ait Lamb. et Torrent. Hic tamen sibi non constat, cum illud Meique de servis intelligere videtur. Horatium quidem convivas servos ipsos eisdemque procaces dixisse vix credibile est: nec magis verisimile in tali Cœtu de Philosophiâ locutum fuisse; adeo ut quæri etiam posset ane graviora sint hæc quam res convivalis ferat: ut ait Torren- tius (ad Verf. 75, infra) immemor conviviorum So- craticorum et Socratici Horatii.

V. 75. Rectumne.

Planè huic inferiori opinioni favet. et sic inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c.—At non ita olim. Vide sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 113.

V. 78. Ex re fabellas.

i. e. Ex usu, utiles, Lambinus. Sed melior Cru- quii Explicatio, viz. *Ex re natus*: hoc est *ex argumento quod controversitur a convivis*. . . . ut si quis Sto- icus Divitias neget censendas inter Bona, contra Peripa- teticus . . . hic confestim Cervius Apologum, &c.

V. 91. Prærupti.

Optimè Cruquius. *Quam quæso procul abludit hæc Descriptio ab Horatianâ Villâ in superno Tusculo? ita ut hæc verba Muris Urbani delicati sunt quasi Mæcena- tis Horatium pellicientis ad Vitam Urbanam, vel potiùs Aulicam.*

SAT. 7.

V. 9. Priscus.

Vid. Ep. 15. V. 26. et sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. in initio. Priscus enim hic a Davo pro Horatio ponitur. inde Horatius mox Verf. 21. *Quorsum? Davus, Ad Te* —atque inde, V. 53. *Tu cum projectis*, &c. i. e. *Tu Priscæ.*

V. 19. Levius.

Levius quam Priscus ille, i. e. quam Tu, O Horati!

V. 22. Ad Te.

Ad Te scil. quia ut mutabilis et levis ille Priscus, laudas, &c.

V. 37. Ille.

i. e. *Dixerit aliquis ò diva* (Lamb.) modestè vel potiùs timidè pro Seipso. quia supra, V. 2. *Reformidat.* et sic infr. etiam magis, V. 44 et 116. neque enim Personam suam planè hic agnoscit Davus, neque Heri, cum dicit Tu cum sis quod, ego, &c. V. 40.—et *Tu cum projectis*, V. 53. Mox verò audacior factus, re- spondente Horatio (vel pro Horatio Davo ipso) V. 72. palam et sine ambagibus expostulat.

V. 38. Nasum.

Ut inf. V. 102. De seipso enim loquitur Davus. Sic inf. V. 100. *Cessator Davus*, uti hic *inert.*

V. 53. Tu cum projectis.

Vid. sup. ad Verf. 9 et 37. Dacierus interim planè asserit Augustum Horatio et Annuli Equestris et Augusti Clavi jus dedisse. quâ auctoritate fretus nescio. Quod si hoc verum est, non necesse est ad Priscum recurrere (Ut sup. V. 9.) neque tantam ti- miditatem Davo tribuere (Ut sup. V. 37.) qui semel tantum personam mutat, quando dixit *dixerit ille* pro seipso. Postea magis audacter; jam statim ad V. 40. *Tu cum*, &c. ut antea, V. 22. *Ad Te inquam.* Sed cum rursus infra, V. 60. *Quo te demisit* non tam commodè de ipso Horatio explicavi potest (quia potiùs quid factum, quam quid futurum narrat Davus) ideo et rursus fortasse de Prisco illo, Horatii Personam ex- hibente, intelligendum est. Facilis et Naturalis sem- per est Poeta Noster Horatius, et in Compositione atque Ordine minimè obscurus. Vel ergo notissima fuit olim ista Fabula de Prisco; vel simile aliquid sibi evenisse aut evenire potuisse indicat Horatius jam so- brius et securus, non ut olim *Calidus Juventâ Consule Planco*, Od. 14. L. 3. Mox ergo respondet *Non sum Mæchus* (V. 72.) *Non sum*, in præsentia. Ad ista, quæ olim facta sunt, nihil respondet.

V. 72. Non sum.

Quasi dixisset *jam non amasius sum vel futurus sum mæchus*, quia supra Davus *Evâsti? Credo metues*, &c.

εὐαντικώς.

VOL. IV.

V. 75. Rerum.

Stoicè. Sic Arr. L. 3. C. 20. Πάντασθ' ἰαυτῆς δαλῆς ποιήσεις, πρῶτον τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ταῦτα περιποιεῖν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δυναμένων. Et Lib. 3. C. 24. Τοῦ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπῳ μελλόντα ἵπτασθαι, πολὺ προτερον ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖ ἵπτασθαι. Et C. 26: Τα γὰρ πρᾶγματα προτερὸς τετῶν κυρίως ἔχοντες. Hic ergo per *Res* intelligendum est τὰ πρᾶγματα (Scil. Divitiæ, Honores, aliæque exteriora interioribus opposita) infra vero, Ep. 1. V. 19. Τα γινόμενα a Providentiâ scil. vel Fortunâ. Hic reluctandum; illic cedendum; ut Libertas nobis contingat.

V. 86. Totus teres.

Virtus enim ex Stoico Dogmate ita secum Virtu- tem trahit ut concatenati Annuli. Cruq.

V. 87. Læve morari.

Perf. Sat. 1. V. 64. *Ut per læve severos effundat junctura ungues.* Sic sup. Sat. 5. L. 2. V. 32. Nec tamen contemnendus Dacierus, qui altiore sensum petit ex Platone, quem cum cæteris Socraticis Hora- tius sæpe in animo habet.

V. 101. Veterum.

De hoc Morbo vide Ciceronem in Paradox. Stoicis. C. 5. ubi Lucullum planè innuit, callidum nimis et barbaro isti L. Mummio nimis contrarium. Vide Plutarchum in Vitâ: ubi et de Mummio et Cethego. Cicero autem, uti Docti et Viri bonè omnes, Lucullum amavit, qui etiam si his Vitiis detentus, reipublicæ, Phi- losophiæ, et huic præcipuè Socraticæ sive Stoicæ favebat.

V. 118. Opera.

Sic Custodia pro iis ipsis accipitur qui aliquid custodiunt.

SAT. 8.

V. 3. Sic.

Respondet Fundanius (Ut inf. V. 19.) *Mare Co- mico, Sic ut nunquam melius*, i. e. *jucundius* (propter Risus et res ridiculas) non *lautius*.

EPIST. LIB. 1.

Ep. 1. Confer cum Epist. 7. 10. et Lib. 2. Ep. 2.

V. 10. Ludicra.

Inf. Ep. 14. V. 36.—Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 143. Carmina scil. amatoria, Satyrasque jocofas (quales sunt Sat. 5. 7. 9. L. 1.—et 8. L. 2.) et mordentes de quibus. Vid. Sat. 1. L. 2. V. 21 et 46, &c.

V. 11. Decens.

Τὸ καλὸν καὶ πρεπόν. Secundum Stoicòs. Jam enim ad Socraticam veram et divinam Sapientiam ab infan- nienti illâ (Sup. Od. 34. L. 1.) revertitur Horatius.

V. 16. Agilis—Civilibus.

Πρακτικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς cum Socraticis, Stoicis, &c.— Contra Epicureorum præceptum.

V. 17. Veræ custos rigidusque.

Sic inf. *Vera Vita*. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 144. Vide et Ep. 18. V. 8.—Custos, i. e. nihil præter Virtutem in bonis ducere. Vide Cic. de fin. Bon. et Mal. et quid ibi Cato in initio Libri. Vid. inf. Ep. 6. V. 30.

V. 18. Nunc.

Quasi dixisset *pudet fateri*. Sed revera alius pudor Horatium urget, dum Mæcenati scribit, et Amico molli conversionem suam ad severiorem Philosophiam indicat, et quia olim Aristippum tantoperè laudavit. Vid. Ep. 17.

Relabor—quia olim Epicureis et Cyrenaicis re- nunciavit. Vide Od. 34. L. 1.

V. 19. Subjungere.

Vera lectio. Vide Ciceronem in Acad. Quæst. Lib. 2. 45. prope finem. “Veruntamen (inquit) video quam suaviter Voluptas sensibus nostris blandi- atur. Labor ut assentiar Epicuro aut Aristippo. re- vocat Virtus vel potius reprehendit manu; pecudum illos motus esse dicit: *Hominem jungit Deo*, &c.”

Horatius noster melius. Labor (inquit) ut assentiar Socrati, Zenoni, &c. revocat Voluptas. in Aristippi et Epicuri præcepta relabor, *Virtutem veram* defero. Fortunæ non responso (Ut inf. V. 68.) sed subservio, Deo me nec jungo nec subjungo. *Majore tento* (Ep. 17.

* 4 F

V. 24.)

of the School of the sentimental Philosophy. Of late years, he has been as much depreciated as he was heretofore applauded; and in both cases the matter has been carried to an

natio, Libellis etiam Palæstræque operam dare; æquè segnitèr mollitèrque Cohortem totam Syracusarum amœnitate frui!"

V. 11. Pila.

Mollissimus Homo Mæcenæ assuetus etiam hoc modo Græcari et pilâ ludere. Sup. Sat. 5. V. 48, 49.

V. 18. Unde putas.

Unde? a Naturali appetitu, Naturam ergo sequens non Gulæ serviens suavitèr vives. Huic Unde contrarium est illud Unde infra, V. 31. nec rectè disjunxit Cantabrigiensis Noster, qui alias quidem optimè Periochas distinguit.

V. 53. Distabit.

Distabat, omnes ferè M. S. sic sup. V. 2. præcepit. et inf. V. 112, &c. Ofellum novi narrantem, i. e. Narrabat hæc.

V. 55. Alio.

Hæc et sequentia usque ad V. 112. Horatius magis ex suâ quàm Ofelli personâ profert. Confer cum Sat. 2. Lib. 1. V. 24, &c.

V. 64. Hæc.

Inepta mihi videtur Dacieri a Marcilio desumpta Applicatio Lupi et Canis ad Lupum Tiberinum (Sup. V. 31.) et Avidienum Canem (V. 56.)

V. 67. Albuti.

Non hic Avaritia Luxuriæ opponitur, sed Elegantiæ Negligentia. Optimè ergo Torrent. et sic supra Horatius (Sat. 2. Lib. 1.) post Tigellium et Fufidium oppositos ad Rufillum et Gorgonium transit.

V. 73. Sederit.

Quam facile digresseris. Vet. Com. Non quæ placuerit. Hoc enim ad Voluptatem spectat, contra Ofelli sensum.

SAT. 3.

V. 9. Multa.

Sic Ep. 8. V. 3. Hic autem de Scriptis, illic de Moribus.

V. 10. Si vacuum.

Sic Epist. 7. Lib. 1. V. 10. Quod si Bruma, &c. Ubi tamen scripta non promittit, sibi studens et jam senescens: hæc quidem non Juvenis.

V. 11. Platona.

Signantèr nominavit Platonem, ex hujus enim Alcibiade posteriore Materia et Seges Satyræ. Theod. M.

V. 92. Vitium.

i. e. Malum Stoicè. Cruq. sed in utroque sensu. quia inf. sibi nequior. V. 94. Stoicis quidem Dogmatibus omnino in contrarium et perversè utitur Stertinius, Staberî causam agens εἰρωνείας. Sic inf. V. 97. Clarus erit.

V. 104. Si quis emat citharas.

Ex Xenophontis Oecon. ut monet Lambin. Vide et Απομν. Lib. 1. in fine.

V. 132. Quid enim.

Nil mutandum cum Lambino. Hic enim το Quid enim? Idem valet quod πως εἴ; vel τί εἴ; usitatissimum in Dialogis (Vid. Arrian.) ubi Philosophus pro Discipulo five Adversario respondet vel interrogat μὴ πως: quo modo et hic Stertinius pro Parricidâ illo.

V. 169. Antiquo Censu.

Dives antiquo censu, i. e. Mediocri non hodierno; quia Privatus illis Censu erat brevis, (Od. 15. L. 2.) Hodie vero Si quadringentis sex septem millia desint, Plebs eris (Ep. 1.) inde statim infra, V. 178. Quod satis est, &c. et Natura coerces. Sic Antiquis Moribus, Antiquâ Fide, &c.

V. 192. Consulere.

Socratico more. Vicissim.

V. 223. Circumtonuit.

Vide Lamb. et quid Torr. de Bellonæ fanaticis, et sic Stoico quidem sensu Ambitiosi, et Gloriosi, Fanatici: haud absimile quod, sup. Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 23. sed fulgentè, &c.

V. 287. Meneni.

In Gente Meneniâ (celebri quidem) Consulem fuisse quendam non satis sanæ mentis ait Lambinus, ex Dion. Halicar. L. 9. Cruquius tamen invenisse se ait in quibusd. M. S. Menæci. Sed ridiculè prorsus explicat. Nunquam enim Stoicus vel Pius aut Bonus

quisquam inter Antiquos Menæci factum damnares. Longè aliter Epictetus apud Arrian. L. 3. C. 20.

V. 308. Ædificas.

Confer hæc cum iis quæ infra in fine, Sat. 7, et Epist. 1. et cum Epist. 8. et Ep. 15. in fine.

V. 310. Corpore.

Vide Ep. 20. V. 24. et Epist. Augusti in Vitâ Horatii. Sed per brevitem Staturæ, tenuitatem et angustias Rei familiaris præcipuè significat (ut ait Lamb.) ad illam tamen alteram Brevitatem alludens.

V. 323. Cultum.

Non simpliciter de Vestitu sed de omni Vitâ intelligendum; quo sensu sup. Sat. 2. V. 66. Cultum enim appellant interdum Latini Vitæ colendæ Rationem. Lamb. in istum locum, ubi exempla posuit, et inter alia hunc Horatii Versum. (Horatius autem quamquam lautius vixerit, Genioque in Juventute præcipuè indulserit, in Vestitu tamen non adeò curiosus. Vid. Epist. 1. V. 96. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 31.

SAT. 4.

V. 2. Signa.

Vide Heinsum et Arriani præfationem, et locum Platonis in Thæteto a Daciero citatum. Talia sunt Philosophorum ὑπομνηματα (Xenophontis ἀπομνημονεύματα) Απομνημονεύσεις.

V. 94. Fontes.

Hæc cum dicit Horatius ironicè contra Epicureos, ferè innuit fontes se adire velle Socraticos, quos suis Catius opposuit, V. 3. Hanc ergo Satyram inter posteriores pono.

SAT. 5.

Hanc Satyram inter istas pono quarum causâ Horatius dictus erat nimis acer. Sat. 1. L. 2. Vide inf. V. 20. Scriptam ergo Satyram hanc credo ante, Sat. 1. L. 2. et Sat. 4. L. 1. — Satyra hæc Νεκρῖας Homericæ quasi quoddam ἀποσπασματιον est. Ubi enim definit Homericus Ulysses consulere Tiresiam, ibi incipit Horatianus. Heinsum.

V. 20. Hoc.

Ingeniosè sed minùs rectè Dacierus in hunc locum, illud hoc ad Paupertatem referens, non ad Contumeliam illam: quippe indignum (ait) Ulyssis ut ita sentiret. Horatius vero antiquiorem potius quàm novam et Sanctiorem Comœdiam secutus, non modò hic sed ubique in hæc Satyrâ abutitur Personis Ulyssis, Penelopes, et Tiresiæ, et est in hæc Satyrâ in alios acerrimus et contumeliosus, Vid. Sup. Vers. 1.

V. 22. Dic.

De Testamentis enim nondum dixit, et Ulysses hic quasi tardus inducitur, ignarus scil. morum istorum. et hoc etiam ad Comœdiam illam licentiosem facit, et ad Contemptum Ulyssis.

SAT. 6.

V. 7.

Facturus in futuro, quasi olim tale aliquid fecisset. Vid. inf. Sat. seq. V. 110. In hanc partem peccare paululum Horatius fortè potuit, in illam non potuit, quia minimè avarus.

V. 9. Denormat.

Normam nostrates Quadram vocant. Sic Anglicè to break squares, et inf. Ep. 6. V. 35.

V. 17. Quid prius.

Scribit adhuc libenter et gaudens Horatius; ardor tamen minor est. Vid. sup. Sat. 1. V. 7.

V. 38. Signa.

Sigillum Augusti intelligit, cujus custos Mæcenæ teste Dione et Xiphilino.

V. 40. Septimus.

Hoc tempore ergo Horatius circiter 34 annos natus.

V. 42. Duntaxat ad hoc.

Nec mentitur Horatius (ut vult Dacierus) nec Mæcenatem notat vel ludit (ut Vet. Com.) sed de initio Amicitiae loquitur. Quàm lentus in hæc re Mæcenæ. Vide sup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 60.

V. 65.

an extreme. At length, it is to be hoped, that he will find his due place in the ranks of literature; and that, without being extravagantly extolled, he will continue to be read, and in

V. 65. Meique.

i. e. Amici, Familiares, (ut Vet. Com.) non servi *verneque procaces*, qui *libatis dapibus*, Herilis mensæ reliquis pascebantur, ut ait Lamb. et Torrent. Hic tamen sibi non constat, cum illud *Meique* de servis intelligere videtur. Horatium quidem *convivas* servos ipsos eisdemque procaces dixisse vix credibile est: nec magis verisimile in tali Cœtu de Philosophiâ locutum fuisse; adeo ut quæri etiam posset ane graviora sint hæc quàm res convivalis ferat: ut ait Torren- tius (ad Vers. 75, infra) immemor conviviorum So- craticorum et Socratici Horatii.

V. 75. Rectumne.

Planè huic inferiori opinioni favet. et sic inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c.—At non ita olim. Vide sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 113.

V. 78. Ex re fabellas.

i. e. Ex usu, utiles, Lambinus. Sed melior Cru- quii Explicatio, viz. *Ex re natus*: hoc est *ex argumento quod controversatur a convivis . . . ut si quis Sto- icus Divitias neget censendas inter Bona, contra Peripa- teticus . . . hic confestim Cervius Apologum, &c.*

V. 91. Prærupti.

Optimè Cruquius. *Quam quæso procul abludit hæc Descriptio ab Horatianâ Villâ in superno Tusculo? ita ut hæc verba Muris Urbani delicati sunt quasi Mæcena- tis Horatium pellicientis ad Vitam Urbanam, vel potius Aulicam.*

SAT. 7.

V. 9. Priscus.

Vid. Ep. 15. V. 26. et sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. in initio. Priscus enim hic a Davo pro Horatio ponitur. inde Horatius mox Vers. 21. *Quorsum? Davus, Ad Te* —atque inde, V. 53. *Tu cum projectis, &c. i. e. Tu Priscæ.*

V. 19. Levius.

Levius quàm Priscus ille, i. e. quàm Tu, O Horati!

V. 22. Ad Te.

Ad Te scil. quia ut mutabilis et levis ille Priscus, laudas, &c.

V. 37. Ille.

i. e. *Dixerit aliquis à diva* (Lamb.) modestè vel po- tiùs timidè pro seipso. quia supra, V. 2. *Reformidat.* et sic infr. etiam magis, V. 44 et 116. neque enim Personam suam planè hic agnoscit Davus, neque Heri, cum dicit *Tu cum sis quod, ego, &c. V. 40* —et *Tu cum projectis*, V. 53. Mox verò audacior factus, re- spondente Horatio (vel pro Horatio Davo ipso) V. 72. palam et sine ambagibus expostulat.

V. 38. Nasum.

Ut inf. V. 102. De seipso enim loquitur Davus. Sic inf. V. 100. *Cessator Davus*, uti hic *inert*.

V. 53. Tu cum projectis.

Vid. sup. ad Vers. 9 et 37. Dacierus interim planè asserit Augustum Horatio et Annuli Equestris et Augusti Clavi jus dedisse. quâ auctoritate fretus nescio. Quòd si hoc verum est, non necesse est ad Priscum recurrere (Ut sup. V. 9.) neque tantam ti- miditatem Davo tribuere (Ut sup. V. 37.) qui semel tantum personam mutat, quando dixit *dixerit ille* pro seipso. Postea magis audacter; jam statim ad V. 40. *Tu cum, &c.* ut antea, V. 22. *Ad Te inquam.* Sed cum rursus infra, V. 60. *Quo te demisit* non tam commodè de ipso Horatio explicavi potest (quia potius quid factum, quam quid futurum narrat Davus) ideo et rursus fortasse de Prisco illo, Horatii Personam ex- hibente, intelligendum est. Facilis et Naturalis sem- per est Poeta Noster Horatius, et in Compositione atque Ordine minimè obscurus. Vel ergo notissima fuit olim ista Fabula de Prisco; vel simile aliquid sibi evenisse aut evenire potuisse indicat Horatius jam so- brius et securus, non ut olim *Calidus Juventâ Consule Planco*, Od. 14. L. 3. Mox ergo respondet *Non sum Mæchus* (V. 72.) *Non sum*, in præsentia. Ad ista, quæ olim facta sunt, nihil respondet.

V. 72. Non sum.

Quasi dixisset *jam non amasius sum vel futurus sum mæchus*. quia supra Davus *Evâsti? Credo metues, &c.*

εὐαστῶς.

VOL. IV.

V. 75. Rerum.

Stoicè. Sic Arr. L. 3. C. 20. *Πάντας ἰαυτὸς δόλης ποιήσεις, πρῶτον τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰν τὰντα περιποιῇς ἢ ἀφαιρῇς δυνάμεων.* Et Lib. 3. C. 24. *Τὸ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου μέλλοντα ἡττάσθαι, πολὺ προτερον ὑπο τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖ ἡττάσθαι.* Et C. 26: *Τὰ γὰρ πρᾶγματα προτερὸς τῶν κυρίων ἔχουσιν.* Hic ergo per *Res* intelligendum est *τὰ πρᾶγματα* (Scil. Divitiæ, Honores, aliæque exteriora interioribus opposita) infra vero, Ep. 1. V. 19. *Τὰ γινόμενα a Providentiâ scil. vel Fortunâ.* Hic reluctandum; illic cedendum; ut Libertas nobis contingat.

V. 86. Totus teres.

Virtus enim ex Stoico Dogmate ita secum Virtu- tem trahit ut concatenati Annuli. Cruq.

V. 87. Læve morari.

Perf. Sat. 1. V. 64. *Ut per læve sevēros effundat junctura ungues.* Sic sup. Sat. 5. L. 2. V. 32. Nec tamen contemnendus Dacierus, qui altiorē sententi- am petit ex Platone, quem cum cæteris Socraticis Hora- tius sæpe in animo habet.

V. 101. Veterum.

De hoc Morbo vide Ciceronem in Paradox. Stoicis. C. 5. ubi Lucullum planè innuit, callidum nimis et barbaro isti L. Mummio nimis contrarium. Vide Plutarchum in Vitâ: ubi et de Mummio et Cethego. Cicero autem, uti Docti et Viri bonè omnes, Lucullum amavit, qui etiam si his Vitiis detentus, reipublicæ, Phi- losophiæ, et huic præcipuè Socraticæ sive Stoicæ favebat.

V. 118. Opera.

Sic Custodia pro iis ipsis accipitur qui aliquid custodiunt.

SAT. 8.

V. 3. Sic.

Respondet Fundanius (Ut inf. V. 19.) More Co- mico, *Sic ut nunquam melius, i. e. jucundius* (propter Risus et res ridiculas) non *lautius*.

EPIST. LIB. I.

Ep. 1. Confer cum Epist. 7. 10. et Lib. 2. Ep. 2.

V. 10. Ludicra.

Inf. Ep. 14. V. 36.—Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 143. Carmina scil. amatoria, Satyrasque jocosas (quales sunt Sat. 5. 7. 9. L. 1.—et 8. L. 2.) et mordentes de quibus. Vid. Sat. 1. L. 2. V. 21 et 46, &c.

V. 11. Decens.

Τὸ καλὸν καὶ περιεργόν. Secundum Stoicòs. Jam enim ad Socraticam veram et divinam Sapientiam ab infa- nienti illâ (Sup. Od. 34. L. 1.) revertitur Horatius.

V. 16. Agilis—Civilibus.

Πρακτικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς cum Socraticis, Stoicis, &c.— Contra Epicureorum præceptum.

V. 17. Veræ custos rigidusque.

Sic inf. *Veræ Vitæ*. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 144. Vide et Ep. 18. V. 8.—Custos, i. e. nihil præter Virtutem in bonis ducere. Vide Cic. de fin. Bon. et Mal. et quid ibi Cato in initio Libri. Vid. inf. Ep. 6. V. 30.

V. 18. Nunc.

Quasi dixisset *pudet fateri*. Sed revera alius pudor Horatium urget, dum Mæcenati scribit, et Amico molli conversionem suam ad severiorem Philosophiam indicat, et quia olim Aristippum tantoperè laudavit. Vid. Ep. 17.

Relabor—quia olim Epicureis et Cyrenaicis re- nunciavit. Vide Od. 34. L. 1.

V. 19. Subjungere.

Vera lectio. Vide Ciceronem in Acad. Quæst. Lib. 2. 45. prope finem. “Veruntamen (inquit) video quàm suaviter Voluptas sensibus nostris blandi- atur. Labor ut assentiar Epicuro aut Aristippo. re- vocat Virtus vel potius reprehendit manu; pecudum illos motus esse dicit: Hominem jungit Deo, &c.”

Horatius noster melius. Labor (inquit) ut assentiar Socrati, Zenoni, &c. revocat Voluptas. in Aristippi et Epicuri præcepta relabor, Virtutem veram defero. Fortunæ non responso (Ut inf. V. 68.) sed subservio, Deo me nec jungo nec subjungo. *Majora tento* (Ep. 17. V. 24.)

of the School of the sentimental Philosophy. Of late years, he has been as much depreciated as he was heretofore applauded; and in both cases the matter has been carried to an

nasio, Libellis etiam Palæstræque operam dare; æquè segnitèr molliterque Cohortem totam Syracusarum amœnitate frui!"

V. 11. Pila.

Mollissimus Homo Mæcenas assuetus etiam hoc modo Græcari et pilâ ludere. Sup. Sat. 5. V. 48, 49.

V. 18. Unde putas.

Unde? a Naturali appetitu, Naturam ergo sequens non Gulæ serviens suavitèr vives. Huic Unde contrarium est illud Unde infra, V. 31. nec rectè disjunct Cantabrigiensis Noster, qui alias quidem optimè Periochas distinguit.

V. 53. Distabit.

Distabat, omnes ferè M. S. sic sup. V. 2. præcepit. et inf. V. 112, &c. Ofellum novi narrantem, i. e. Narrabat hæc.

V. 55. Alio.

Hæc et sequentia usque ad V. 112. Horatius magis ex suâ quàm Ofelli personâ profert. Confer cum Sat. 2. Lib. 1. V. 24, &c.

V. 64. Hæc.

Inepta mihi videtur Dacieri a Marcilio desumpta Applicatio Lupi et Canis ad Lupum Tiberinum (Sup. V. 31.) et Avidienum Canem (V. 56.)

V. 67. Albuti.

Non hic Avaritia Luxuriæ opponitur, sed Elegantiæ Negligentia. Optimè ergo Torrent. et sic supra Horatius (Sat. 2. Lib. 1.) post Tigellium et Fufidium oppositos ad Rufillum et Gorgonium transit.

V. 73. Sederit.

Quam facile digresseris. Vet. Com. Non quæ placuerit. Hoc enim ad Voluptatem spectat, contra Ofelli sensum.

SAT. 3.

V. 9. Multa.

Sic Ep. 8. V. 3. Hic autem de Scriptis, illic de Moribus.

V. 10. Si vacuum.

Sic Epist. 7. Lib. 1. V. 10. Quod si Bruma, &c. Ubi tamen scripta non promittit, sibi studens et jam senescens: hæc quidem non Juvenis.

V. 11. Platona.

Signantèr nominavit Platonem, ex hujus enim Alcibiade posteriore Materia et Seges Satyræ. Theod. M.

V. 92. Vitium.

i. e. Malum Stoicè. Cruq. sed in utroque sensu. quia inf. sibi nequior. V. 94. Stoicis quidem Dogmatibus omnino in contrarium et perversè utitur Stertinius, Staberî causam agens *επαγωγὴς*. Sic inf. V. 97. Clarus erit.

V. 104. Si quis emat citharas.

Ex Xenophontis Oecon. ut monet Lambin. Vide et *Απομν.* Lib. 1. in fine.

V. 132. Quid enim.

Nil mutandum cum Lambino. Hic enim το *Quid enim?* Idem valet quod *πως εν;* vel *τι εν;* usitatissimum in Dialogis (Vid. Arrian.) ubi Philosophus pro Discipulo sive Adversario respondet vel interrogat *μικρὸς*: quo modo et hic Stertinius pro Parricidâ isto.

V. 169. Antiquo Censu.

Dives antiquo censu, i. e. Mediocri non hodierno; quia Privatus illis Censu erat brevis, (Od. 15. L. 2.) Hodie vero Si quadringentis sex septem millia desint, Plebs eris (Ep. 1.) inde statim infra, V. 178. Quod satis est, &c. et Natura coercet. Sic Antiquis Moribus, Antiquâ Fide, &c.

V. 192. Consulere.

Socratico more. Vicissim.

V. 223. Circumtônuit.

Vide Lamb. et quid Torr. de Bellonæ fanaticis, et sic Stoico quidem sensu Ambitiosi, et Gloriosi, Fanatici: haud absimile quod, sup. Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 23. sed fulgentè, &c.

V. 287. Meneni.

In Gente Meneniâ (celebri quidem) Consulem fuisse quendam non satis sanæ mentis ait Lambinus, ex Dion. Halicar. L. 9. Cruquius tamen invenisse se ait in quibusd. M. S. Menæci. Sed ridiculè prorsus explicat. Nunquam enim Stoicus vel Pius aut Bonus

quisquam inter Antiquos Menæci factum damnavet. Longè aliter Epictetus apud Arrian. L. 3. C. 20.

V. 308. Edificas.

Confer hæc cum iis quæ infra in fine, Sat. 7, et Epist. 1. et cum Epist. 8. et Ep. 15. in fine.

V. 310. Corpore.

Vide Ep. 20. V. 24. et Epist. Augusti in Vitâ Horatii. Sed per brevitate Statuæ, tenuitatem et angustias Rei familiaris præcipuè significat (ut ait Lamb.) ad illam tamen alteram Brevitatem alludens.

V. 323. Cultum.

Non simpliciter de Vestitu sed de omni Vitâ intelligendum; quo sensu sup. Sat. 2. V. 66. Cultum enim appellant interdum Latini Vitæ colendæ Rationem. Lamb. in istum locum, ubi exempla posuit, et inter alia hunc Horatii Versum. (Horatius autem quam lautius vixerit, Genioque in Juventute præcipuè indulserit, in Vestitu tamen non adeò curiosus. Vid. Epist. 1. V. 96. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 31.

SAT. 4.

V. 2. Signa.

Vide Heinsum et Arriani præfationem, et locum Platonis in Thæteto a Daciero citatum. Talia sunt Philosophorum *ὑπομνηματα* (Xenophontis *ἀπομνημονεύματα*) *ἀποσημειώσεις*.

V. 94. Fontes.

Hæc cum dicit Horatius ironicè contra Epicureos, ferè innuit fontes se adire velle Socraticos, quos suis Catiis opposuit, V. 3. Hanc ergo Satyram inter posteriores pono.

SAT. 5.

Hanc Satyram inter istas pono quarum causâ Horatius dictus erat nimis acer. Sat. 1. L. 2. Vide inf. V. 20. Scriptam ergo Satyram hanc credo ante, Sat. 1. L. 2. et Sat. 4. L. 1. — Satyra hæc Νεκρίας Homericæ quasi quoddam *ἀπομνημονεύμα* est. Ubi enim definit Homericus Ulysses consulere Tiresiam, ibi incipit Horatianus. Heinsum.

V. 20. Hoc.

Ingeniosè sed minùs rectè Dacierus in hunc locum, illud hoc ad Paupertatem referens, non ad Contumeliam illam: quippe indignum (ait) Ulyssis ut ita sentiret. Horatius vero antiquiorem potiùs quàm novam et Sanctiorem Comædiam secutus, non modò hic sed ubique in hæc Satyrâ abutitur Personis Ulyssis, Penelopes, et Tiresiæ, et est in hæc Satyrâ in alios acerrimus et contumeliosus, Vid. Sup. Vers. 1.

V. 22. Dic.

De Testamentis enim nondum dixit, et Ulysses hîc quasi tardus inducitur, ignarus scil. morum istorum. et hoc etiam ad Comædiam illam licentiosem facit, et ad Contemptum Ulyssis.

SAT. 6.

V. 7.

Facturus in futuro, quasi olim tale aliquid fecisset. Vid. inf. Sat. seq. V. 110. In hanc partem peccare paululum Horatius fortè potuit, in illam non potuit, quia minimè avarus.

V. 9. Denormat.

Normam nostrates Quadram vocant. Sic Anglicè to break squares, et inf. Ep. 6. V. 35.

V. 17. Quid prius.

Scribit adhuc libenter et gaudens Horatius; ardor tamen minor est. Vid. sup. Sat. 1. V. 7.

V. 38. Signa.

Sigillum Augusti intelligit, cujus custos Mæcenas teste Dione et Xiphilino.

V. 40. Septimus.

Hoc tempore ergo Horatius circiter 34 annos natus.

V. 42. Duntaxat ad hoc.

Nec mentitur Horatius (ut vult Dacierus) nec Mæcenatem notat vel ludit (ut Vet. Com.) sed de initio Amicitiae loquitur. Quàm lentus in hæc re Mæcenas. Vide sup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 60.

V. 65.

an extreme. At length, it is to be hoped, that he will find his due place in the ranks of literature; and that, without being extravagantly extolled, he will continue to be read, and in

V. 65. Meique.

i. e. Amici, Familiares, (ut Vet. Com.) non servi *vernæque procaces*, qui *libatis dapibus*, Herilis mensæ reliquis pascebantur, ut ait Lamb. et Torrent. Hic tamen sibi non constat, cum illud Meique de servis intelligere videtur. Horatium quidem *convivas* servos ipsos eisdemque procaces dixisse vix credibile est: nec magis verisimile in tali Cœtu de Philosophiâ locutum fuisse; adeo ut quæri etiam posset anne graviora sint hæc quam res convivalis ferat: ut ait Torren- tius (ad Verf. 75, infra) immemor conviviorum So- craticorum et Socratici Horatii.

V. 75. Rectumne.

Planè huic inferiori opinioni favet. et sic inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c.—At non ita olim. Vide sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 113.

V. 78. Ex re fabellas.

i. e. Ex usu, utiles, Lambinus. Sed melior Cru- quii Explicatio, viz. *Ex re natus*: hoc est *ex argumento quod controversatur a convivis . . . ut si quis Sto- icus Divitias neget censendas inter Bona, contra Peripa- teticus . . . hic confestim Cervius Apologum, &c.*

V. 91. Prærupti.

Optimè Cruquius. *Quam quæso procul abludit hæc Descriptio ab Horatianâ Villâ in superno Tusculo? ita ut hæc verba Muris Urbani delicati sunt quasi Mæcena- tis Horatium pellicientis ad Vitam Urbanam, vel potiùs Aulicam.*

SAT. 7.

V. 9. Priscus.

Vid. Ep. 15. V. 26. et sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. in initio. Priscus enim hic a Davo pro Horatio ponitur. inde Horatius mox Verf. 21. *Quorsum? Davus, Ad Te*—atque inde, V. 53. *Tu cum projectis, &c.* i. e. *Tu Priscæ.*

V. 19. Levius.

Levius quàm Priscus ille, i. e. quàm Tu, O Horati!

V. 22. Ad Te.

Ad Te scil. quia ut mutabilis et levis ille Priscus, laudas, &c.

V. 37. Ille.

i. e. *Dixerit aliquis ò diva* (Lamb.) modestè vel potiùs timidè pro Seipso. quia supra, V. 2. *Reformidat.* et sic infr. etiam magis, V. 44 et 116. neque enim Personam suam planè hic agnoscit Davus, neque Heri, cum dicit *Tu cum sis quod, ego, &c.* V. 40.—et *Tu cum projectis*, V. 53. Mox verò audacior factus, re- spondente Horatio (vel pro Horatio Davo ipso) V. 72. palam et sine ambagibus expostulat.

V. 38. Nasum.

Ut inf. V. 102. De seipso enim loquitur Davus. Sic inf. V. 100. *Cessator Davus*, uti hic *inert.*

V. 53. Tu cum projectis.

Vid. sup. ad Verf. 9 et 37. Dacierus interim planè asserit Augustum Horatio et Annuli Equestris et Augusti Clavi jus dedisse. quâ auctoritate fretus nescio. Quòd si hoc verum est, non necesse est ad Priscum recurrere (Ut sup. V. 9.) neque tantam ti- miditatem Davo tribuere (Ut sup. V. 37.) qui semel tantum personam mutat, quando dixit *dixerit ille* pro seipso. Postea magis audacter; jam statim ad V. 40. *Tu cum, &c.* ut antea, V. 22. *Ad Te inquam.* Sed cum rursus infra, V. 60. *Quo te demisit* non tam commodè de ipso Horatio explicavi potest (quia potiùs quid factum, quam quid futurum narrat Davus) ideo et rursus fortasse de Prisco illo, Horatii Personam ex- hibente, intelligendum est. Facilis et Naturalis sem- per est Poeta Noster Horatius, et in Compositione atque Ordine minimè obscurus. Vel ergo notissima fuit olim ista Fabula de Prisco; vel simile aliquid sibi evenisse aut evenire potuisse indicat Horatius jam so- brius et securus, non ut olim *Calidus Juventâ Consule Planco*, Od. 14. L. 3. Mox ergo respondet *Non sum Mæchus* (V. 72.) *Non sum*, in præsentia. Ad ista, quæ olim facta sunt, nihil respondet.

V. 72. Non sum.

Quasi dixisset *jam non amasius sum vel futurus sum mæchus*. quia supra Davus *Evâsti? Credo metues, &c.*

ειρωνικως.

VOL. IV.

V. 75. Rerum.

Stoicè. Sic Arr. L. 3. C. 20. *Παυτὰς ἰαυτὸς δαλὺς ποιήσεις, πρῶτον τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰτι δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰν ταῦτα περιποιεῖν ἢ ἀφαιρῆσθαι δυνάμεων.* Et Lib. 3. C. 24. *Τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων μέλλοντα ἡττάσθαι, πολὺν προτιμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖ ἡττάσθαι.* Et C. 26: *Τὰ γὰρ πρᾶγματα προτιμὸς τετῶν κυρίως ἔχουσιν.* Hic ergo per Res intelligendum est τὰ πρᾶγματα (Scil. Divitiæ, Honores, aliæque exteriora interioribus opposita) infra vero, Ep. 1. V. 19. *Τὰ γινόμενα a Providentiâ scil. vel Fortunâ.* Hic reluctandum; illic cedendum; ut Libertas nobis contingat.

V. 86. Totus teres.

Virtus enim ex Stoico Dogmate ita secum Virtu- tem trahit ut concatenati Annuli. Cruq.

V. 87. Læve morari.

Perf. Sat. 1. V. 64. *Ut per læve seversos effundat junctura ungues.* Sic sup. Sat. 5. L. 2. V. 32. Nec tamen contemnendus Dacierus, qui altiore senium petit ex Platone, quem cum cæteris Socraticis Hora- tius sæpe in animo habet.

V. 101. Veterum.

De hoc Morbo vide Ciceronem in Paradox. Stoicis. C. 5. ubi Lucullum planè innuit, callidum nimis et barbaro isti L. Mummio nimis contrarium. Vide Plutarchum in Vitâ: ubi et de Mummio et Cethego. Cicero autem, uti Docti et Viri bonè omnes, Lucullum amavit, qui etiam si his Vitiis detentus, reipublicæ, Phi- losophiæ, et huic præcipuè Socraticæ sive Stoicæ favebat.

V. 118. Opera.

Sic Custodia pro iis ipsis accipitur qui aliquid custodiunt.

SAT. 8.

V. 3. Sic.

Respondet Fundanius (Ut inf. V. 19.) More Co- mico, *Sic ut nunquam melius*, i. e. *jucundius* (propter Risus et res ridiculas) non *lautius*.

EPIST. LIB. 1.

Ep. 1. Confer cum Epist. 7. 10. et Lib. 2. Ep. 2.

V. 10. Ludicra.

Inf. Ep. 14. V. 36.—Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 143. Carmina scil. amatoria, Satyræque jocosas (quales sunt Sat. 5. 7. 9. L. 1.—et 8. L. 2.) et mordentes de quibus. Vid. Sat. 1. L. 2. V. 21 et 46, &c.

V. 11. Decens.

Τὸ καλὸν καὶ πρεπόν. Secundum Stoicòs. Jam enim ad Socraticam veram et divinam Sapientiam ab infan- tienti illâ (Sup. Od. 34. L. 1.) revertitur Horatius.

V. 16. Agilis—Civilibus.

Πρακτικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς cum Socraticis, Stoicis, &c.— Contra Epicureorum præceptum.

V. 17. Veræ custos rigidusque.

Sic inf. *Veræ Vitæ.* Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 144. Vide et Ep. 18. V. 8.—Custos, i. e. nihil præter Virtutem in bonis ducere. Vide Cic. de fin. Bon. et Mal. et quid ibi Cato in initio Libri. Vid. inf. Ep. 6. V. 30.

V. 18. Nunc.

Quasi dixisset *pudet fateri*. Sed revera alius pudor Horatium urget, dum Mæcenati scribit, et Amico molli conversionem suam ad severiorem Philosophiam indicat, et quia olim Aristippum tantoperè laudavit. Vid. Ep. 17.

Relabor—quia olim Epicureis et Cyrenaicis re- nunciavit. Vide Od. 34. L. 1.

V. 19. Subjungere.

Vera lectio. Vide Ciceronem in Acad. Quæst. Lib. 2. 45. prope finem. “Veruntamen (inquit) video quàm suaviter Voluptas sensibus nostris blandi- atur. Labor ut assentiar Epicuro aut Aristippo. re- vocat Virtus vel potiùs reprehendit manu; pecudum illos motus esse dicit: *Hominem jungit Deo, &c.*”

Horatius noster melius. Labor (inquit) ut assentiar Socrati, Zenoni, &c. revocat Voluptas. in Aristippi et Epicuri præcepta relabor, *Virtutem veram* defero. Fortunæ non responso (Ut inf. V. 68.) sed subservio, Deo me nec jungo nec subjungo. *Majora tento* (Ep. 17. V. 24.)

of the School of the sentimental Philosophy. Of late years, he has been as much depreciated as he was heretofore applauded; and in both cases the matter has been carried to an

nasio, Libellis etiam Palæstræque operam dare; æquè segnitèr molliterque Cohortem totam Syracusarum amœnitate frui!"

V. 11. Pila.

Mollissimus Homo Mæcenæ assuetus etiam hoc modo Græcari et pilâ ludere. Sup. Sat. 5. V. 48, 49.

V. 18. Unde putas.

Unde? a Naturali appetitu, Naturam ergo sequens non Gulæ serviens suavitèr vives. Huic Unde contrarium est illud Unde infra, V. 31. nec rectè disjunct Cantabrigiensis Noster, qui alias quidem optimè Periochas distinguit.

V. 53. Distabit.

Distabat, omnes ferè M. S. sic sup. V. 2. præcepit. et inf. V. 112, &c. Ofellum novi narrantem, i. e. Narrabat hæc.

V. 55. Alio.

Hæc et sequentia usque ad V. 112. Horatius magis ex suâ quàm Ofelli personâ profert. Confer cum Sat. 2. Lib. 1. V. 24, &c.

V. 64. Hæc.

Ineptia mihi videtur Dacieri a Marcilio desumpta Applicatio Lupi et Canis ad Lupum Tiberinum (Sup. V. 31.) et Avidienum Canem (V. 56.)

V. 67. Albuti.

Non hic Avaritia Luxuriæ opponitur, sed Elegantiæ Negligentia. Optimè ergo Torrent. et sic supra Horatius (Sat. 2. Lib. 1.) post Tigellium et Fufidium oppositos ad Rufillum et Gorgonium transit.

V. 73. Sederit.

Quam facile digresseris. Vet. Com. Non quæ placuerit. Hoc enim ad Voluptatem spectat, contra Ofelli sensum.

SAT. 3.

V. 9. Multa.

Sic Ep. 8. V. 3. Hic autem de Scriptis, illic de Moribus.

V. 10. Si vacuum.

Sic Epist. 7. Lib. 1. V. 10. Quod si Bruma, &c. Ubi tamen scripta non promittit, sibi studens et jam senescens: hæc quidem non Juvenis.

V. 11. Platona.

Signantèr nominavit Platonem, ex hujus enim Alcibiadè posteriore Materia et Seges Satyræ. Theod. M.

V. 92. Vitium.

i. e. Malum Stoicè. Cruq. sed in utroque sensu. quia inf. sibi nequior. V. 94. Stoicis quidem Dogmatibus omnino in contrarium et perversè utitur Stertinius, Staberi causam agens εὐπαιδευτός. Sic inf. V. 97. Clarus erit.

V. 104. Si quis emat citharas.

Ex Xenophontis Oecon. ut monet Lambin. Vide et Απομ. Lib. 1. in fine.

V. 132. Quid enim.

Nil mutandum cum Lambino. Hic enim το Quid enim? Idem valet quod πως εν; vel τι εν; usitatissimum in Dialogis (Vid. Arrian.) ubi Philosophus pro Discipulo five Adversario respondet vel interrogat μὴ πως; quo modo et hic Stertinius pro Parricidâ isto.

V. 169. Antiquo Censu.

Dives antiquo censu, i. e. Mediocri non hodierno; quia Privatus illis Censu erat brevis, (Od. 15. L. 2.) Hodie vero Si quadringentis sex septem millia desint, Plebs eris (Ep. 1.) inde statim infra, V. 178. Quod satis est, &c. et Natura coerces. Sic Antiquis Moribus, Antiquâ Fide, &c.

V. 192. Consulere.

Socratico more. Vicissim.

V. 223. Circumtônuit.

Vide Lamb. et quid Torr. de Bellonæ fanaticis, et sic Stoico quidem sensu Ambitiosi, et Gloriosi, Fanatici: haud absimile quod, sup. Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 23. sed fulgente, &c.

V. 287. Meneni.

In Gente Meneniâ (celebri quidem) Consulem fuisse quendam non satis sanæ mentis ait Lambinus, ex Dion. Halicar. L. 9. Cruquius tamen invenisse se ait in quibusd. M. S. Menæci. Sed ridiculè prorsus explicat. Nunquam enim Stoicus vel Pius aut Bonus

quisquam inter Antiquos Menæci factum damnavet. Longè aliter Epictetus apud Arrian. L. 3. C. 20.

V. 308. Ædificas.

Confer hæc cum iis quæ infra in fine, Sat. 7, et Epist. 1. et cum Epist. 8. et Ep. 15. in fine.

V. 310. Corpore.

Vide Ep. 20. V. 24. et Epist. Augusti in Vita Horatii. Sed per brevitem Staturæ, tenuitatem et angustias Rei familiaris præcipuè significat (ut ait Lamb.) ad illam tamen alteram Brevitatem alludens.

V. 323. Cultum.

Non simpliciter de Vestitu sed de omni Vita intelligendum; quo sensu sup. Sat. 2. V. 66. Cultum enim appellant interdum Latini Vitæ colendæ Rationem. Lamb. in istum locum, ubi exempla posuit, et inter alia hunc Horatii Versum. (Horatius autem quam lautiùs vixerit, Genioque in Juventute præcipuè indulserit, in Vestitu tamen non adeo curiosus. Vid. Epist. 1. V. 96. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 31.

SAT. 4.

V. 2. Signa.

Vide Heinsum et Arriani præfationem, et locum Platonis in Thæteto a Daciero citatum. Talia sunt Philosophorum τροπικαία (Xenophontis τροπικημομεναια) Αποσημειώσεις.

V. 94. Fontes.

Hæc cum dicit Horatius ironice contra Epicureos, ferè innuit fontes se adire velle Socraticos, quos suis Catiis opposuit, V. 3. Hanc ergo Satyram inter posteriores pono.

SAT. 5.

Hanc Satyram inter istas pono quarum causâ Horatius dictus erat nimis acer. Sat. 1. L. 2. Vide inf. V. 20. Scriptam ergo Satyram hanc credo ante, Sat. 1. L. 2. et Sat. 4. L. 1. — Satyra hæc Νενύιας Homericæ quasi quoddam αποσπασματιον est. Ubi enim definit Homericus Ulysses consulere Tiresiam, ibi incipit Horatianus. Heinsum.

V. 20. Hoc.

Ingeniosè sed minùs rectè Dacierus in hunc locum, illud hoc ad Paupertatem referens, non ad Contumeliam illam: quippe indignum (ait) Ulyssis ut ita sentiret. Horatius vero antiquiorem potiùs quàm novam et Sanctiorem Comædiam secutus, non modò hic sed ubique in hac Satyrâ abutitur Personis Ulyssis, Penelopes, et Tiresiæ, et est in hac Satyrâ in alios acerrimus et contumeliosus, Vid. Sup. Vers. 1.

V. 22. Dic.

De Testamentis enim nondum dixit, et Ulysses hic quasi tardus indacitur, ignarus scil. morum istorum. et hoc etiam ad Comædiam illam licentiosem facit, et ad Contemptum Ulyssis.

SAT. 6.

V. 7.

Facturus in futuro, quasi olim tale aliquid fecisset. Vid. inf. Sat. seq. V. 110. In hanc partem peccare paelulum Horatius fortè potuit, in illam non potuit, quia minimè avarus.

V. 9. Denormat.

Normam nostrates Quadram vocant. Sic Anglicè to break squares, et inf. Ep. 6. V. 35.

V. 17. Quid prius.

Scribit adhuc libenter et gaudens Horatius; ardor tamen minor est. Vid. sup. Sat. 1. V. 7.

V. 38. Signa.

Sigillum Augusti intelligit, cujus custos Mæcenæ teste Dione et Xiphilino.

V. 40. Septimus.

Hoc tempore ergo Horatius circiter 34 annos natus.

V. 42. Duntaxat ad hoc.

Nec mentitur Horatius (ut vult Dacierus) nec Mæcenatem notat vel ludit (ut Vet. Com.) sed de initio Amicitiae loquitur. Quàm lentus in hac re Mæcenæ. Vide sup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 60.

V. 65.

an extreme. At length, it is to be hoped, that he will find his due place in the ranks of literature; and that, without being extravagantly extolled, he will continue to be read, and in

V. 65. Meique.

i. e. Amici, Familiares, (ut Vet. Com.) non servi *vernæque procaces*, qui *libatis dapibus*, Herilis mensæ reliquiis pascebantur, ut ait Lamb. et Torrent. Hic tamen sibi non constat, cum illud *Meique* de servis intelligere videtur. Horatium quidem *convivas* servos ipsos eisdemque procaces dixisse vix credibile est: nec magis verisimile in tali Cœtu de Philosophiâ locutum fuisse; adeo ut quæri etiam posset anne graviora sint hæc quàm res convivalis ferat: ut ait Torren- tius (ad Vers. 75, infra) immemor conviviorum So- craticorum et Socratici Horatii.

V. 75. Rectumne.

Planè huic inferiori opinioni favet. et sic inf. Ep. 16. V. 52, &c.—At non ita olim. Vide sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 113.

V. 78. Ex re fabellas.

i. e. Ex usu, utiles, Lambinus. Sed melior Cru- quii Explicatio, viz. *Ex re natus*: hoc est *ex argumento quod controversatur a convivis ut si quis Sto- icus Divitias neget censendas inter Bona, contra Peripa- teticus . . . hic confestim Cervius Apologum, &c.*

V. 91. Prærupti.

Optimè Cruquius. *Quàm quæso procul abludit hæc Descriptio ab Horatianâ Villâ in superno Tusculo? ita ut hæc verba Muris Urbani delicati sunt quasi Mæcena- tis Horatium pellicientis ad Vitam Urbanam, vel potius Aulicam.*

SAT. 7.

V. 9. Priscus.

Vid. Ep. 15. V. 26. et sup. Sat. 3. L. 1. in initio. Priscus enim hic a Davo pro Horatio ponitur. inde Horatius mox Vers. 21. *Quorsum? Davus, Ad Te*—atque inde, V. 53. *Tu cum projectis, &c.* i. e. *Tu Priscæ.*

V. 19. Levius.

Levius quàm Priscus ille, i. e. quàm Tu, O Horati!

V. 22. Ad Te.

Ad Te scil. quia ut mutabilis et levis ille Priscus, laudas, &c.

V. 37. Ille.

i. e. *Dixerit aliquis ò diva* (Lamb.) modestè vel potiùs timidè pro Seipso. quia supra, V. 2. *Reformidat.* et sic infr. etiam magis, V. 44 et 116. neque enim Personam suam planè hic agnoscit Davus, neque Heri, cum dicit Tu cum sis quod, ego, &c. V. 40.—et *Tu cum projectis*, V. 53. Mox verò audacior factus, re- spondente Horatio (vel pro Horatio Davo ipso) V. 72. palam et sine ambagibus expostulat.

V. 38. Nafum.

Ut inf. V. 102. De seipso enim loquitur Davus. Sic inf. V. 100. *Cessator Davus*, uti hic *invers.*

V. 53. Tu cum projectis.

Vid. sup. ad Vers. 9 et 37. Dacierus interim planè asserit Augustum Horatio et Annuli Equestris et Augusti Clavi jus dedisse. quâ auctoritate fretus nescio. Quod si hoc verum est, non necesse est ad Priscum recurrere (Ut sup. V. 9.) neque tantam timiditatem Davo tribuere (Ut sup. V. 37.) qui semel tantum personam mutat, quando dixit *dixerit ille* pro seipso. Postea magis audaciter; jam statim ad V. 40. *Tu cum, &c.* ut antea, V. 22. *Ad Te inquam.* Sed cum rursus infra, V. 60. *Quo te demisti* non tam commodè de ipso Horatio explicavi potest (quia potius quid factum, quam quid futurum narrat Davus) ideo et rursus fortasse de Prisco illo, Horatii Personam ex- hibente, intelligendum est. Facilis et Naturalis sem- per est Poeta Noster Horatius, et in Compositione atque Ordine minimè obscurus. Vel ergo notissima fuit olim ista Fabula de Prisco; vel simile aliquid sibi evenisse aut evenire potuisse indicat Horatius jam so- brius et securus, non ut olim *Calidus Juventâ Consule Planco*, Od. 14. L. 3. Mox ergo respondet *Non sum Mæchus* (V. 72.) *Non sum*, in præsentia. Ad ista, quæ olim facta sunt, nihil respondet.

V. 72. Non sum.

Quasi dixisset *jam non amatus sum vel futurus sum mæchus*. quia supra Davus *Evâsti? Credo metues, &c.*

εὐαντιστός.

Vol. IV.

V. 75. Rerum.

Stoicè. Sic Arr. L. 3. C. 20. Πάντασθ' ἐαυτοῖς δόξης ποιήσεις, πρῶτον τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ταῦτα περιποιεῖν ἢ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δυνάμενων. Et Lib. 3. C. 24. Τοῦ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου μελλόντα ἵπτασθαι, πολὺ προτέρων ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖ ἵπτασθαι. Et C. 26. Τα γὰρ πρᾶγματα προτερὰς τετῶν κυρίως ἔχοντων. Hic ergo per *Res* intelligendum est *τα πρᾶγματα* (Scil. Divitiæ, Honores, aliæque exteriora interioribus opposita) infra vero, Ep. 1. V. 19. *Τὰ γινόμενα* a Providentiâ scil. vel Fortunâ. Hic reluctandum; illic cedendum; ut Libertas nobis contingat.

V. 86. Totus teres.

Virtus enim ex Stoico Dogmate ita secum Virtu- tem trahit ut concatenati Annuli. Cruq.

V. 87. Læve morari.

Perf. Sat. 1. V. 64. *Ut per læve seversos effundat junctura ungues.* Sic sup. Sat. 5. L. 2. V. 32. Nec tamen contemnendus Dacierus, qui altiore sensum petit ex Platone, quem cum cæteris Socraticis Hora- tius sæpe in animo habet.

V. 101. Veterum.

De hoc Morbo vide Ciceronem in Paradox. Stoicis. C. 5. ubi Lucullum planè innuit, callidum nimis et barbaro isti L. Mummio nimis contrarium. Vide Plutarchum in Vitâ: ubi et de Mummio et Cethego. Cicero autem, uti Docti et Viri bonè omnes, Lucullum amavit, qui etiam si his Vitiis detentus, reipublicæ, Phi- losophiæ, et huic præcipuè Socraticæ sive Stoicæ favebat.

V. 118. Opera.

Sic Custodia pro iis ipsis accipitur qui aliquid custodiunt.

SAT. 8.

V. 3. Sic.

Respondet Fundanius (Ut inf. V. 19.) More Co- mico, *Sic ut nunquam melius, i. e. jucundius* (propter Risus et res ridiculas) non *lautius*.

EPIST. LIB. 1.

Ep. 1. Confer cum Epist. 7. 10. et Lib. 2. Ep. 2.

V. 10. Ludicra.

Inf. Ep. 14. V. 36.—Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 143. Carmina scil. amatoria, Satyrasque jocosas (quales sunt Sat. 5. 7. 9. L. 1.—et 8. L. 2.) et mordentes de quibus. Vid. Sat. 1. L. 2. V. 21 et 46, &c.

V. 11. Decens.

Τὸ καλὸν καὶ ὀρεῖον. Secundum Stoicos. Jam enim ad Socraticam veram et divinam Sapientiam ab insa- nienti illâ (Sup. Od. 34. L. 1.) revertitur Horatius.

V. 16. Agilis—Civilibus.

Πρακτικός καὶ πολιτικός cum Socraticis, Stoicis, &c.— Contra Epicureorum præceptum.

V. 17. Veræ custos rigidusque.

Sic inf. *Veræ Viæ*. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 144. Vide et Ep. 18. V. 8.—Custos, i. e. nihil præter Virtutem in bonis ducere. Vide Cic. de fin. Bon. et Mal. et quid ibi Cato in initio Libri. Vid. inf. Ep. 6. V. 30.

V. 18. Nunc.

Quasi dixisset *pudet fateri*. Sed revera alius pudor Horatium urget, dum Mæcenati scribit, et Amico molli conversionem suam ad severiorem Philosophiam indicat, et quia olim Aristippum tantoperè laudavit. Vid. Ep. 17.

Relabor—quia olim Epicureis et Cyrenaicis re- nunciavit. Vide Od. 34. L. 1.

V. 19. Subjungere.

Vera lectio. Vide Ciceronem in Acad. Quæst. Lib. 2. 45. prope finem. “Veruntamen (inquit) video quàm suaviter Voluptas sensibus nostris blandi- atur. Labor ut assentiar Epicuro aut Aristippo. re- vocat Virtus vel potius reprehendit manu; pecudum illos motus esse dicit: Hominem jungit Deo, &c.”

Horatius noster melius. Labor (inquit) ut assentiar Socrati, Zenoni, &c. revocat Voluptas. in Aristippi et Epicuri præcepta relabor, *Virtutem veram* defero. Fortunæ non responso (Ut inf. V. 68.) sed subservio, Deo me nec jungo nec subjungo. *Majore tento* (Ep. 17. V. 24.)

* 4 F

in some degree to be admired. This tribute, at least, is due to his "Inquiry concerning Virtue," and to his "Moralists;" and in a great measure to his "Advice to an Author."

But

V. 24.) *presentibus* (uti Aristippus ipse) *haud æquus*. *Et mihi res, non me rebus*, &c. In hac ergo Epistolâ posteriorem sententiam, in illâ 17â. priorem probat. Hic senescens, illic nondum.

Vide ipsa Aristippi Verba, Mores, Conatus, in Dialogo isto Socratico Xenophontis Απομν. L. 2. in initio. et inter alia ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοι (ἔφη δ' Ἀριστιππος) ἔδωκε τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ ἐμαυτὸν ταύτῃ. Quæ verba Horatius proculdubio in animo habuit, cum scripserit *subjungere*. Sic Epictetus apud Arrian.

Vulgatum est Philosophiæ præceptum το συνταττειν vel ὑποταττειν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις (Vide Simplicium in Cap. Ench. 78. et Arrian. L. 1. C. 12.) το συνάρροσαι τὴν αὐτὴ βέλῃσιν τοῖς γινόμενοις. Lib. 2. C. 14. Sic in Enchirid. 77. 18. Sic M. Ant. L. 4. 23. et Lib. 6. 39.—Vid. sup. Sat. 2. L. 1. V. 76. et infra Ep. 17. 24. Vide et infr. hujus Epistolæ, V. 69.—Sic et Eurip. Marco citatus L. 7. 38. Τοῖς πραγμάσι γὰρ αὐχὺ δυνάσθαι χρεὼν· hic vero potius τα γινόμενα quàm τα πράγματα. Vid. Sat. 7. L. 2. V. 75.

V. 26. *Æquè neglectum*.

Morbum fatetur, cujus remedium Philosophia; pro quâ sequens Apologia est: ut Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 41. De Morbo ergo in sequentibus agitur. Mæcenas vero ut nec Morbo sic neque Remedia fidem exhibet. sic enim in fine *Nec Medici credis nec curatoris egere*. V. 102.

V. 30. Glyconis.

Glycon vel Lycon Philosophus. Vide Diog. Laert. et Heinsii Notam.

V. 51. Sine pulvere.

Sine pulvere. Aul. Gell. L. 5. C. 6. *impulverea*, minus gloriosa. Duplicem ergo pono Interrogationem, viz. *Quis contemnat?* Et cui, quæso, *spes, cui ipsa conditio palmæ sine pulvere dulcis esse potest?* Philosophica Horatio usitata. Sic Arrian. L. 1. 29. Εμε νυν κατατρεθῆναι, &c. Sic etiam de Hercule, C. 6. et Lib. 4. C. 10. et Lib. 2. C. 11. Labores (inquit) qui pro virtute capiuntur, etiam dulces sunt: Isti pro divitiis infructuosi, miseri. Ad hos igitur confuge, ut illos devites. Sic Ep. 6. V. 30. *Fortis omiſſis Hoc age deliciis*. Fortis, i. e. Labores tolerans, amans. Φιλοπονός.

V. 52. Vilius argentum.

Editor Noster Cantabrigiensis novam hic periocham ponit, quasi verba hæc sint Jani, qui concedit Aurum reverà virtutibus vilius esse; pecuniam tamen primùm quærendam; quia post nummos Virtus comparari potest, et Laus. Sine Nummis Laus nulla. Jocosè fane et more Horatiano.

V. 69. Præfens.

Præfens Philosophus. Monitor viam monstrans, exemplo probans, ipse Vir Bonus, te melior. De quo sup. V. 48.

Aptat—Aptare idem est quod, Sup. V. 19. *Subjungere* rebus vel fortunæ.

V. 71. Judiciis.

Hoc idem est quod Inf. Ep. 2. Lib. 2. V. 154. *Monitoribus iisdem*. Hinc sequens Fabula de leone ægroto, cujus in Antrum (i. e. Aulam ditantem et corrumpentem) qui introitum suadet Animalium vel Hominum Vulgus, malè suadet et hortatur, malus est *Judex, Monitor, Medicus*. Sup. V. 25. Confer etiam cum Ep. 10. V. 10 et 34.

V. 76. Quid.

Quod Remedium? cum malum inde *non fit levius?* (Ut Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 150.) Quod consilium? cum omnes discrepant, imo Sibi-ipsis non consentiunt. Sic inf. statim, V. 81, 82.

V. 108. Pituita.

Jocatur proculdubio Horatius: non sic quasi ad Ingenium et Dogmata Epicurea rediisset, ut ingeniosè Torrentius. Neque enim tam Stoicos quam Seipsum hic more suo irridet Horatius; qui quamvis naturâ Biliosus potius quam Pituitosus dici poterit, cum tamen Pituita (ut aiunt Medici Veteres) cerebrum alit, idcirco non minus Cerebro quam *Stomacho tumultum fert*, Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 76.—et cerebroſos sicuti et tristes efficit, cum malè affecta et molesta est. Sic Persius Horatii imitator, Sat. 2. V. 57. *Somnia pi-*

tuita qui purgatissima mittant. Est etiam species Pituitæ Vitrea: et Persius de Irâ loquens, Sat. 3. V. 8. *turgescit vitrea bilis* quam noster *splendidam bilem* dixit, Sat. 3. L. 2. 141. Idem Humor vitreus, five pituitosus, five biliosus, lippitudinis etiam causa fuit Horatio. Biliosis enim siccam lippitudinem molestam scribit Galenus. In duplicem ergo Morbum Oculorum et Cerebri jocatur Horatius, qui alias sæpe et lippum se et cerebrosum vel iracundum fateatur. Sapiens vero quocunque modo ad Iras five Querelas descendens, sanus non amplius est, sensu Stoico: Et sic præcipuè sanus nisi cum Pituita molesta est. Eodem modo et hodiè abutimur Verbis et Notionibus Medicorum, cum pro Melancholici, Morosi, et Queruli Hominis affectu substituiamus vulgatum illud Anglicum *Spleen* et *Vapours*. Atque hæc, ni fallor, Pituita est illa *Molesta* jucundissimi Horatii. De Melancholico affectu in Sapiente-Stoico, Vide Arr. L. 1. C. 18. in fine—et L. 2. C. 17.—et de tertio et perfectissimo Loco. L. 3. C. 2. Τριτος εστιν ο ηδη τοῖς προκοπτησιν ἐπιβαλλων, ο περι την αυτων τῶτων ασφαλειαν, ἵνα μηδ' ἐν ὑπνοῖς λαθῇ τις ἀνεξέτατος παρελθῶσα φαντασία, μηδ' ἐν οἰώσει, μηδε μελαγχολωντος, &c. Hæc verò inter Myſteria Disciplinæ: neque intelligunt Commentatores.

EPIST. 3.

V. 29. Si patriæ volumus.

Ad Stoicam ergo non Epicuream Philosophiam hæc pertinent.

V. 32. At.

Rectius *Ac*—et sic interrogationis Nota non hic sed infra ponenda post *feros*.

V. 33. *Heu calidus sanguis, heu rerum, &c.*

Cantabrigiensis noster plurimum M. S. lectionem hanc vulgatæ anteposit. rectè equidem. Horatius enim Philosophum agit, et (uti sæpe in Sermonibus et Epistolis Gravioribus) Stoicum. Stoicis vero Perturbatio omnis ab opinione falsâ: idemque *Calidus Sanguis* (i. e. Ira) et *Inſcitia*. Sic sup. Sat. 3. L. 2. 43.

EPIST. 4.

V. 7. Dederant.

Dederunt M. Si omnes. Nondum enim pauper Tibullus, sed Juvenis et Dives; Amoribus vero indulgens, et inter Querelas Curasque Amatorias vitam degens. Sic inf. V. 12.

Fruendi—non dissipandi; neque talem rem tali nomine unquam designaret Horatius. Quem Vide sup. in Sat. 2. V. 62.—et Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 7.

V. 12. Inter spem curamque.

Hæc omnia ad Amores præcipuè, non ad infortuniam mutatumve Tibulli statum pertinent. Exprobratio sanè esset talis Commemoratio. Confer hæc cum istis ad eundem, Od. 33. L. 1. Vide etiam quæ ad Valgium, Od. 9. L. 2. et *quas Amor curas habet* (ut Epod. 2.) Vide Od. 4 et 5.—et 8. L. 2. Quas iras—

V. 16. Epicuri.

Epicureos irridens (Ut sup. Sat. 8. L. 2.) Epicureum tamen seipsum profitetur; nondum, ut videtur, reversus ad fortiorem istam Disciplinam Socraticam (de quâ Vid. sup. Ep. 1. et inf. Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 45. et Art. Poet. Vers. 309. atque alibi) quanquam illuc spectat, sup. V. 4 et 5. ideoque tanquam discedens hinc parvam Sectæ habet reverentiam. Rectius hoc.

Porcum—ineptus quidam Epicuri fautor Meibonius in Diog. Laert. ad Vitam Epicuri, *parcum* non *porcum* legit, ridiculè prorsus.

EPIST. 6.

V. 1. Nil admirari.

Nil admirari, &c. V. 9. *Qui timet*, mirabitur et cupiet. *Qui cupiet, metuet quoque* (Inf. Ep. 16. V. 65.) Neque hoc solum: in ipsâ enim admiratione timor (ait) quidam inest; sicuti et spes: eodem modo et in timore admiratio; quia *pavor* (i. e. perturbatio, ἐκπληξίς, ἐκστασις) utrique affectui communis est, et ex utriusque

But whatever becomes of Lord Shaftesbury's character as a writer, he was excellent as a man. This appears from every testimony that remains concerning him. "It must be owned,"

utriusque objectis nascitur. Ex falsis bonis, falsa gaudia, viz. Lætitia, exultatio, quæ et in malis numerantur. Hinc statim infra *Gaudeat an doleat—quid ad rem.* Paradoxon est Stoicum. Vide Ciceron. Tusc. L. 4. et Laertium in Zenone. Totaque hæc Epistola ex Stoicorum, non Epicureorum, Cyrenaiorum, (ut creditur) præceptis deprompta. Hinc illud inf. V. 16. *Ultra quam satis est, &c.* i. e. perturbatè, cum istâ admiratione et *ἐμπληξίῃ*: ad quod pertinet etiam præceptum illud seu cautio de usu *ορεξέως*; Epict. Ench. C. 7. et Arr. L. 3. C. 13. in fine. Hæc omnia Stoicè. Et sic infr. V. 34. *Si Virtus hoc Una potest dare.* In sequentibus verò perpetuâ Ironiâ utitur: *Si res sola*, V. 47.—*Si fortunatum species*, V. 49. *Si benè qui cænat*, V. 56.—Notandum est perpetuum illud *το σὺ*. Postremò Versu 65. *Si Mimnermus, &c.* Ubi rursus *Voluptates* unâque Voluptatum Præconem Poetam damnat et aspernatur; minimè verò (ut creditur) laudat, amicove suo commendat.

V. 11. Improvisa, &c.

Cic. Tusc. Quæst. L. 4. Simul objecta species cuiuspiam est quod Bonum videatur, ad id adipiscendum impellit ipsa Natura. Id cum constanter prudenterque fit, ejusmodi Appetitionem Stoici *βελήσιον* appellant.

Et Seneca, Ep. 77. Stultis Fortunæ credentibus omnis videtur nova Rerum et inopinata Facies, &c.

V. 31. Virtutem verba.

Sic enim Epicurei de Justo et Pulchro. *Οὐκ ἦν τι καὶ ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, &c.* (Diog. Laert. Epicur.) *τοῖς μὴ φωναῖς κεναῖς ἑαυτὸς συνταραττεσθῆναι.* Sic et illud *μὴδὲν εἶναι το καλον ἢ ἀρα το ενδοξον.* Arr. L. 2. C. 22.

V. 65. Vivas.

Ironicè. Jam enim Horatius non amplius ad exemplum Mimnermi amatoria scribit. Vid. Ep. 1. 10. et Ep. 2. L. 2. 145, &c. et etiam Epist. sequentem.

EPIST. 7.

V. 3. Sanum.

Annotandum est, quòd etiam si Horatius hic de Curâ corporis solum loquitur, hæc omnia de Animo debent intelligi. Confer hanc Ep. cum primâ ad Mæcenatem, atque etiam cum 6mâ et 10mâ. Inf. et Lib. 2. 2dâ. Vide etiam Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 18. ubi simul et Animi et Corporis Sanitatem ab eadem causâ scil. a secessu ducit.

V. 12. Leget.

Quamquam tota hæc Epistola (uti sup. prima) Apologia est Horatii pro Studiis suis et Philosophiæ amore, cum tamen neque libros neque Philosophiam apertè nominat, hoc solum *leget* ad rem nauticam spectare credo, *leget littora*—Confer cum Sat. 3. L. 2. V. 9, 10, 11. De Studiis ergo intelligendum.

V. 12. Contractusque leget.

Vid. supra Annot.—At si hoc verbum *leget* de lecturâ intelligendum est (quod suadet revera similis locus, L. 1. Sat. 6. *Lecto aut scripto quod me tacitum juvet*, in priori tamen sensu *το contractus* accipiendum est, et ad vitam et secessum referendum, non ad Corpus, neque ad Animum, quo sensu Cruquius. Vide Senec. de Tranquil. C. 9. *Non potest tanta varietas et Iniquitas Casuum ita depelli, ut non multum procillare irruat magna Armamenta pendentibus.* Sequitur *Habitare contractus*. Huic enim contrarium est *Vela pandere vel explicare*. Sic idem Seneca, Ibid. C. 3. in fine.—*Utcunque Fortuna permittit ita aut explicabimus nos aut contrahemus.* Vide et ipsum Horat. Od. 10. L. 2. *Rectius vives, &c.* et Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 113. *Non latius usum.*

V. 22. Dignis paratum.

i. e. *Dignis donis dandis* (uti Cruquius) vel *Dignis viris largiri liberaliter*, ut cæteri Comment.—Ego Horatium credo alludere ad notum aliquod Poetæ vel Philosophi Dictum, quale in Cebetis Tab. de sapiente Divite cui mandatur *συνομιλῶς ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν βέλαν καὶ ἀσφαλὴν δόσιν*, non tamen ut ignoret *quid distent æra, &c.* Sapiens enim Fortunæ bona neque spernit neque odit. Merens ergo dat. Sic Tu mihi meritum tuum et laudem (i. e. Virtutem) agnoscanti. Vid. inf. V. 38 et 39.

V. 34. Hæc ego si compellor.

Si Tu (Mæcenas) nuperam hanc otii et secessus electionem, non, ut profiteor, a vero judicio et Deliciarum contemptu, sed a plenitudine, copiâ, et indolentiâ ortam credis, ideoque Me tanquam ingratum perstringis falsumque, quia pauper olim ad Aulam, repleturus me scilicet, accessi; nunc dives liberalitate tuâ factus, et laborem omnem moramque circa Amicos fugiens recedo; ostendam contrarium. En! paratus sum *donata reponere*, pauperque rursus fieri, et exemplo monstrare, me meam libertatem otiumque (Divitiis Arabum cariorem) etiam in pauperrimo Statu amplecti velle. *Tenuem me rursus macrumque* videbis; in *cumeram* vero non facile sicut antea *repentem*. Recipe ergo *Magis apta Tibi tua dona*. Te obsecro et obtestor (ut olim Philippum Vulteius) *vita me redde priori*. Confer hæc omnia cum Ep. 1. 10. et L. 2. 2.

V. 37. Verecundum.

Non temere ergo in *cumeram* *repperat* (ut sup. V. 39.) sed coactus quasi (ut inf. Vulteius, V. 60.) et dona Mæcenatis larga recusans sæpe (ut sup. Hospes) haud sponte Dives factus est.

V. 39. Latus.

Non dolens, non te incusans, vel minùs amans, imò laudans, *nec verbo parcus*. Hoc modo Libertatem meumque vivendi morem sine invidiâ vel ingratitudinis suspitione retinebo. Sic *Dignum me etiam præstabo*. V. 24.

V. 43. Tibi.

Tibi scil. Magnati, Aulico, Elegantiarum Arbitro, magis convenientia, non mihi simplici viro, *inopis et pusilli animi* (ut Sat. 4. L. 1.) otium ignobile, secessum, et studia amanti.

V. 46. Strenuus.

Fabula five Historia hæc prioris Fabulæ (Vulpeculæ scil. et Mustelæ) Epanorthosis est. Ostendit Horatius se non tam suâ culpâ quam Mæcenatis dolis in Aulicam Vitam transiisse et Libertatem perdidisse. —Confer hæc cum Fabulâ Murium S. 6. L. 2. et Cervi inf. Ep. 10.

V. 52. Demetri.

Confer hæc cum Sat. 6. Lib. 1. V. 54. Demetrius hic pro Virgilio et Vario, ut Philippus pro Mæcenate, Vulteius pro Horatio ponitur.

V. 56. Præconem.

Præconem vel Coactorem ut inf. V. 65. Talis fuit Horatii Pater. Nec longè abfuit a tali quæstu Horatius ipse postquam amisit paterna bona. Vid. sup. Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 86.—et Ep. 2. L. 2. V. 50.

V. 78. Laudare.

Si Horatius Aulam Voluptatis.

V. 85. Immoritur studiis.

Vulteius avaritiâ, Horatius Luxuriâ, Amore captus: Vulteius Rusticis Studiis, Horatius Urbanis, Aulicis Negotiis et Elegantiss, parasiticis Mensis, Poeticis Laboribus obstrictus est. Vid. Sat. 6. L. 2. —et Ep. 2. L. 2. 50, &c. — usque ad 145. Vide etiam Sat. 7. Lib. 2. 53.—et Sat. 4. L. 2. in fine.—et inf. Ep. 10. V. 10.

EPIST. 8.

V. 9. Offendar—Irascar.

Confer hæc cum Satyrâ 3. L. 2. in initio et fine. Ubi correptus a Damasippo ridiculo quidem nec verè amico, satis tamen et Veturum hunc suum, cæteraque Vitia et asperitatem erga Monitores explicat, honestè quidem et simpliciter. Sic Sat. 7. ejusdem Libri cum Davo. De *Irâ* hæc suâ et *Rabie horrendâ* (uti amplificat Damasippus ille Pseudo-Stoicus, V. 323.) Vide Ep. 20. V. 25. *irasci celerem*. et in Sat. illâ septimâ L. 2. V. 34.—et sequentia, etiam quæ in fine *ὀπακρικῶς* et quasi in scenâ. Vide etiam Sat. 4. L. 1. V. 135, 6, 7. et Sat. 3. L. 1. V. 29.

EPIST. 10.

V. 10. Liba.

Mensas scil. parasiticas et regias ut in Augusti Ep. fragmentis: De eodem tædio vitæ Aulicæ, poeticæ, assen-

owned," says Bishop Warburton, "that this Lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man and a writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country (u)." There

(u) Dedication to the Divine Legation, *ubi supra*, p. 28.

assentatoriæ, Desiderioque Libertatis et Philosophiæ, Vide Epist. 1. 7. et Lib. 2. 2.—et hanc ipsam inf. V. 33, 34, &c. et Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 80.

V. 11. Pane.

Sic Perf. Sat. 5. *Frugæ Cleantheæ*. et Max. Tyr. Diff. 12. *εγω δε ποθω προς την ευτυχίαν τροφήν λογών*, &c. Huic opponitur, in ludibrium, το πλάκονταριον, Stoicè pro luxu. Vide Arrianum.

V. 12. Vivere naturæ, &c.

i. e. Vivere feligentem quæ secundum Naturam, &c. Cic. de Fin. Bon. Lib. 3. Stoicè Summum Bonum.

EPIST. 15.

V. 26. Mænius.

Inconstantiam suam fatetur Horatius. Hic cum Mænio, sup. (Sat. 3.) cum Tigellio se confert. Hoc vitium Horatii perstringit quoque Davus sub Personâ Prisci. Sat. 7. L. 2.

V. 42. Nimirum hic ego sum.

Sic Sat. 7. L. 2. V. 23, &c. et Ep. 8. V. 12.

Talis ergo Horatius hæcenus: Posthac magis confans. Vide Ep. 7. V. 44. et Ep. 14. V. 16.

V. 45. Vos.

Non sic postea Horatius. Vide Ep. 10. V. 8.

EPIST. 16.

V. 52. Oderunt.

Sic Stoici: Epicurei verò aliter; et est quidem hæc Epistola tota Stoica. Vid. inf. V. 65.

V. 54. Sit spes fallendi.

Negabant Epicurei Spem Secreti ullam esse in Furtis: ideoque (non aliâ de Causâ) a furto abstinendum. Contra verò Stoicis spem esse: sed ad Amicitiam et Fidem non *Usum* sed *Rectum* nos trahere. (Sup. Sat. 6. L. 2.) Hic verò contra Epicureos Disputatio est, et quæ sequuntur statim (viz. *Damnum est non facinus*) omnia Stoica sunt.

EPIST. 17.

V. 24. Ferè præsentibus æquum.

Ægrè quidem se præsentibus rebus et concessis subjungentem (ut sup. Ep. 1. V. 19.) sed majore et splendidiora tentantem, ut sup. V. 20.) Vid. Sat. 2. L. 1. 76.

V. 42. Experiens.

In hac vitâ atque arte parasiticâ hic se jactat Horatius, sibi placens. Non ita posthac. Vid. inf. Ep. 18. 86 et 107.—et sup. Ep. 10. 10.—et Ep. 1. L. 1.

EPIST. 18.

V. 86. Inexpertis.

Non immeritò Horatius jam expertus hoc dicit. Scriptam ergo hanc Epistolam post præcedentem credo, ubi se jactat, V. 35 —Paululum equidem distat parasitica hæc potentis Amici cultura ab istâ infami sup. Sat. 5. L. 2. Confer hæc quæ sequuntur cum istis præceptis, præcipuè 90, &c.

V. 107. Ut mihi vivam.

Ut mihi non aliis; potentibus scil. Amicis, divitibus, Aulicis; uti olim Ego, jam Tu. *Dulcis enim inexpertis*, &c.—Sup. V. 86.—Tibi interim vitam istam parasiticam sequenti, et inexperto, ego expertus Consilium do. Talis est hæc Epistola ad Lollium. In præcedenti, V. 17. ad Scævam, nondum adeo expertus Horatius, Vitam parasiticam laudat.

EPIST. 19.

V. 10. Edixit.

Ennius certè, vel alius aliquis, de quibus supra mentio est. Eodem modo de Poetis, inf. in Arte Poet. V. 295, &c.

EP. 20.

V. 21. Majores.

De Militiâ sub Bruto loquitur. Vide Sat. 6. L. 1. V. 48.—et inf. Epist. 2. V. 50.

V. 23. Me primis, &c.

Bruto scil. postea Mæcenati et Augusto. his domi et in pace, illi in bello.

EPISTOLARUM.

LIB. 2. EP. 1.

V. 145. Fescennina, &c.

Vide et apud Græcos quid simile evenit. Ars Poet. V. 282. Confer etiam cum Aristot. Poet. C. 4.—Ubi de ortu Comædiæ agit. Obscœna nempe et rustica olim. Etiam suo tempore in quibusdam civitatibus τα φάρλικά permansere. Post illum rursus nova Comædia politior et emendatior Caput extulit. *Lex est accepta*, &c. Ars Poet. 283.—Imperfectam esse Comædiam suo tempore planè sentiebat Philosophus.—Nam quoad Tragædiam hæc habet: και πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλὼσα ἡ τραγωδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ εἰσχετὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν. Vide Liv. Lib. 7. C. 2.

V. 168. Creditur.

Τοσούτω δὲ ἐν λόγῳ δεῖ μάλλον φιλοπονεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅσω ἐξ ἐλαττοτέρων βοηθημάτων ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ τῶν μετῶν. Arist. Rhetor. L. 3. C. 2.

V. 170. Plautus.

Inf. Ars Poet. V. 270. Negat Plauto in personis repræsentandis illud ἠθικὸν adesse. Heins: sic sup. V. 58. *Properare* dicitur Plautus, Terentius *Arte vincere*. Terentio quantum favet Horatius, Vide sup. Sat. 3. L. 2. V. 2, &c. nisi quoddam omnino Græca sint, et ex Menandri fonte potiùs quam e Terentio sumpta.

V. 173. Dossennus.

Alius Poeta Comicus Romanus: de quo Plinius, L. 14. C. 13.

EP. 2.

V. 20. Dixi, &c.

Justificatio.

V. 26. Luculli, &c.

Excusatio 1^{ma}. a Fortunâ mutata, Libertate adeptâ. Confer hæc cum Epist. 7. V. 29, &c. et cum Annot. —Uti hic militis sic supra Vulpeculæ sub Imagine Horatius seipsum Fortunæque suas describit. Fortiùs hic quidem, nec seipsum purgans, aut ab exemplo recedens: quippe hic Amico Solùm, illic Patrono rem exponit. Neque militis hoc exemplum ferre potuisset, ut diceret, *En! Zonam reddo et Tibi tua dona relinquo*. Nullum ibi jus relictum Mæcenati, nulla causa postulandi, expostulandive. Zonam enim primam (i. e. rem familiarem paternam) propriam habuit et nulli debitam: etiam secundam illam a Mæcenate datam, laboribus suis (inf. V. 50, &c.) ingenio studiisque non aliter quàm stipendium justum meruit. Sed hoc ne diceret Mæcenati, Modestia prohibuit: aliâ ergo imagine sibi minùs favorabili ad illum usus est, politè admodum, at non minùs liberè.

V. 45. Academi.

Ep. 4. L. 1. V. 4. Veterem veram et genuinam Academiam intelligit, unde postea ad Epicureos deflexerat, nunc tandem rediit; atque ut supra, Ep. 1. V. 11. *Quid verum atque Decens curat*, &c. *agilis et civilis* fit, V. 16. *Virtutisque veræ rigidus satelles*.

V. 51. Paupertas.

Sic Luculli militem, sup. V. 26. Nunc verò invitanti Floro vel Neroni, imo Mæcenati ipsi et Augusto recusât Noster.

V. 55. Singula.

Excusatio 2^{da} ab Impotentia.

V. 58. Denique non omnes.

Excusatio 3^{ta} a Discrepantiâ.

V. 65. Præter cætera.

Excusatio 4^{ta} ab Occupationibus.

V. 87. Frater erat.

Excusatio 5^{ta} ab Adulatione et Invidiâ Poetarum.

V. 106. Ridentur mala.

Excusatio 6^{ta} a Difficultate et Labore operis.

V. 126. Prætulerim Scriptor.

Excusationum Confirmatio, et Conclusio e superioribus

There is a passage in one of the Earl of Shaftesbury's Letters to Robert Moleworth, Esq; which is worthy of notice. "I am persuaded," says his Lordship, "to think no vices will grow

oribus in hunc modum. Poeta, si ineptus, Beatus; si sanus, miser. Ineptus vero fieri quis vult? Miser quidem nemo sequitur ergo, V. 141. Nimirum sapere est, &c.

V. 141. Sapere.

Quia prius dixerat *Quam sapere et ringi*. Sed verus scribere, negat omnino sapientis esse. Est ergo Epanorthosis istius Dicti, sup. V. 128.—Nunc vero abjectis nugis et erroribus Poetarum (qui vel infani vel miseri) ad Philosophiam et sui emendationem se convertit Horatius.—Heinsius hæc omnia turbavit, et Epistolam perfectissimam miserè in Editionibus suis laceravit, eadem fiduciâ alias contaminans. Vid. infr. in Arte Poet. ad V. 86.

V. 144. Veræ Vitæ.

i. e. *Rectè vivere et Naturæ convenienter*, ut sup. Ep. 6. V. 29. et Ep. 10. V. 12. et Ep. 16. V. 17. Hoc nimirum est illud *Verum atque decens*. Το καλον, το σπουδον, ab Epicureis irrisum.

V. 158. Proprium.

Hæc omnia Stoica, viz. Τι εφ' ἡμιν, τι εκ εφ' ἡμιν· τι ἡμετερον, τι αλλοτρου· V. inf. V. 175.

De Arte Poeticâ.

Quintilianus Epistolam hanc sic vocat. Ab aliis tamen, non ab Horatio ipso, Nomen datum credo, neque communiter receptum: ut ex M. S. apparet (Vide Cruq. et Lamb.) Est enim Epistola illa ad Augustum (1ma scil. L. 2.) de Arte Poeticâ, cujus Artis etiam præcepta tradit, in Ep. ad Florum, quæ inter hanc et illam est: adeo ut tres sint de eadem re. Et in Libris antiquis Epistola hæc (rectè ut opinor) tertia Libri 2di inscribitur, simpliciter, vel addito tantum ad *Pisones*, ut Lambinus. Cruquius epistolam hanc vocat *Co-epistolam* et *Co-hæredem*; respectu scil. superiorum duarum. Merito tamen de *Arte Poeticâ* inscribitur: quia est præcipua, neque ut credunt nonnulli imperfecta; sed omnibus modis ornata, polita, perfecta.

V. 1. Humano, &c. ad V. 37.—Capillo.—
Constitutio Συτασις.

V. 38. Sumite materiam—ad V. 41.—Ordo.—
Materia ὕλη.

V. 42. Ordinis—ad V. 45.—Auctor.
Ordo Ταξις.—

V. 45. Promissi Carminis.

Longi Epici. V. infr. V. 150, 152. et quæ ibi de Homero. et postea, V. 360. Horatius enim promittenda carmina jactandaque antequam edita sint, haud censet: quum premi paucisque saltem ostendi dum componuntur suadet, inf. V. 386. et sup. Epist. 2. V. 114. Editoque jam in opere Promissorem damnat. V. 138.

V. 46. In verbis—ad V. 100.—
Dictio Λεξις.

V. 73. Res gestæ.

Poema Epicum.—Post præcepta familiaria atque obvia, ad Historiam Poeseos et Poetarum descendit. inde ad graviora τα ἤθικα. Vide inf. V. 295.

V. 75. Versibus.

Elegiacum.

V. 79. Archilochum, &c.

Poema Iambicum.

V. 83. Musa dedit.—

Lyricum.

V. 86. Descriptas servare vices, &c.

Dramaticum, ubi statim de Moribus.—De Tragœdiâ hic præcipuè differit Horatius usque ad V. 130. Postea vero V. 153, de Comœdiâ: Vid. infr. V. 114. et Annot.—Hæc omnia turbavit Heinsius, ut sup. in Ep. 2da.—Vide infr. Annot. ad V. 309.

Descriptas Vices.—Χαρακτηρας et Mores in Dramatico. Sic Isocrates ad Dem. χαρακτηρα τοις εργοις εμε-
καλλειν· et Demosth. εἰ δε τοις ὁμιλιαῖς ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς χαρακ-
τηρ βλεπεται. Sic rursus infra de Comœdiâ, V. 155.
Ætatis cujusque, &c. *Mobilibusque decor naturis*.—
Vide et Sat. 10. V. 12. *Defendente Vicem modo Rhe-*
toris atque Poetæ. et inf. V. 193. *Officiumque virile*
defendat. *Partes defendere*, quod idem hic *Servare*
Vices. Sic Ep. 1. L. 2. V. 171. *Partes tueri*.

Vol. IV.

Operumque colores.

i. e. Actionum Affectuum humanorum—in Scenis, ubi *Res agitur* (ut inf. V. 179.) in Satyrâ *refertur* tantum. Quare sup. Sat. 2. L. 2. V. 60. *Quisquis erit Vitæ scribam color*.

V. 93. Interdum tamen.

Sententiam dicit de Comœdiâ contra illos (sup. Sat. 4. V. 45.) qui Comœliam Poema esse negaverunt. Ibidem V. 63. *alias* dicit se quæsiturum. unde apparet hanc epistolam isti Satyræ posteriorem esse. Et quia infra de Comœdiâ plura habet (Veluti V. 234.) apparet quidem Horatium inter poemata ponere.

V. 94. Tumido.

Sermone et Verbis tragicis: quod magis est quam quod supra dixit Sat. 4. V. 48, 49.—*Pater ardens* *sevit*, &c.

V. 101. Adfunt.

Mores ἠθος.

Uti hic in Dramatico, de Tragœdiâ et Comœdiâ, sic de *Moribus* communiter differit Horatius: postea vero speciatim et graviter, viz. V. 309, 10, 11, 12, &c.

V. 114. Divusne.

Vide Annot. et sup. Vers. 86. hic enim de Tragœdiâ differit; de Comœdiâ, inf. V. 153. de utraq; (scil. *quid intersit Davusne loquatur an Deus*) inf. V. 237.

V. 120. Honoratum.

Scil. a Jove, ut in Homero. II. L. 2. in initio ὡς Ἀχιλλῆα τιμῶσι, &c.—Quod Thetidi promiserat, L. 1. in fine.—Sic et rursus Jupiter, L. 15. in initio.

V. 131. Publica materies.

Haftenus de Tragœdiâ, nunc de Carmine Epico unde illam deductam vult.

V. 153. Tu quid, &c.

Post Graviora Poemata ad Comœdiam se convertit.

V. 158. Puer.

Puer hic et *Juvenis* (inf. V. 161.) et *Vir* (V. 166.) et *Senex* (V. 169.) Comœdiæ sunt χαρακτηρες et *Descriptæ Vices*, ut sup. V. 86.—Hæc enim omnia a Vers. 153 ad 178.—ad Comœdiam spectant. Hoc vidit Lambinus, cum dicit in Præfatione Horatium in hæc Epistolâ de omni Poeseos genere disputare, maximè verò de Comœdiâ et Tragœdiâ. Hoc etiam vidit Vet. Com. et Cruquius ad Terentium referentes in his locis.

V. 179. Aut agitur res.—

Haftenus de Tragœdiâ seorsim atque Comœdiâ. Nunc de utraq; simul: præcipuè verò de Tragœdiâ, et de Satyris qui in Tragœdiis exhibebantur. Vid. inf. V. 235.—Annot.

V. 193. Actoris partes.

Aristot. de Arte Poet. και τον χορον δε ενα υπολαβειν των υποκριτων· Lamb. Hinc constat legendum *Actoris* non *Auctoris*. Sic etiam Vet. Com. et Cruquius ex omnibus M. S. Et sic Heinsius: qui sequentia Aristotelis Verba ponit viz. και μοριον ειναι τα ὅλα, μη συντα-
γωνζεσθαι, &c.

V. 235. Amabo.

Ut sup. V. 25 et 26, *labero, fio*: et V. 87. *Cur ego*, &c. et inf. V. 265. Neque enim de Seipso, neque de Satyris Suis vel ejusmodi loquitur. De Seipso quàm modestè, Vide inf. V. 304, &c.

Satyrarum scriptor.—Mirum est quibusdam quid causæ fuerit Horatio, cur tam accuratè de Satyris hic præcipiat, quum non potuerit ignorare, illos jamdiu a vetustissimis quibusque Tragicis Æschylo, Sophocle, et Euripide, non adhibitos in ipsorum Tragœdiis: quod etiam Aristoteles (in Arte) videtur innuere. Itaque conjectare licet ex hac præscriptione, Satyros, ab illis prius quidem exclusos a Tragœdiis, sed tempore Horatii nudos in Scenam introductos, et in usum revocatos: ideoque dari hic præcepta de genere sermonis, gestûs, habitûs, quod illos deceat in Tragœdiâ. P. Gualt. Chab. Basil. 1615.

V. 295. Ingenium.

Transitio ab Incuriâ, Ineptiis, et furoribus Poetarum, ad Prudentiam, Sapientiam, Mores, qui in vero Poetâ requiruntur. Vid. V. 309. Annot.

* 4 G

V. 306.

(w) Letters, &c. 1. 7. "grow upon me: for in this I have been ever sincere, to make myself as good as I was able, and to live for no other end (w)." The man who could speak thus concerning himself is entitled to the best applause, the applause of the heart.] K.

V. 306. Nil scribens ipse.

Modeste, quia neque Dramaticum neque Epicum Carmen (de quibus hic præcipue) ipse scripserat: Satyrarum verò (non Satyrorum) scriptor ipse Poetam inde se vocari noluit. Vid. Sat. 4. V. 39, &c. et Sat. 6. L. 2. V. 17.

V. 309. Scribendi rectè.

De Distributione et Ordine.—Finita Historiâ Poeticâ, ubi et Poematum Species, ortus, et Poetarum mores, ingenia singulatim exposuit, jam ad veros Mores (de quibus sup. V. 86—100, &c.) Doctrinam et præcepta generalia descendit; et post Jocos, Fabulas, Ironias, rem seriò *ἠθικῶς* tractat; ita tamen ut suo more jocosè definat. Mirus ordo, sed quem Heinſius adeo non sentit, ut totum conatus sit evertere.

V. 310. Socraticæ.

Non jam amplius ergo Epicureus, sed Socraticus Horatius. Vide Ep. 1. Annot.

V. 317. Exemplar Vitæ.

Quod in *Socraticis Chartis* habet (ut sup. 310.) ubi Personæ, Characteres, Mores, nimirum quia *Dialogi* erant. Vide Arist. Poet. C. 1. *Συγκριτικὸς λόγος* —et Athenæum, L. 2.

V. 319. Locis.

Cicero in Oratore: "nec verò in Dialecticis modò sit instructus, sed habeat omnes *Philosophiæ notos et tractatos Locos*."

V. 364. Judicis.

Confer cum versu 388—425—436.—Atque inde usque ad, V. 453. Hic enim *Vas vitium ridenti Flaccus amico tangit*, et Majorem Juvenum Poetæ famam affectantem dehortatur; magnæ molis opus monstrans, artemque Criticam maximè necessariam. V. inf. V. 408.

V. 391. Silvestris.

Historia Moralis in honorem Artis, ut inf. V. 406.

V. 406. Ne fortè.

Callidè, quasi Juveni indulgens, quem tamen reprimis.

Such are the principal notes, which the author of the Characteristics partly collected, and in greater part made on the writings of Horace. From these Notes (16) we are led to form a right idea of the Poet, taken not "from his precarious and low circumstances at Court, after the forfeiture of his Estate, under the Usurpation and conquest of Octavius, and the Ministry of a Mæcenæ;" but "from his better condition and nobler employments in earlier days, under the favour and friendship of greater and better men, whilst the Roman State and Liberty subsisted;" and from the latter part of his life, when wearied with the servility of dependence, and disgusted with the degeneracy of Epicurean Philosophy, he returned to that more severe and sublime System, which he plainly appears to have thought best calculated by its generous principles for the forming of an active Citizen, an accomplished Gentleman, a virtuous Man. The Poet's renunciation of Epicurean Errors, and firm though polite language with which he again asserts his freedom, inclines us to draw a veil over those years, wherein he could be induced to sacrifice his very sentiments to the opinions and practice of his Patron; a conduct this, which however it may be justified on considerations of mere worldly interest, yet must it ever appear culpable on the Principles of that Morality, which taught him to be resigned indeed to the ways of Providence, but to disdain base compliance for the sake of exterior advantages. But the more

grave, serious, and dignified sentiments of his later writings abundantly compensate the levity of some of his earlier Odes, and the time-serving maxims inculcated in some of his earlier Satires and Epistles. And the experience of a Man so thoroughly versed in the Manners of the World cannot fail of being instructive to us; for it will teach us, as we value the integrity and peace of our Minds, never to relinquish the ways of Rectitude for the fallacious allurements of Error, however great may be the emoluments, which may reward a dereliction of virtuous principle.

What the Poet was in his earlier and latter days, that the noble Critic uniformly continued to be through much too short a life. His principles were always on the side of liberty, and consequently, independent, benevolent, magnanimous: his knowledge of Ancient Writers, particularly of the Greek, was extensive and accurate: his Taste, formed on the model of Antiquity, was of course pure and refined. All these excellencies are discoverable, not less in the above Notes than in his edited works. Nor is it to be wondered at that he was so elegant a Scholar, so exact a Critic, so generous a Philosopher, since he devoted to Study and Meditation those hours, which too many dissipate in the pursuit of trifling engagements, illiberal amusements or irrational pleasures.

I am, Dear Sir, with the greatest regard,

Your most obliged,

OXFORD,
NEW COLLEGE,
Dec. 20, 1784.

and most affectionate friend,

G. J. HUNTINGFORD.

* [Since the article of the first Earl of Shaftesbury was printed off, an ingenious publication has appeared, entitled, "Essays, Philosophical, Historical, and Literary," in which are some strictures on Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Among other remarks, the Essayist observes, that of Mr. Walpole's short account of the famous Earl of Shaftesbury, much is exceptionable. Mr. Walpole, continues he, relates, upon the authority of Bishop Burnet, a ridiculous story of Shaftesbury's pretending that Cromwell offered to make him King. "If he did," says Mr. Walpole, "it only proves that Cromwell took him for a fool." But if Cromwell took Shaftesbury for a fool, it only proves that he made a most egregious blunder.—The abilities of Lord Shaftesbury were certainly of the first class, far above the reach of Burnet's comprehension." After comparing the Bishop's inability to account for the ascendancy which our eminent Statesman acquired over the persons with whom he was connected, to the Judges of the famous Leonora de Galigai, wife of Marshal D'Ancre, who at her Trial was interrogated by what magical powers she had gained so absolute an influence over the mind of Mary of Medicis, and who nobly replied, that she used no other powers than those which a strong mind naturally possesses over a weak one, the essay writer adds as follows: "When the portrait of so great a man as Lord Shaftesbury is delineated by so wretched a dauber as Burnet, we may expect to find it what in fact it is, miserably defective in drawing, colouring, and resemblance (*)." Though we think that Burnet was not a little mistaken in his representation of the Earl of Shaftesbury's character, we do not give our approbation to so severe a censure of that worthy and learned Prelate.] K.

(*) Essays, Philosophical, Historical, and Literary, p. 352—354.

folgt auf 298*

(a) Graham's Account of Eminent Painters, annexed to Dryden's Translation of Frenoy, p. 375. second edit.

(c) Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iii. p. 113, 114. third edit.

(d) Essay towards an English School, at supra.

(f) Walpole, ubi supra, p. 101

(b) Essay towards an English School of Painters, annexed to De Piles, p. 365.

(e) Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, p. 149.

(g) Oldys's MSS.

*** [COOPER (SAMUEL), a Miniature Painter of distinguished excellence, was born in London, in the year 1609 (a). He was bred up, together with an elder brother, named Alexander [A], under the care of John Hoskins, his uncle [B], by whom he was initiated in the art of painting. He made so great a proficiency, that he soon excelled his master, who found that his nephew's performances were more admired than his own. He, therefore, took him into partnership with him; but the superior reputation which Cooper obtained, exciting some jealousy in his uncle, he dissolved the partnership (b). Cooper then set up for himself, and met with such encouragement as his uncommon merit deserved. He painted miniature portraits of King Charles II. and his Queen, the Duke of York, the Dukes of Cleveland, and most of the Court. But two pieces of his which were the most esteemed were those of Oliver Cromwell, and of one Swingfield. The latter picture was carried by Cooper to the Court of France, where it was much admired, and where he was employed to paint several pieces larger than his usual size, and for which his widow received a pension during her life (c). He travelled into Holland, as well as France, and is said to have been many years abroad (d). In the style of painting to which he addicted himself, he was superior to any of his contemporaries in his own country, and equal to the best artists of Italy. He had studied the works of Vandyke with great attention, and copied many of them, either to improve himself by imitating his manner, or at the desire of others who rewarded him for his labour. Accordingly he was sometimes called "the Vandyke in little," as he resembled that celebrated master in the beauty and clearness of his colouring, the agreeable turn of his heads, and the spirit and relief of his portraits (e). Mr. Walpole says, that 'Samuel Cooper owed great part of his merit to the works of Vandyke, and yet may be called an original genius, as he was the first who gave the strength and freedom of oil to miniature. Oliver's works are touched and re-touched with such careful fidelity, that you cannot help perceiving they are nature in the abstract; Cooper's are so bold, that they seem perfect nature only of a less standard. Magnify the former, they are still diminutively conceived: if a glass could expand Cooper's pictures to the size of Vandyke's, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion. If his portrait of Cromwell [C] could be so enlarged, I don't know but Vandyke would appear less great by the comparison (f).'

Notwithstanding the great merit of Cooper as an artist, his pencil was generally confined to a head only; for below that part his drawing was incorrect. But for a face, and its dependencies, the free and natural air of his heads, the strength, relief, and noble spirit, the softness and tender liveliness of flesh and blood, and the looseness and gentle management of the hair, he was so unrivalled, that his works sold for very high prices, and were in great estimation in France, and also at Rome and Venice, and in almost every part of Europe. Among other excellencies, for which his pieces were admired, was the variety of tints that he introduced, and the clearness of his carnations. Mr. Oldys says, 'It has been affirmed to me, that he would steal a face upon his nail, and remember the complexion, air, and all other distinguishments, so exactly, as to present any person with their portrait, who never knew they had sat to him for it (g).'

[A] An elder brother, named Alexander.] Mr. Pilkington says of Alexander Cooper, who was also instructed in the art of painting by his uncle Hoskins; that 'although he became a good artist in limning, yet he was in no degree of competition with his brother. He followed his profession in several cities of the Low Countries, and particularly at Amsterdam; from whence he was invited to Sweden, where he had the honour of being appointed Limner to Queen Christina. He also painted landscapes in water-colours extremely well, and was accounted to have a correct manner of drawing. (1)'

[B] Under the care of John Hoskins, his uncle.] Of this artist Mr. Walpole says, 'Hoskins, though surpassed by his scholar, the younger Cooper, was a very good painter. There is great truth and nature in his heads; but the carnations are too brick, and want a degradation and variety of tints. I have a head of Serjeant Maynard by him, boldly painted and in a manly style, though not without these faults; and another good one of Lord Falkland, more descriptive of his patriot melancholy

than the common prints. It was in the collection of Dr. Mead. There is, indeed, one work of Hoskins that may be called perfect. It is a head of a man, rather young, in the gown of a master of arts, and a red fatten waistcoat. The clearness of the colouring is equal to either Oliver; the dishevelled hair touched with exquisite freedom. It is in the possession of Mr. Fanshaw, but not known whose portrait (2).'

[C] His portrait of Cromwell.] Mr. Walpole says, 'This fine head is in the possession of the Lady Frankland, widow of Sir Thomas, a descendant of Cromwell. The body is unfinished. Vertue engraved it, as he did another, in profile, in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire (4).'

(1) Dictionary of Painters, p. 349.

(2) Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iii. p. 231, 232. third edit.

(3) Essay towards an English School of Painters, annexed to De Piles, p. 389.

(4) Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iii. p. 111.

H. S. E.

SAMUEL COOPER, Armiger,

Angliæ Apelles,

Seculi fui, et Artis Decus,

In quâ excolendâ

Sicut Neminem, quem sequeretur, invenit,

Ita nec, qui Eum assequatur, est habiturus.

Supra omne Exemplum,

Simul ac omne Exemplar,

Minio-Graphices Artifex summus,

Summis Europæ Principibus notus,

Et in Pretio habitus;

Cujus porro egregias Animi Dotes,

Ingenium expolitissimum,

Linguarum plurimarum Peritiam,

Mores suavissimas,

Ut tam brevis Tabella rite complecti posset

Ipsius unice Manu delineanda fuit:

Sed modestior ille,

Dum per Ora, Oculosque omnium Fama volat,

Cineres hic potius suos optavit delitescere,

Ipse, in Ecclesiæ Pace, feliciter requiescens

Charissimâ Conjuge Christianâ

Obiit quinto Die Maii Anno

{Ætatis suæ 63.

{Salutis MDCLXXII (b).

(b) Essay towards
an English School
p. 366.(i) Anecdotes of
Painting in Eng-
land, p. 114.

(k) In his MSS.

The works of Cooper are numerous. Mr. Walpole says, 'Seven or eight are in Queen Caroline's closet at Kensington; one of them, a head of a monk, is capital, but unfinished. Lord Oxford had a head of Archbishop Sheldon; and the bust of Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, on his monument by Rysbrack, was taken from a picture of Cooper (i).' Mr. Oldys says (k), that he painted the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth, and most of the nobility and beauties of the Court; several of the most eminent artists of his own profession; together with Sir John Denham, and other celebrated wits of that age. Among the poems of Mrs. Katharine Philips, is one addressed to Cooper on his drawing her friend Lucasia's picture in 1660, in which are the following lines:

'A pencil from an angel newly caught,
'And colours in the morning's bosom sought,
'Would make no picture, if by you not wrought.
'But done by you, it does no more admit
'Of an encomium for the highest wit,
'Than that another hand should equal it (l).'

(l) Poems by Mrs.
Katharine Phi-
lips, the Match-
less Orinda, edit.
folio, 1669, p.
158.(m) Anecdotes of
Painting, ut
supra.

It may not be improper to mention, that Mr. Pope's mother was sister to Cooper's wife. Mr. Walpole says, 'Lord Carleton had a portrait of Cooper in crayons, which Mrs. Pope said was not very like, and which, descending to Lord Burlington, was given by his Lordship to Kent. It was painted by one Jackson, a relation of Cooper, of whom I know nothing more, and who, I suppose, drew another head of Cooper, in crayons, in Queen Caroline's closet, said to be painted by himself; but I find no account of his essays in that way.'—'I have a drawing of Pope's father, as he lay dead in his bed, by his brother-in-law Cooper. It was Mr. Pope's (m).' This was probably a drawing of Pope's grandfather; it could not be his father, who survived Cooper many years. If it was his father, it must have been done by some other hand.] T.

(a) Thoroton's
Nottingham-
shire, p. 305.
Tanner's Not.
Mon. p. 403.
(b) Anecdotes of
Bowyer, p. 273.

[COOPER (JOHN-GILBERT), a polite writer of the present age, was born in 1723; and was descended from an ancient family in the county of Nottingham, whose fortune was injured in the last century by their attachment to the principles of monarchy. He resided at Thurgarton Priory in Nottinghamshire (a), which was granted by King Henry VIII. to William Cooper, one of his ancestors. This mansion [A] Mr. Cooper inherited from his father, who, in 1739, was High-Sheriff of the county; and transmitted it to his son, who filled the same respectable office in 1783 (b). After passing through Westminster school under Dr. John Nicoll, along with the late Lord Albemarle, Lord Buckinghamshire, Major Johnson, Mr. Geo. Ashby, and many other eminent and ingenious men, he became in 1743 a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-College, Cambridge, and resided there two or three years; but quitted the University on his marriage with Susanna the daughter of William Wrighte, Esq; son to the

[A] This mansion.] In 1726, when S. Buck took a view of it, it belonged to William Draper, Esq.

Lord

Lord Keeper of that name, and Recorder of Leicester 1729—1763 (c). In the year 1745 he commenced Author by the publication of "The Power of Harmony," a poem in 4to; and in 1746 and 1747 he produced several Essays and Poems under the signature of *Philalethes*, in a periodical work called "The Museum," published by Mr. Doddsley. On his eldest son, who was born July 25, 1749, and died the next day, Mr. Cooper wrote an elegant epitaph, which is placed in the Chancel of St. Margaret's Church in Leicester, and shall be transcribed below [B]. In the same year, he came forward as an author, with his name, by a work which received much assistance from his friend, the Rev. John Jackson of Leicester (d), who communicated several learned notes, in which he contrived to manifest his dislike to his formidable antagonist Mr. Warburton. It was intitled, "The Life of Socrates, collected from the Memorabilia of Xenophon and the Dialogues of Plato, and illustrated farther by Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, Proclus, Apuleius, Maximus Tyrius, Boethius, Diogenes Laërtius, Aulus Gellius, and others, 1749," 8vo. In this work Mr. Cooper gave evident marks of superior genius; warm, impetuous, and impatient of restraint. In such a disposition, we are not to wonder if he was sometimes led to speak without due deference of preceding writers, whom, not content with confuting, he lashes and spurns like a merciless exulting victor, thoughtless of the vicissitudes of war, and regardless how soon it might be his fortune to fall under the lash of critics as severe as himself [C]. Among these was Mr. Warburton (e), who then figured high in "the first ranks of learning; a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, supplied by incessant and unlimited enquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which had not oppressed his imagination, nor clouded his perspicacity." In a note on the "Essay on Criticism," the learned Commentator thus takes occasion to introduce our author (f): "As Ignorance, when joined with Humility, produces stupid admiration, on which account it is so commonly observed to be the mother of Devotion and blind homage; so when joined with Vanity (as it always is in bad critics) it gives birth to every iniquity of impudent abuse and slander. See an example (for want of a better) in a late worthless and now forgotten thing, called the *Life of Socrates*; where the head of the Author (as a man of wit observed on reading the book) has just made a shift to do the office of a camera obscura, and represent things in an inverted order; himself above, and Sprat, Rollin, Voltaire, and every other author of reputation, below." This severe attack produced "Curfory Remarks on Mr. Warburton's new edition of Mr. Pope's Works, in a Letter to a Friend. By John Gilbert Cooper, Esq. Author of the Life of Socrates, 1751;" in which Mr. C. appeals to the impartial reader, "whether there is the least reflection through the whole Life of Socrates, or the notes, upon Mr. W's morals, and whether he has not confined his criticism to Mr. W's practice as an author?" and declares the epithet bestowed upon him by Mr. W. to be "a downright slander [D]." In

(c) History of Hinckley, p. 150.

(d) See art. JACKSON.

(e) Johnson's Life of Pope, Hawkins's edit. vol. iv. p. 67.

(f) Pope's Works, ed. 1751, vol. i. p. 151.

[B] Which shall be transcribed below.]

"Hic jacet
Quod mori potuit
HENRICI GILBERTI COOPER,
Infantis desideratissimi,
Filii natu maximi
JOHANNIS GILBERTI COOPER,
De Thurgarton, in agro Nottinghamiensis,
Et SUSANNÆ, uxoris ejus;
Natus 25 Julii, denatus 26, 1749.
Atavis esset editus antiquis;
Nulla alia in re claruit,
Nec potuit:
Flosculus enim in ipsa quoque dulcis ætatula,
Prima gemma pullulaturus,
Parcarum heu parcere nefciarum
Fatali afflatu contactus
Exaruit.
Mœstus itaque et mœrens pater
Charissimi infantuli sui memoriæ
Hoc est inane munus
Amoris monumentum
Collocavit (1)."

(1) Gent. Mag. 1778, p. 487, where it is facetiously and properly burlesqued and ridiculed.

[C] Critics as severe as himself.] Speaking of his own style, he says, "It is such in every place, as the subject seems to require, concise though circumstantial in the historical parts, diffused and declamatory in the recapitulation, and close and unaffected in the occasional reflections." As to his freedom with other writers, "Some expressions," says he, "may appear too harsh, and others too lufory; but all weapons are not to be used alike against all adversaries: for, as the antient warlike Scythians found, in the servile war, that whips more intimidated the army of slaves, that marched amongst them, than the sword, which had so often corrected the pride of nations;

so contumely and ridicule will avail against those who are lost to good manners, candour, and good sense, when the nobler methods of humanity, reason, and learning, would prove ineffectual. The sentiments of others, who write like men, are examined with the same spirit; and where the author is obliged to oppose their opinions, he does it with a proper respect due to their characters, always distinguishing between the designing deceits of the heart, and the involuntary errors of a misled understanding. He entered on the work," he adds, "with no small application, for his own instruction and amusement; and, after being carefully revised, it is now communicated with the honest design of making others partake in the same satisfaction this enquiry has already afforded him. If this desirable end cannot be obtained, he thinks it is paying a greater respect to mankind to confess, that the failure proceeds from deficiency of abilities, and not from the want of laudable endeavours.—Whatever failings the learned may observe, the author has reason to expect, since all he advances is intended for the promotion of good-manners, morality, and true religion, that they would, with the good-nature becoming such, candidly impute them to error, insisting strongly on the merit of his design, however little he may have in the execution of it."

[D] A downright slander.] "I have undergone (2)," says he, "young as I am, too many disappointments in life, to wonder much at many things which the mob of mankind call extraordinary; otherwise I might be surprised that almost a total retirement from the world would not shelter me from the injuries of it, especially too at an age when few have had any concerns with it. I thought I might have enjoyed an unenvied obscurity in the most undisturbed peace and

(2) Anecdotes of Bowyer, ut supra.

1754, Mr. Cooper published his "Letters on Taste," 8vo; an elegant little volume, on which no small share of his reputation is founded [E]; and, in 1755, "The Tomb of Shakspeare, a Vision," 4to; a decent performance, but in which there is more of wit and application than of nature or genius. In 1756 he assisted Mr. Moore, by writing some numbers of "The World;" and attempted to rouse the indignation of his countrymen against the Hessians, at that juncture brought over to defend the nation, in a poem called "The Genius of Britain," addressed to Mr. Pitt. In 1758, he published "Epistles to the Great, from Aristippus in Retirement," 4to; and "The Call of Aristippus, Epistle IV. to Mark Akenfide, M. D." Also, "A Father's Advice to his Son," in 4to. In the Annual Register of the same year is his Translation of "An Epistle from the King of Prussia to Monsieur Voltaire." In 1759, he published "Ver Vert; or, the Nunnery Parrot; an Heroic Poem, in Four Cantos; inscribed to the Abbess of D***; translated from the French of Monsieur Gresset," 4to; reprinted in the first volume of Dilly's "Repository, 1777;" and, in 1764, "Poems on several Subjects, by the Author of the Life of Socrates;" with a prefatory Advertisement by Mr. Doddsley [F]. In this little volume were included all the separate poetical pieces which have been already mentioned, excepting "Ver Vert," which is a sprightly composition. We have only to add to this short narrative, that Mr. Cooper was an active, useful magistrate; and that he died at his father's house in May-Fair, after a long and excruciating illness arising from the stone, April 14, 1769.] N.

* * [Though Mr. Gilbert Cooper does not stand very high in the rank of English writers, his abilities and his temporary celebrity were considerable enough to entitle him to a place in the Biographia. Besides, he was of a particular school of literature; and of such schools it is the intention of this work to give as full an account as possible. The school he belonged to was that of his namesake, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury. That of this Author Mr. Gilbert Cooper was a most zealous admirer and imitator, is apparent from his works in general, and is acknowledged in several particular passages. Hence, likewise, he was devoted to other writers who embraced the sentimental philosophy, and especially to Hutcheson and Akenfide. His first production, the Life of Socrates, is not now held in much estimation. The most popular of his prose works were his Letters on Taste, which have gone through four editions. To the two last editions of them are added nine Essays, on various subjects. Perhaps Mr. Cooper is not very accurate in his definition of Taste, and the justness of his criticisms may sometimes be disputed. Nevertheless, the work is an agreeable one upon the whole, and will be read with pleasure by the lovers of polite literature. The admirers of simple and elegant poetry are not a little obliged

"tranquillity, and that CALUMNY was too busy
"about the names of those who were candidates for
"fame, to find time to visit the recesses of one, whose
"contempt of every advantage of life, but what con-
"duced to quiet, should, it was hoped, protect him
"from the poisonous breath of that daughter of
"ENVY. But I was greatly mistaken, it seems, in
"my humble expectations; for I had scarcely begun
"to feel the calm comforts which the absence of
"contention yields to a thinking creature, before I
"was informed by letters from some friends in town,
"that Mr. Warburton had, with his usual humanity
"and good manners, very compendiously answered
"the *Life of Socrates* in the tail of one note, by the
"free use of those appellations he has indiscrimi-
"nately thrown out upon, not only all those who
"have ever had any controversy with him, but upon
"all others too whom he ever suspected to have the
"rashness to contradict any of his opinions. How-
"soever this would have alarmed me heretofore, as
"an author, from the pen of any other person, it had
"no effect upon me then from the writer it came
"from; and I sat down contemptuously contented,
"without so much as being solicitous to know what
"abuse he had conferred upon my writings. I say,
"abuse, for he never speaks of an opponent without
"it. But as indifferent as I was about my charac-
"ter as a writer, I cannot say I was quite so easy
"when I was afterwards told that he had attacked
"it as a man. Upon this I wrote to him, that I
"thought he had used me very ill, and should take
"a proper notice of him for it in publick; in answer
"to which he tells a friend of mine, 'That he was
"surprised I should think myself ill-used, for that he
"had never mentioned my name or writings in pub-
"lic, or in conversation, but with honour, till I had
"wrote a book wherein I had treated him through-
"the whole with a scurrility worse than *Billingsgate*,
"and that he had now taken no other revenge than the
"casual mention of the Author of the *Life of Socra-*

tes (without the mention of my name) with a slight
"joke.' I will ask any impartial reader, if there is
"the least reflection through the whole *Life of Socra-*
"*tes*, or the notes, upon Mr. W's morals? whe-
"ther I have not confined my criticism to his prac-
"tice as an author? and whether every thing therein
"advanced cannot be proved over and over again by
"citations from the *Divine Legation*, and his other
"tracts? At the same time I desire one part of the
"dispute betwixt us may be finished by an answer to
"these questions: Is not calling a guiltless man an
"impudent slanderer, calumny? and quite a differ-
"ent revenge than a slight joke? and has not Mr.
"Warburton done that in the note in question (3)?" (3) Curfory Re-
"[E] *His reputation is founded.* On the first marks, p. 3—6.
appearance of these "Letters" it was acutely ob-
served by Dr. Johnson, "that Cooper's genius seemed
"to shine more in description than in definition; that
"he had more of imagery than of specula-
"tion; that his imagination was the strongest
"talent of his mind; and that, if he had not at-
"tempted to offer any thing new on the subject of
"Taste, he was always so entertaining, spirited, and
"splendid in his diction, that the reader who is not
"instructed by him, cannot fail of being pleased and
"diverted (4)."

[F] *Advertisement by Mr. Doddsley.* "The follow-
"ing Poems having been very favourably received
"by the Public when they first appeared, at different
"times, in detached pieces, the Author has been
"prevailed upon to permit me to collect them into
"this small volume. When I requested him to give
"me a preface, he replied, 'That to those to whom
"such trifles afforded pleasure, a formal introduction
"would be unnecessary; that he wrote most of them,
"when he was very young, for his own amusement,
"and published them afterwards for my profit; and,
"as they had once answered both those ends, he was
"very little solicitous what would be the fate of them
"for the future.'" N.

(4) Literary
Mag. 1757, p.
134.

obliged to the Author for bringing them acquainted with the Song to Winifreda [G] Of Mr. Cooper's poetical writings, the most pleasing are his "Epistles to his Friends in Town, from Aristippus in Retirement." They were written in imitation of some fashionable French writers, and particularly of Gresset. From these Epistles we shall insert below two passages; the first relative to our Author's temper of mind, and the second describing the character of his own poetry [H]. His next principal poetical work is his "Power of Harmony;" in two books. This we do not greatly admire. It is evidently composed in imitation of Akenfide's Pleasures of Imagination, without rising to the same merit; and it abounds with the sentiments of Shaftesbury, not very perspicuously expressed. Mr. Cooper was not destitute of fancy; but his fancy was not always under proper regulation, and he sometimes failed in the precision of his ideas. Another fault in him is a superabundance of prosopopeias, which is one of the tricks of modern poetry. His declaration

to

[G] *For bringing them acquainted with the Song to Winifreda.*] This beautiful song, though it hath made its way into several collections, our Readers will be glad to see here inserted.

"Away, let nought to love displeasing,
My WINIFREDA, move thy fear,
Let nought delay the heav'nly blessing,
Nor squeamish pride, nor gloomy care.

What tho' no grants of royal donors,
With pompous titles grace our blood,
We'll shine in more substantial honours,
And to be noble, we'll be good.

What tho' from fortune's lavish bounty,
No mighty treasures we possess,
We'll find within our pittance plenty,
And be content without excess.

Still shall each kind returning season,
Sufficient for our wishes give,
For we will live a life of reason,
And that's the only life to live.

Our name, whilst virtue thus we tender,
Shall sweetly sound where-e'er 'tis spoke,
And all the great ones much shall wonder,
How they admire such little folk.

Thro' youth and age in love excelling,
We'll hand in hand together tread,
Sweet smiling peace shall crown our dwelling,
And babes, sweet smiling babes, our bed.

How should I love the pretty creatures,
Whilst round my knees they fondly clung,
To see 'em look their mother's features,
To hear 'em hiss their mother's tongue!

And when with envy time transported
Shall think to rob us of our joys,
You'll in your girls again be courted,
And I go wooing in my boys (5)."

(5) Letters on
Taste, p. 91, 92.
fourth edit.

[H] *From these epistles we shall insert, &c.*] His own temper of mind he thus describes:

"I've oft, MELISSA, heard you say,
"The world observes I never wear
"An aspect gloomy or severe,
"That, constitutionally gay,
"Whether dark clouds obscure the sky,
"Or PHOEBUS gilds the face of day,
"In pleasure's true philosophy
"I pass the winged years away."
In most, 'tis true, the human sense
Is subjected to smiles, or tears,
To swelling pride, or trembling fears,
"By ev'ry skyey influence."
Cameleon-like their souls agree
With all they hear and all they see,
Or, as one instrument resounds,
Another's unison of sounds,
Their mutable complexions carry
The looks of anger, hope, and joy;
Just as the scenes around 'em vary,
Pleasures delight, or pains annoy.

Vol. IV.

But I, by philosophic mood,
Let the wise call it happy folly,
Educe from ev'ry evil good,
And rapture e'en from melancholy.
When in the silent midnight grove,
Sweet PHILOMELA swells her throat
With tremulous and plaintive note,
Expressive of disast'rous love,
I with the PENSIVE PLEASURES dwell,
And in their calm sequester'd cell,
Listen with rapturous delight
To the soft songster of the night.
Here ECHO, in her mossy cave,
Symphonious to the love-lorn song,
Warbles the vocal rocks among,
Whilst gently-trickling waters lave
The oak-fring'd mountain's hoary brow,
Whose streams, united in the vale,
O'er pebbled beds loquacious flow,
Tun'd to the sad melodious tale
In murmurs querulously flow.
And, whilst immers'd in thought I lie,
From ages past and realms unseen,
There moves before the mental eye
The pleasing melancholy scene
Of nymphs and youths unfortunate,
Whose fame shall spread from shore to shore,
Preserv'd by bards from death and fate,
Till time itself shall be no more.

Thus, not by black misanthropy
Impell'd, to caves or rocks I fly;
But when, by chance or humour led,
My wand'ring feet those regions tread,
Taught by philosophy so sweet
To shun the fellowship of care,
Far from the world I go to meet
Such pleasures as inhabit there.

With rebel-will I ne'er oppose
The current of my destiny,
But, pliant as the torrent flows,
Receive my course implicitly (6)."

(6) Poems on several Subjects,
p. 19—21.

Mr. Cooper characterizes his own Poetry in the following lines.

"But should you ask me, why I choose,
Of all the laurel'd sisterhood
Th' inhabitants of PINDUS' wood,
The least considerable muse.
The vi'lets round the mountain's feet,
Whose humble gems unheeded blow,
Are to the shepherd's smell more sweet
Than lofty cedars on its brow.
Let the loud EPIC sound th' alarms
Of dreadful war, and heroes sprung
From some immortal ancestry,
Clad in impenetrable arms
By VULCAN forg'd, my lyre is strung
With softer chords, my MUSE more free
Wanders thro' PINDUS' humbler ways
In amiable simplicity:
Unstudied are her artless lays,
She asks no laurel for her brows;
Careless of censure or of praise,
She haunts where tender myrtle grows;
Fonder of happiness than fame
To the proud bay prefers the rose,
Nor barter pleasure for a name.

Y y

On

to his Editor, Mr. Doddsley, that he was very little solicitous what would be the fate of his Poems for the future, was probably the result of affectation or disgust. It is well known to the writer of this addition to his life, that he was much disgusted on a particular occasion. He was, for some time, a constant attendant, and a frequent speaker, at the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*; and it was an object of ambition with him, to be chosen a Vice-president of that most respectable and useful Society. Not being elected, his dissatisfaction was so great, that I believe he never appeared there again. Mr. Cooper was a Gentleman of an agreeable appearance, of polite address, and accomplished manners. The great room of the Society now mentioned was for several years the place where many persons chose to try, or to display, their oratorical abilities. Dr. Goldsmith, I remember, made an attempt at a speech, but was obliged to sit down in confusion. I once heard Dr. Johnson speak there, upon a subject relative to mechanics, with a propriety, perspicuity, and energy which excited general admiration.] K.

* He was for a little while one of the Chairmen of the Committee of polite Arts.

On NATURE's lap reclin'd at ease,
I listen to her heav'nly tongue,
From her derive the pow'r to please,
From her receive th' harmonious time,
And what the goddess makes my song
In unpremeditated rhyme
Mellifluous flows, whilst young DESIRE,
Cull'd from th' ELYSIAN bloom of spring,
Strews flow'rs immortal round my lyre,
And FANCY's sportive children bring,

From blossom'd grove and lily mead,
Fresh fragrant chaplets for my head.
The most, tho' softest of the NINE,
EUTERPE, muse of gaiety
Queen of heart-soft'ning melody,
Allures my ear with notes divine.
In my retreat EUTERPE plays,
Where SCIENCE, garlanded with flow'rs,
Enraptur'd listens to her lays
Beneath the shade of myrtle bow'rs (7)."

(7) *Ibid.* p. 29—31.

(a) *The Irish Compendium, &c.* by Fr. Nichols, ed. 1735, p. 107.

(b) *Hist. of Ireland, &c.* by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 97.

(d) *Memorials of the English Affairs, &c.* by Mr. Whitelock, edit. 1732, p. 228.
(e) *Ibid.* p. 251.
(f) *Ibid.* p. 258.

COOTE (Sir CHARLES) a brave and active Officer in the seventeenth Century, created in 1660 Earl of Mountrath, was the eldest son of Sir Charles Coote [A], who was made a Baronet on the 2d of April 1621 (a). In Jan. 1641-2 he was besieged in Castle-Coote by twelve hundred Irish, but he valiantly raised the siege within a week. Not long after, he defeated Hugh O Connor and his forces: And on the 2d of March encountered Con O Rourk and his followers, who came to plunder Roscommon; took him prisoner, and killed most of his party. Afterwards he gave a total defeat to the rebels, who had formed a Camp at Kregs, and took all their baggage and provisions. He likewise got a considerable prey from about Ballynisslow; and in Easter-week relieved Athlone with some provisions and other necessaries (b). About the beginning of the year 1644, he was one of the Agents from the Irish Protestants, who attended King Charles I. at Oxford, in order to treat of a Peace between them and the Catholics in Ireland (c). In November 1646, having received some forces from England, he broke through the army of the Irish with a party, and caused them to draw farther off from Dublin, which they kept in a manner besieged (d). In May 1647, he gave them a great defeat, in which a thousand of them were slain (e). Soon after, he had several skirmishes with them, in which some of the leading Rebels were taken prisoners (f). In October the same year, joining his forces with those of Col. Jones and Col. Monk, they took several Castles and places from the Irish; and among the rest, Port Lester, and Athboy (g). About the end of the next year, marching with the forces he had assembled in Connought, from Sligo seventy miles into

(c) Cox, *ibid.* p. 139.

(g) Page 275.

[A] Was the eldest son of Sir Charles Coote.] This Sir Charles Coote was a man of great consideration in Ireland. Upon the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, in 1641, he had a commission for a regiment of foot, and was made Governor of Dublin (1). On the 29th of November he relieved the castle of Wicklow, beat a thousand of the Irish, with their commander, Luke Toole, and put them to a shameful flight; whereby he became so terrible to the Irish, that they seldom made any resistance where he was (2). In December, the Lords of the Pale, in Ireland, accused him of having uttered, at the council-board, some speeches, tending to a purpose and resolution of executing a general massacre upon the Irish Roman Catholics: but the Lords Justices cleared him of that imputation (3). On the 15th of the same month he pillaged and burnt the village of Clantarfe, near Dublin (4). The 10th of April, 1642, he was sent with Sir Thomas Lucas, and six troops of horse, to relieve Bir, and some other places. They were to pass a causeway which the rebels had broken, and had cast up a ditch at the end of it; but Coote made thirty of his dragoons alight, and, in person, led them on, and beat off the Irish, with the slaughter of forty rebels and their captain, and then relieved the castles of Bir, Burrous, and Knocknemease; and having sat almost forty-eight hours on horseback, and lost and spoiled a hundred horse in this expedition, they returned to the camp on the eleventh, at night, without the loss of one man. And this was the pro-

(1) *The Irish Rebellion, &c.* by Sir John Temple, edit. 1646, 4to. P. ii. p. 3.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 17; and Cox's *Hist. of Ireland*, P. ii. p. 83.

(3) Temple, *ibid.* p. 23, 24.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 29; and Cox, p. 84, 85.

digious passage through Mountrath-woods, which indeed is wonderful in many respects, and therefore justly gave occasion for the title of Earl of Mountrath to be entailed upon the posterity of Sir Charles Coote, who was the chief commander in this expedition (5). Some time after he accompanied the Lord Lisle in relieving the castle of Geashill, and, at the council of war, told the rest, that if they made haste they might easily pass the defiles and causeways, before the enemy could assemble to oppose them: whereto another replied, that perhaps it might be so, but when the country was alarmed how should they get back? I protest, said Sir Charles Coote, I never thought of that in my life; I always considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could, and hitherto I have not missed of forcing my way: so they relieved that place, and besides took Philipstown and Trim; which last, three thousand Irish attempting to recover the next night, Sir Charles Coote routed them with a very few forces. But in this rencounter he had the misfortune of being shot to death; whether by the enemy, or by one of his own troopers, is uncertain (6). Besides his other offices and employments, he was one of the council to the Lords Justices of Ireland (7). He left several sons, namely, Sir Charles his eldest son and heir, created Earl of Mountrath; Richard, afterwards Baron of Colloony and Earl of Belamont; Chudleigh; Thomas (8).

(5) Cox, *ibid.* p. 105.

(6) *Idem*, p. 106, 107.

(7) Temple, as above, p. 26, 28, 51.

(8) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, Vol. ii. p. 839. See also *The Irish Compendium*, p. 107, 119.

into the Rebels county; after a little skirmish with them, he burned great store of their corn, and brought away a great booty (b). He also took Culmore fort (i). At his return, he apprehended Sir Robert Stuart, the King's Commander in those parts, and sent him into England with an Accusation against him. Upon which occasion, so well did the Parliament approve of his conduct, that they ordered care to be taken of his forces, and sent him a letter of thanks (k). In 1649 he did not meet with the same success: for he was straitly besieged in Londonderry [B] by such of the Irish as had declared for King Charles II. and they demanded he should depart the kingdom (l). But having some relief from England, he sallied out, and scoured the county for seven miles on all sides of the city, killing many, and taking several prisoners (m). After this, he concluded a peace with Major-general Owen Row O-neal, in order to preserve the garrison of Londonderry, and the English interest in those parts: which the Parliament highly approved of, and ordered him to be supplied with provisions and amunition (n). Accordingly, being supplied with them, and reinforced with a thousand foot, and five hundred horse, he marched into the country possessed by King Charles's friends, and having cleared all round Londonderry fourteen miles together, he brought great store of provisions into that city (o), and kept the field without any considerable opposition. In December, he routed about four thousand horse and foot, that came to the relief of Carrickfergus, then closely besieged by him, and slew fourteen hundred men; whereupon Carrickfergus surrendered (p). About the beginning of the year 1650, he marched towards Belfast, where he found no opposition, and settled that country (q). Then he reduced Castle-dover (r), and advanced towards Catherlough (s). In April, he reduced many small Forts near Carrickfergus, and took Inniskilling and some other places (t), whereby he became so formidable, that the Irish army in Ulster would not engage with him, though he took great booties from them (u). In June, he gave a great defeat to the Bishop of Clogher [C], who was advancing at the head of four thousand foot and six hundred horse, to hinder the junction of Sir Charles, and Colonel Venables (w). In September, he was at the siege of Athloné: and in May 1651, was sent to attend the motions of the Irish in Connaught (x). In June, he marched thirty miles in a day and night, in order to escape the Marquis of Clanrickard who endeavoured to intercept his passage; and joining the then Deputy of Ireland, they routed the united forces of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Earl of Castlehaven, killing and taking three thousand of them. Then he went, and sat down before Galloway (y). Soon after, advancing against the remains of the Marquis of Clanrickard's Forces, they abandoned several passes, and a castle of consequence (z); and he also took Maso-castle (a). In the beginning of the year 1652, he harrassed the Barony of Burren [D], which refused to pay him contributions (b). And on the 12th of May ensuing, Galloway surrendered to him, after a long and tedious siege. Whereupon, the Marquis of Clanrickard desired to enter into a Treaty with him, for putting a period to the war in Ireland, and establishing the repose of that Nation (c). In June he reduced Sligo (d): and in July marched against a party of the Royalists in Kerry [E]; whom having beaten from their fastnesses, and secured the passes by planting some garrisons, he so distressed them that they could no longer continue in a body; therefore they, and the Marquis of Clanrickard came in and submitted; and he had leave to transport himself with three thousand men to any foreign country in friendship with England, within the space of three months (e). To enable Sir Charles to carry on the war, he was one of the Commissioners of the taxes, excise, and customs, for Ulster (f). After Ireland was reduced

[B] For he was straitly besieged in Londonderry.]

During this siege, he agreed to supply the besiegers with powder, upon their engaging to furnish him with such provisions as he wanted; which was performed on both sides (g). This shows how little Sir Charles was afraid of the besiegers. But how greatly he was, and had been, distressed, for want of pay and provisions, is evident, from a paper of requests to Lieutenant-General Cromwell, wherein it was represented, in the name of Sir Charles Coote and his forces, that they, being three regiments of horse, and three of foot, had received but eight months pay in eight years, and a peck of oatmeal a week (10).

[C] In June he gave a great defeat to the Bishop of Clogher.] This battle was fought at Skirfolas, on the 21st of June (11); and, after an hour's hot dispute, with great resolution on both sides, the Irish were wholly routed. Many of them were killed upon the place, and the execution was ten or eleven miles every way that night (12): but, afterwards, the pursuit was continued farther than ever was heard of before, namely, above thirty miles. So that it was believed, that five hundred of all this army did not escape (13). But Sir Charles writes in a letter, that there were at least, in all, three thousand killed. The Bishop being taken, much wounded (14), was hanged the next

day, by order of the President, and his head set up on one of the gates of Londonderry; of which, but the year before, he had assisted Sir Charles Coote in raising the siege (15).

[D] He harrassed the Barony of Burren.] Mr. Whitelock informs us, that this Barony hath neither wood, water, nor earth enough to hang, drown, or bury a man (16).

[E] And in July he marched against a party of the Royalists in Kerry.] They had got together a body of about five thousand men, under the conduct of the Marquis of Clanrickard and Sir Phelim O'Neal, with which they had besieged and taken the fort of Ballishannon. Whereupon Sir Charles Coote and Colonel Venables drew out what forces they could, and advanced towards them with such expedition, that they were near the place before the enemy had notice of their march; who, finding themselves surprized, retreated to the bogs, leaving a small garrison in Ballishannon; but being pursued by the Parliament's forces, who killed and wounded about three hundred of them, (in which number were thirty officers) and took from them seven or eight thousand cows, on whose milk they chiefly subsisted; twelve hundred of them came in and laid down their arms; upon which the garrison they had placed in Ballishannon surrendered upon articles (17).

(i) Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. p. 203.

(l) Ibid. p. 396.

(m) Ibid. p. 414, 420.

(n) Page 422.

(q) Ibid. p. 443.

(s) Page 451.

(t) Page 453, 455.

(w) Page 463, 464.

(z) Ibid. p. 507.

(c) Ibid. p. 527, 531, 532. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. edit. 1698, p. 396, &c.

Hist. of Ireland, by R. Cox, vol. ii. in Charles II. p. 69.

(d) Whitelock, as above, p. 538. (f) Ludlow, ibid. p. 338.

(15) R. Cox, as above, p. 24; and Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 331.

(16) Memorials, p. 521.

(17) Ludlow, as above, vol. i. p. 412.

to

to the obedience of the Parliament, he was one of the Court of Justice in the province of Connaught (g); of which he was made President by Act of Parliament (h). Being in England at the time of the deposing of Richard Cromwell, he went post for Ireland, to carry the news of that great alteration to his brother Henry Cromwell, and to concert with him what to do in order to maintain themselves in their posts (i). At first he seemed to aim at nothing more, than to keep his Government in Connaught, and to have his Regiment of Foot, and troop of Horse, continued to him (k) [F]. But when he found that King Charles the Second's interest was likely to prevail, he endeavoured to insinuate himself into his favour. For that purpose, he sent over to the Marquis of Ormond, then at Brussels, one Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish Gentleman of good affection to the King, and good interest in the Province of Ulster, where he was an Officer of Horse, 'To assure his Majesty of Sir Charles's affection and duty; and that, if his Majesty would vouchsafe to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the State in Ireland, under the character of Presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the King's judges in their places; yet they were generally so odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient.' However, the King not chusing to go to Ireland, dismissed Sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired: who, upon his return to Ireland, found the state of affairs much altered since his departure (l). For Sir Charles Coote, and one or two more, so influenced the whole council of Officers, that they prevailed upon them to vote, Not to receive Col. Ludlow as Commander in Chief; and, besides, made themselves masters of Athlone, Drogheda, Limerick, Dublin, and other places for the service of the King (m). Then he sent to Col. Monk, to acquaint him with the progress he had made in securing Ireland; who was so pleased with it, that he caused the cannon at Berwick to be fired in testimony of his joy, and sent back the messenger with letters of thanks for the good service, desiring him and his friends not to restore the Commissioners of the Parliament, whom they had seized, to the exercise of their authority (n). Soon after, Sir Charles Coote, and some others sent to the Parliament a charge of high-treason, against Col. Ludlow, Col. John Jones, Col. Thomlinson, and Miles Corbet (o). But the opposite party resolved to seize him, and his friends: of which having notice, he mounted on horseback, and, attended by great numbers of people, rode about the streets of Dublin, and declared for a Free Parliament (p). He likewise made himself master of Dublin-Castle, and expelled Sir Hardress Waller from the command of the army (q). To recommend himself farther to the King, he apprehended John Coke, Chief Justice of Ireland, who had been Solicitor-General at the trial of King Charles I (r). Notwithstanding all that, the Rump thought themselves so

(g) The Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. by Lord Clarendon, ed. 1731, 8vo. P. iii. vol. ii. p. 754, 755.

(n) Ibid. p. 798.

(p) Ibid. p. 838.

(q) Page 839.

(r) Page 851.

(m) Ludlow, as above, vol. ii. p. 787, 788.

(o) Ibid. p. 805, 806.

[F] *At first he seemed to aim at nothing more than to keep his government in Connaught, and to have his regiment of foot, and troop of horse continued to him.* Mr. Ludlow informs us, (if he is altogether to be credited) that he assured him of his endeavours, to have all those things confirmed to him by the Parliament, in hopes that he would employ them in the defence and preservation of that authority under which he had done so many great services, and from which he had received so many marks of favour. This Sir Charles promised to do, and added, that he was fully convinced that his interest was wholly involved in the preservation of the Parliament, all that he enjoyed being derived from their authority; and that as he had opposed the late King in his arbitrary designs, so he would continue to act in conformity to those actions, well knowing, that if the son should happen to prevail, the English interest would be lost in Ireland, and the Irish restored to the possession of their lands, according to an agreement passed between them. And this Sir Charles promised Ludlow he would do (18).

(18) Ludlow's Memoirs, &c. vol. ii. p. 704, 705.

* * [The character of Sir Charles Coote the elder, is drawn by Dr. Leland in a very unfavourable light. "Sir Charles Coote," says that historian, "was a soldier of fortune, trained in the wars of Elizabeth, morose, insolent, and cruel, provoked, particularly, by the ravages made in his estates, which he acquired by various projects, and impatient to revenge them on the Irish, against whom he had imbibed the most illiberal and inveterate prejudices. This man was employed by the chief governors to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the Castle of Wicklow, which they had invested. He executed his commission; repelled the Irish to their mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and

"indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagancies of the northerners. The wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying, served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation (19)."

Sir Charles Coote the younger, the subject of the present article, seems not to have been much more in Dr. Leland's favour. "Coote," says he, "and his father, had engaged in the parliamentary service, not from principle, but interest (20)." Perhaps the full truth of this assertion may be somewhat doubtful. For as the Cootes are understood to have been zealous Presbyterians, it is highly probable that they were influenced, in part, by their real sentiments, civil and religious, and especially by their aversion to popery.

(19) History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 145, 146.

(20) Ibid. p. 404.

It was in one of Sir Charles Coote's expeditions, that a complete and authentic copy was found of that private Treaty of the Earl Glamorgan with the confederated Irish Roman Catholics, which excited so much noise at the time, and hath since been the object of so much discussion (21). The subject has been considered by us under the article of BIRCH.

(21) Ibid. p. 267.

When Sir Charles Coote determined to exert himself in promoting the restoration of King Charles the Second, he acted with all the zeal of a new convert. After the Convention and Council of Officers at Dublin had avowed their design of restoring his Majesty, one point only remained to be discussed, which was, whether they should stipulate for a confirmation of estates to the adventurers and soldiers, or whether they should restore him without any previous condition. This matter was warmly debated, and Lord Broghill was for proceeding with secrecy and caution. But Sir Charles Coote contended for submitting all their interests implicitly to the King; and his opinion at length prevailed (22).]

K. (22) Ibid. p. 407.

ture of him, that on the 5th of January 1659-60, they approved of what had been done by him and other Officers of the Army in Ireland for the service of the Parliament; and ordered, that the Thanks of the House should be given them for their good service, to be signed by the Speaker, and sealed with the Seal of the Parliament (s). On the 19th of the same month, they appointed him one of the Commissioners for the management of the affairs of Ireland (t). But, before those Commissioners declared for King Charles, they insisted upon several particulars relating to their interest as members of that nation (u). On the 6th of September 1660, Sir Charles Coote, on account of his many and great services for the Royal Cause, was created Baron and Viscount Coote, and Earl of Mountrath in the Queen's county in Ireland: and he was also appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland (w). But he did not long enjoy these honours, for he died the 18th of December 1661 (x). He was succeeded in honour and estate by Charles his son, the second Earl; ancestor of Charles-Henry, the seventh Earl of Mountrath.

(s) Mercurius Politic. No. 602, p. 1009.

(u) Ibid. No. 612.

(w) The Irish Compendium, &c. as above, p. 107, 108.
(x) Ibid.

(t) Ibid. No. 604.

(a) New and General Biographical Dictionary, 1784.

* * [CORAM (THOMAS), a name which claims admittance in this Temple of British Worthies (a), as the Founder of a new species of public charity, was born about the year 1668; and, taking an early attachment to naval pursuits, spent the first part of his life as master of a vessel trading to the American Colonies. While he resided in that part of the metropolis which is the common residence of sea-faring people, business often obliging him to come early into the city, and return late, he had frequent occasions of seeing young children exposed, through the indigence or cruelty of their parents. This excited his compassion so far, that he projected the Foundling Hospital; in which humane design he laboured seventeen years, and at last, by his sole application, obtained in 1739 the royal charter for it. He was highly instrumental in promoting another good design, viz. the procuring a bounty upon naval stores imported from the Colonies; and was eminently concerned in setting on foot the Colonies of Georgia and Nova Scotia. A short specimen of his manner of applying for relief to those who were in distress shall be given below (b), in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane [A]. His last charitable design, which he lived to make some progress in, but not to complete, was a scheme for uniting the Indians in North America more closely to the British interest, by an establishment for the education of Indian girls. Indeed he spent a great part of his life in serving the public, and with so total a disregard to his private interest, that, towards the latter part of it, he was himself supported by a pension of somewhat more than an hundred pounds a year, raised for him, at the solicitation of Dr. Brocklesby [B] and Sir Sampson Gideon, by the voluntary subscriptions of public-spirited persons; at the head of whom was that truly amiable and benevolent prince, Frederic, late Prince of Wales.—This singular and memorable man died, at his lodgings near Leicester Square, March 29, 1751, in his 84th year; and was interred, pursuant to his desire, in the vault under the chapel of the Foundling Hospital, where the inscription transcribed below [C] perpetuates his memory, as Hogarth's portrait [D] has preserved his honest countenance.]

(b) Sloane's MS. 4041.

[A] To Sir Hans Sloane.]

HONOURED SIR, O^r. 28, 1744.
I request your favour to this pretty girl, who has long had a sore eye, and has not yet been able to obtain any relief for it. I humbly ask you pardon for this freedom.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Honoured Sir,
Your Honour's
most obedient Servant,

THOMAS CORAM."

[B] Dr. Brocklesby.] On the Doctor's applying to the good old man, to know whether his setting on foot a subscription for his benefit would not offend him, he received this noble answer: "I have not wasted the little wealth, of which I was formerly possessed, in self-indulgence or vain expences, and am not ashamed to confess that, in this my old age, I am poor (1)." Upon the death of Coram, this pension was continued to Leveridge, a worn-out singer at the Theatres, who, at the age of ninety, had scarce any other prospect than that of a parish subsistence.

[C] The inscription transcribed below.]

"Captain THOMAS CORAM,
whose Name will never want a Monument
so long as this Hospital shall subsist, was born about
the year 1668; a Man eminent in that most eminent
Virtue, the Love of Mankind;

little attentive to his private Fortune, and refusing
many Opportunities of increasing it, his Time and
Thoughts were continually employed in endeavours
to promote the public Happiness,

VOL. IV.

both in this Kingdom and elsewhere, particularly
in the Colonies of North America; and his Endeavours
were many Times crowned with the desired Success.

His unwearied Solicitations, for above Seventeen
Years together,
(which would have baffled the Patience and Industry of
any Man less zealous in doing Good)
and his Application to Persons of Distinction of both
Sexes, obtained at Length the Charter of
the Incorporation

(bearing Date the 17th of October 1739)

FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND EDUCATION
OF EXPOSED AND DESERTED YOUNG CHILDREN,
by which many Thousands of Lives may be preserved
to the Public, and employed in a frugal and honest
Course of Industry. He died the 29th of March,
1751, in the 84th Year of his Age, poor in
worldly Estate, rich in good Works; and was buried,
at his own Desire, in the Vault underneath
this Chapel

(the first here deposited)

at the East End thereof; many of the Governors
and other Gentlemen attending the Funeral, to do
Honour to his Memory.

Reader, thy Actions will shew whether thou art
sincere in the Praises thou may'st bestow on him; and
if thou hast Virtue enough to commend his
Virtues, forget not to add also the
Imitation of them."

[D] Hogarth's portrait.] This portrait, which is
said to be the best that Hogarth ever painted, is a
whole-length. The Captain has the seal of the
charter in his hand. Before him is a globe; at a dis-

Z z z

tance

(1) Sir John Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 523.

tance a prospect of the sea. It is thus described in "The Scandalizade," a satire published about the year 1749:

"Lo, old Captain Coram, so round in the face,
"And a pair of good chaps plump'd up in good case,
"His amiable locks hanging grey on each side
"To his double-breast coat o'er his shoulder so wide," &c (2).

(2) Biographical
Anecdotes of
Hogarth, p. 261.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 253.

A mezzotinto from this portrait, a three-quarters length, was published by Mac Ardell.—Hogarth, so early as 1739, had introduced the good old Captain in an engraved Power of Attorney from the Trustees of the Foundling Hospital to those gentlemen who were appointed to receive subscriptions towards the building (3). In this picture are seen several children of the Hospital; the boys with mathematical instruments, the girls with spinning-wheels. Over the door of the house they come out at, are the King's Arms. A porter is bringing in a child followed by Captain Coram, whose benevolent countenance is directed towards a kneeling woman.] N.

* * [The Editor cannot dismiss this article without mentioning a few particulars relative to the Foundling Hospital. For several years after its institution, it was an eminently popular object. Numbers of affluent persons were ardent to encourage it, and the Benefactions to the Hospital flowed in, in a very great abundance. It was at length taken under the direction of Parliament, and, from 1756 to 1759, annual and liberal grants were made for its support; in consequence of which children were poured in from every part of the kingdom. This circumstance, after some time, excited a general alarm. It was suggested, that the children, being cut off from all intercourse with their fathers and mothers, would, when they grew up, be aliens in their native land; without any visible obligations, and consequently without affections. It was farther suggested, that they might look upon themselves as a kind of independent beings in society; and that if they were permitted to increase as they had lately done, no one could tell what harm might ensue to the state, when there were such numbers who could scarcely be said to be connected with the body politic. Nay, it was asked, whether they might not, in time, rise like the slaves of Rome, and throw the kingdom into confusion (4)? Sentiments of this nature were first thrown out to the world by a Mr. Massie, a political writer of that period. In a pamphlet, entitled, "A Plan for the Establishment of Charity Houses for exposed or deserted Women and Girls, and for penitent Prostitutes," and which was printed in 1758, he introduced some observations concerning the Foundling Hospital, shewing the ill consequences of its receiving a public support. Afterwards, in 1759, he made a second attack upon the Hospital, in a Tract written solely for that purpose. In this Tract, the good

(4) Monthly Review, vol. xxii. p. 210. 212.

man's zeal upon the subject led him to several extravagancies and absurdities: but his general principles, concerning the evil that might arise from bringing up large multitudes of people who were not bound to society by the common ties of private and domestic affection, had a powerful influence on the public mind. The indiscriminate admission of infants into the Hospital was put a stop to; Parliamentary support was withdrawn; and the institution was left to be maintained by the generosity of individuals. Perhaps that generosity has too much abated. The Foundling Hospital doth not seem, at present, to be a favourite child of the public; and yet such a charity, properly restricted and regulated, comes recommended by many strong and affecting considerations. Mr. Jonas Hanway, whose philanthropy we need not celebrate, entered largely into the subject, and shewed that the Foundling Hospital was in itself an establishment of great importance, and that it only required to be duly modified and directed, in order to render it of real utility.

It is natural, on this occasion, to reflect on the influence of fashion, with regard to charitable institutions. Of late years, the zeal for the support of public Hospitals appears to have declined in a considerable degree. The Royal Foundations, though in part dependent on occasional benefactions and bequests, do, indeed, stand firm. Guy's Hospital, which was founded on the liberality of a single person, requires no adventitious aid. St. Luke's is rendered equally firm, by the noble legacies that have been left it, and the funds of which it is hence possessed. But other Hospitals, which principally rest on voluntary subscriptions, have not retained their former splendour. This has been particularly the case with respect to the St. George's, Westminster, and London Hospitals. The two former have received some temporary aids from the Musical Exhibitions; and St. George's Hospital, though an immediate sufferer, will hereafter revive, in consequence of a large reversion. It is to be apprehended, that the revival of the prosperity of the Westminster and London Hospitals is more doubtful and precarious. One source of some failure in the encouragement of these and other similar establishments, may be traced, perhaps, in the burthens and distresses of the late war. Another and more obvious cause is the institution of Dispensaries, of which there are said to be twenty-one, in and near the metropolis. That they are very useful, I have no intention to deny; and they would appear still more respectable, if they never were converted to particular interested purposes. But, though I am a sincere well-wisher to them, I cannot help regretting that any of the old noble establishments should be neglected. They are an honour to this country, and it would redound to the credit, as well as to the benefit of the public, to have them maintained in their original lustre. It is to be lamented, that fashion should ever have an undue sway in so excellent a thing as Charity.] K.

CORBET (RICHARD), Bishop of Norwich, and an excellent Poet, was son of Mr. Vincent Corbet [A], and born at Ewell in Surrey, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He had his education in Westminster School, and thence was sent to Oxford in Lent Term 1597-8, where he was admitted a Student

[A] *He was son of Mr. Vincent Corbet.* Our author's filial piety put him upon immortalizing the memory and virtues of his father in an excellent elegy, which begins thus (1):

(1) See Poems, written by the Right Rev. Dr. Richard Corbet, late Lord Bishop of Norwich, London, 1672, p. 31.

Vincent Corbet, farther known
By Pointer's name than by his own,
Here lies engaged, till the day
Of raising bones, and quick'ning clay.

That gentleman's character is beautifully drawn in the following lines:

Years he liv'd were near fourscore;
But, count his virtues, he liv'd more:
And number him by doing good,
He liv'd the age before the flood.

Again;

Simple he was, and withal
His purse not base nor prodigal;
Poorer in substance than in friends,
Future and public were his ends.
His conscience, like his diet, such
As neither took, nor left, too much.
So the made laws needful grown
To him, he needed but his own.

The elegy ends with this turn:

Read then, and mourn, whate'er thou art
That dost hope to have a part
In honest epitaphs; lest being dead,
Thy life be written, and not read.

[B] *He*

Student of Christ-Church. In 1605, he took the degree of Master of Arts, being at that time esteemed one of the most celebrated Wits of the University. Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he became an eminent Preacher, and was much followed by persons of taste and learning. His wit and eloquence recommended him to the favour of King James I. who made him one of his Chaplains in Ordinary; and, in 1620, promoted him to the Deanery of Christ-Church; about which time he was Doctor in Divinity, Vicar of Casington near Woodstock in Oxfordshire, and Prebendary of Bedminster-Secunda in the Church of Sarum (a). He made verses, whilst Dean of Christ-Church, on a play acted before the King at Woodstock [B]. He was elected, the 30th of July 1629, Bishop of Oxford, in the room of Dr. Howson translated to the See of Durham; was consecrated the 19th of October, and installed the 3d of November following. Lastly, upon the translation of Doctor White to Ely, he was elected Bishop of Norwich, the 7th of April 1632; and received the Temporalities, the 12th of May following (b). This Prelate married Alice the daughter of Dr. Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower in Northamptonshire (c) [C], by whom he had a son named after his grandfather *Vincent* [D]. In his younger years, he wrote several pieces of poetry [E], without any intention of their being made public (d);

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 600, 601.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.* col. 571.

(d) *Id. ubi supra*, col. 601.

and

[B] *He made verses on a play acted before the King at Woodstock.* The play was called *Technogamia*: or, *The Marriage of Arts*, and was written by Barten Holiday, the Poet. The ill success it met with in the representation, occasioned several copies of verses; among which, to use Anthony Wood's words (3), 'Corbet, Dean of Christ-Church, put in for one, who had that day preached (as it seems) before the King, with his band starched clean; for which he was reproved by the graver sort, but those who knew him well took no notice of it, for they have several times said, that he loved to the last boys play very well.'

(3) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 260.

[C] *He married Alice, the daughter of Dr. Leonard Hutten, Vicar of Flower, in Northamptonshire.* He mentions that village in his *Iter Boreale*.

Here we paid thanks, and parted, and at night
Had entertainment, all in one man's right,
At Flow're, a village, where our tenant she,
Sharp as a winter morning, fierce, yet free, &c (4).

(4) Poems, &c. p. 2.

It is not improbable, that our author's acquaintance with Dr. Hutten might take its rise from that *North-ern-Trip*, and that he might then have had the first sight of the Doctor's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

[D] *He had a son named Vincent.* Our author's Muse obeyed the dictates of paternal affection no less than of filial piety; for as he wrote an elegy on his own father, so he addressed the following verses, fraught with the best and kindest wishes, to his son.

What I shall leave thee none can tell,
But all shall say, I wish thee well.
I wish thee, *Vin*, before all wealth,
Both bodily and ghostly health:
Nor too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee;
So much of either might undo thee.
I wish thee learning, not for show,
Enough for to instruct, and know;
Not such as gentlemen require,
To prate at table, or at fire.
I wish thee all thy mother's graces,
Thy father's fortunes, and his places.
I wish thee friends, and one at court,
Not to build on, but to support;
To keep thee, not in doing many
Oppressions, but from suffering any.
I wish thee peace in all thy ways,
Nor lazy, nor contentious days;
And when thy soul and body part,
As innocent as now thou art (5).

(5) Page 35.

I conjecture, from the last line, that *Vin* was very young when his father wrote these.

[E] *He wrote several pieces of poetry.* A collection of them was published, under the title of *Poetica Stromata*, in octavo, London, 1647-8 (6). There is another edition of them in a thin *duodecimo*, London, 1672, dedicated to Sir Edmund Bacon, of Redgrave-Hall, in Suffolk, Baronet. The Editor tells his patron, that the most pious of the Clergy have made use of the innocent art of poetry, not only for their pleasant

(6) Wood *ubi supra*, vol. i. col. 601.

diversion, but their most fervent devotion. After the dedication follows an *advertisement*, in which we are told, that 'Upon reprinting these poems, diligent search was made to perfect them, which were very imperfectly printed before;' and that, 'though in this edition there be but few new poems, yet we may find many of them more perfect than before; for in some there are six, in others four, and in many two lines added out of perfecter copies, which were left out in the former impression.' Besides what has been already cited, I shall give the curious reader a farther specimen of Bishop Corbet's poetical genius, as his works are in but few hands. In his *Iter Boreale*, or *Journey Northward*, he has the following humorous description of a Serjeant.

I'th' interim comes a most officious drudge,
His face and gown draw'd out with the same budge.
His pendent pouch, which was both large and wide,
Look'd like a letters-patents by his side.
He was as awful, as he had been sent
From Moses with the eleventh commandment (7).

(7) Poems, &c. p. 3.

In the same poem we meet with a fine moral reflection upon the burial-place of King Richard III. and Cardinal Wolsey, who were both interred at Leicester.

Is not usurping Richard buried here,
That King of Hate, and therefore slave of fear;
Dragg'd from the fatal Bosworth-field, where he
Lost life, and, what he liv'd for, cruelty?
Search, find his name; but there is none: O Kings,
Remember whence your pow'r and vastness springs;
If not as Richard now, so may you be,
Who hath no tomb, but scorn and memory.
And tho' from his own store Wolsey might have
A palace*, or a college†, for his grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remembered were his fall.
Nothing but earth on earth, no pompous weight
Upon him, but a pebble or a quoit.
If thou art thus neglected, what shall we||
Hope after death, that are but shreds of thee (8)?

(*) Whitehall.
(†) Christ-church.

(||) Students of Christ-church.
(8) Page 6, 7.

The host's pointing out the disposition of the two armies in Bosworth-field affords a very humorous and entertaining picture.

Mine Host was full of ale and history,
And on the morrow when he brought us nigh
Where the two roses joined, you wou'd suppose
Chaucer ne're writ the Romant of the Rose.
Hear him: see ye yon woods? there Richard lay
With his whole army: look the other way.
And lo! where Richmond in a bed of grosse
Encamp'd himself o're night with all his force.
Upon this hill they met. Why, he could tell
The inch where Richmond stood, where Richard fell.
Besides what of his knowledge he could say,
He had authentic notice from the play:
Which I might guess by's mustering up the ghosts,
And policies, not incident to hosts:

But

(e) Winstanley's
Lives of the Eng-
lish Poets, Lond.
1697, p. 121.
(f) Wood, *ubi
supra*, col. 602.

(b) *Id. ib.* col.
601.

(9) Page 17, 18.

(10) P. 38, 39,
40.

and he was one of those celebrated persons, who, with Ben Jonson, Sir John Harrington, Dr. Donne, Michael Drayton, and others, wrote Mock-Commendatory verses on Tom Coryate's *Crudities* (e). He concurred likewise with other Poets of the University in inviting the celebrated Ben Jonson to Oxford, where that Poet was created Master of Arts (f). There is extant in the *Musæum Ashmoleanum* (g) a Funeral Oration in Latin, by Dr. Corbet, on the death of Prince Henry, A.D. 1612. This learned and ingenious Prelate died in the year 1635, and was buried at the upper end of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Norwich [F]. He was very hospitable, and always a generous encourager of public designs; and particularly, when St. Paul's Cathedral was repaired, in the year 1634, he not only contributed largely himself, but was very diligent in procuring contributions from others (b). I know not why Anthony Wood says, *he was consecrated Bishop of Oxford, though in some respects unworthy of such an office* (i), unless it be that he thought the character of a Poet inconsistent with that of a Bishop. It appears by our Author's

But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing,
Where he mistook a player for a King;
For when he wou'd have said, King Richard died,
And call'd a horse, a horse, he *Burbage* cry'd (9).

Our author appears to have had an excellent genius for *Panegyric*, by the following lines, which are part of an *elegy on the late Lord William Howard, Baron of Effingham, who died the 10th of December 1615*.

What did he? Acts of mercy, and refrain
Oppression in himself, and in his train?
Was his essential table full as free
As boasts and invitations used to be;
Where if his Ruffet-friend did chance to dine,
Whether his Satten-man wou'd fill him wine?—
Did he seek regular pleasures? was he known
Just husband of one wife, and she his own?
Did he give freely without pause or doubt,
And read petitions e're they were worn out?—
Did he attend the court for no man's fall?
Wore he the ruin of no hospital?
And when he did his rich apparel don,
Put he no widow, nor an orphan on?
Did he love simple virtue for the thing?
The King for no respect but for the King?
But above all, did his religion wait
Upon God's throne, or on the chair of state?
He that is guilty of no *Quære* here,
Out-lasts his epitaph, out-lives his heir.

And a few lines farther;

And therefore I am angry, when a name
Comes to upbraid the world like *Effingham*.
Nor was it modest in thee to depart
To thy eternal home, where now thou art,
E're thy reproach was ready; or to die,
E're custom had prepar'd thy calumny.
Eight days are past since thou hast paid thy debt
To Sin, and not a libel stirring yet;
Courtiers, that scoff by patent, silent sit,
And have no use of slander, or of wit:
But, which is monstrous, tho' against the tide,
The water-men have neither rail'd nor ly'd.
Of good or bad there's no distinction known,
For in thy praise the good and bad are one (10).

Nor was his talent for *Satire* less extraordinary, as appears by his verses upon Mrs. Mallet, an unbandsome gentlewoman that made love unto him.

Have I renounc'd my faith? or basely sold
Salvation, or my loyalty for gold?
Have I some foreign practice undertook,
By poison, shot, sharp knife, or sharper look,
To kill my King? Have I betray'd the state
To fire or fury, or some newer fate,
Which learned murtherers, those grand destinies,
The Jesuits, have nurs'd? If of all these
I guilty am, proceed, I am content
That *Mallet* take me for my punishment.
For never sin was of so high a rate,
But one night's Hell with her might expiate.

Again;

Whether her wit, form, talk, smile, fire, I name,
Each is a stock of tyranny and shame.

But for her breath, spectators, come not nigh,
That lays about, God bless the company.
The man in a bear's skin, bated to death,
Wou'd chuse the dogs much rather than her breath.
One kiss of her's, and eighteen words alone,
Puts down the Spanish Inquisition.

He concludes with these lines:

No Tyger's like her, she feeds upon man,
Worse than a Tygers or a Leopard can.
Let me go pray, and think upon some spell,
At once to bid the devil and her farewell (11).

(11) P. 44, 45,
46.

Our author's *Epigrammatic* turn may be seen in the following tetrastick on Henry Bolings.

If gentleness cou'd tame the fates, or wit
Deliver man, Bolings had not dy'd yet:
But one, which over us in judgment sits,
Doth say, our sins are stronger than our wits (12).

(12) Page 38.

And in those verses, *On the birth of the young Prince Charles*.

When private men get sons, they get a spoon,
Without eclipse, or any star at noon.

When Kings get sons, they get withal supplies,
And succours far beyond all subsidies.
Welcome God's loan, thou tribute to the state,
Thou money newly coin'd, thou fleet of plate;
Thrice happy child, whom God thy father sent,
To make him rich without a parliament (13).

(13) Page 108.

I shall only add here the following sensible and witty reflection in his *Elegy upon the death of Queen Anne*.

Know henceforth, that grief's vital part
Consists in nature, not in art;
And verses that are studied,
Mourn for themselves, not for the dead (14).

(14) Page 128.

These extracts may serve to give the reader a taste of an author, who is but little known at present, and whose works are not easily to be met with.

[F] *He was buried—in the Cathedral Church of Norwich.* Soon after, a large freestone, of a sandy colour, was laid over his grave, and the following inscription, engraven on a plate of brass, was fastened thereon.

Richardus Corbet Theologiæ Doctor, Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi Oxoniensis primum Alumnus, inde Decanus, exinde Episcopus, illinc huc translatus, et hinc in cælum, Julii 28, an. 1635.

In English.

‘ Richard Corbet, Doctor of Divinity, first student, then Dean, of Christ-Church, in Oxford, and next Bishop of that See; from thence translated hither, and from hence to Heaven, July 28, 1635.

On the said stone are the antient arms of the Corbets, of Shropshire, viz. Or, a raven passant *fab.* (15).

(15) Wood, *ubi supra*.

[G] *He*

Author's Poems, that, at some time or other of his life, he took a journey to Paris [G]. I shall subjoin some manuscript verses in honour of Bishop Corbet [H].

[G] *He took a journey to Paris.* I cannot forbear giving the reader one more sample of Bishop Corbet's wit, out of the ballad he made on that journey. It is a ridicule on the superstitious veneration of the Roman Catholics for relics, and the many forgeries practised in that respect.

Then to *St. Dennis* fast we came,
To see the sights of *Notre Dame*;
The man that shews 'em snaffles;
Where, who is apt for to believe,
May see our lady's right-arm sleeve,
And eke her old pantoffles;

Her breast, her milk, her very gown
That she did wear in *Bethlem town*,
When in the inn she lay:
Yet all the world knows that's a fable;
For so good cloaths ne're lay in stable
Upon a lock of hay.

No Carpenter cou'd by his trade
Gain so much coin as to have made
A gown of so rich stuff;
Yet they, poor fools, think for their credit
They may believe old *Joseph* did it,
'Cause he deserv'd enough.

There is one of the cross's nails,
Which who so sees his bonnet vails,
And, if he will, may kneel:
Some say 'twas false, 'twas never so;
Yet feeling it, thus much I know,
It is as true as steel.

There is a lanthorn, which the Jews,
When *Judas* led them forth, did use;
It weighs my weight downright:
But to believe it, you must think,
The Jews did put a candle in't,
And then 'twas very light (16).

(16) Poems, &c.
p. 129.

* * [CORYATE (THOMAS), a writer who possessed no inconsiderable share of learning, but with a small portion of common sense, was the son of George [A] Coryate, Rector of Odcombe, in the county of Somerset, by Gertrude his wife. His family was a very respectable one, being related to the Earl of Essex in the fourth degree, but whether on the father or mother's side we are not informed (a). He was born at Odcombe in the year 1577 (b), and received part of his education at Winchester School (c), whence he was removed to Oxford, where, in the year 1596, at the age of nineteen years, he became a Commoner of Gloucester Hall. Here he continued three years, and attained, by the help

(b) Athen. Oxon.
422.

[A] *Was the son of George Coryate.* George Coryate was born in the parish of St. Thomas, within the city of Salisbury. He received his education at Winchester School, and in the year 1562 was admitted perpetual Fellow of New College, Oxford (1). In the year 1566, on Queen Elizabeth's visiting the University, he, together with W. Reynolds, Bachelor of Arts, received her Majesty and her train at New College; on which occasion he pronounced an Oration, for which he received great praises and a handsome purse of gold (2). He afterwards took his degree in Arts, and, in June 1570, became Rector of Odcombe on the death of Thomas Reade, and sometime after Bachelor of Divinity (3). In the year 1594, he was appointed Prebendary of Warthill, in the Cathedral Church of York, and also held some other dignity, but what we are not informed (4). He died at the Parsonage-House at Odcombe, on the fourth of March 1606. It is asserted that his son, agreeably to the madness of his character, entertained a design of preserving his body from stench and putrefaction, and with that view caused it to be kept above ground until the 14th of April following, when it was buried in the Chancel of the Church of Odcombe, by his successor Gibbs Gallop, M. A. who had formerly belonged to Gloucester Hall (5). This George Coryate was a person much commended in his time for his fine fancy in Latin poetry; and for certain pieces which he had written was honourably

(1) Athen. Oxon.
335.

(2) Hist. of the
University of
Oxford, 4to.
1772. p. 226.

(3) Athen. Oxon.
335.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

[H] *Some manuscript verses in honour of Bishop Corbet.* I found them in a blank leaf of his poems.

In flowing wit, if verses writ with ease,
If learning, void of pedantry, can please;
If much good humour, join'd to solid sense,
And mirth accompanied with innocence,
Can give a poet a just right to fame,
Then CORBET may immortal honour claim:
For he these virtues had, and in his lines
Poetic and heroic spirit shines;
Tho' bright, yet solid, pleasant, but not rude,
With wit and wisdom equally indu'd.
Be silent, Muse, thy praises are too faint:
Thou want'st a pow'r this prodigy to paint,
At once a poet, prelate, and a saint. J. C.

B.

* * [The extracts from Bishop Corbet's Poems, shew him to have been a man of ingenuity, wit, and humour, and that he was capable of excelling either in panegyric or satire. But there is one instance in which his satirical vein was displayed, that must be condemned. We mean his verses upon Mrs. Mallet, an unbandsome Gentlewoman that made love to him. The Lady, no doubt, was very ordinary and disagreeable; and Corbet, if he did not like her, was under no obligation to comply with her proposals of marriage. But surely her affection did not merit so cruel a return. The punishment was far beyond the crime, if there be a crime at all in an ugly woman's falling in love; for lines more severe can scarcely be met with in any satire that exists in the English language. Perhaps the manners of the age, which might be less offended than ours at a harshness of sentiment and expression, may furnish some excuse for Dr. Corbet. At present, such verses, upon such an occasion, would be deemed equally contrary to politeness and humanity.] K.

quoted by several eminent writers (6). The only pieces Mr. Wood had seen of his composition were, 1. "Poemata varia Latina," London 1611, quarto, published by his son after his death, and by him intitled "Posthuma fragmenta Poematum Georgii Coryate." 2. "Descriptio Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiiberniæ," written in Latin verse, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (7). It is not said whether this piece was ever printed. In the year 1763 was published, from a MS. found amongst the papers belonging to a considerable family in one of the western counties, a Latin Poem, which appears to have been written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intitled, "Descriptio Angliæ et Descriptio Londini," being two Poems in Latin verse, supposed to be written in the 15th century (8). This pamphlet is imagined to be part of the Poem noticed by Mr. Wood. The mention of only fifteen Colleges at Oxford, fixes the date of the verses before the year 1571. Besides this his son, George Coryate had two other children, both daughters, by his wife Gertrude (9). She outlived her husband and son many years. Her residence continued to be at Odcombe or near it until her death. Dr. Humphy Hody, a native of that place, informed Mr. Wood, that she was buried near the remains of her husband on the 3d of April 1645 (10). It appears that after her husband's death she married a second time (11).

(a) Cradities,
239.
(c) Verses by
Hugh Holland
and John Chap-
man, prefixed to
Cradities.

(6) John Case
the Philosopher.
*In speculo Mora-
lium*, lib. 4. c. 2.
James Midden-
dorp. In 8vo.
*Libro De cele-
berrimis Acad.*
Col. Agrip. 1602.
p. 450, 451.
John Cay, in
lib. 1. De Antiq.
Acad. Cant. p. 45.
& alibi.
(7) Athen. Oxon.
335.

(8) Gough's To-
pographic Anti-
quities, 4to. p. 21.

(9) In *Antiqui-
tates Sarisburi-
enses*, 1771, p.
227, it is said
three daughters.
(10) Athen.
Oxon. 335.
(11) Taylor the
Water Poet's
Works, 1630, p.
82.

of a great memory, to some competency in Logic, but more by far in the Greek tongue and human learning. He seems to have left Oxford without taking any degree [B]; and it is probable that thence he returned home, as we find him at Odcombe in the year 1606 (d). In that year he assembled his neighbours on Whitsunday, and with them went in cavalcade to Ewill, where he made an Oration at the Cross, to the people of the town, and about two thousand more who came from many places in the neighbourhood. His design in this proceeding, he says, was to draw a great company to Odcombe for the benefit of the Church, the whole stock of which had been expended. He also made another Oration to the same people on their coming to Odcombe (e). As his father died soon after, perhaps on that event he came up to London, where he was received into the family of Henry, Prince of Wales, who allowed him a pension (f) and kept him as a servant [C]. Until this time he lived in obscurity; but now he fell into the company of wits, who, as one of his Biographers (g) remarks, finding him little better than a fool in many respects, made him their whetstone, and so he became *notus nimis omnibus*. In the beginning of the year 1608, he commenced his travels through Europe. On the 14th of May, he embarked at Dover, and the same day arrived at Calais, where, after a short stay, he proceeded to Paris, and reached that city (h) on the twenty-second of the same month. Through the whole course of his travels, his residence at any place (excepting Venice) was confined to a few days. He remained at Paris only until the 28th of that month; but in that time visited St. Denis, and which he most desired above all other things, and oftentimes wished for before he saw the city, he enjoyed the sight and company of Isaac Casaubon, with whom he had much familiar conversation, at his house near St. German's Gate within the city. "I found him, says he, very affable and courteous and learned in his discourses, and by so much the more willing to give me entertainment by how much the more I made relation to him of his learned works (i). From Paris he proceeded to Lyons, at which place he arrived on the 3d of June. He stayed there two whole days; during which time he chanced to fall into company with a Turk (one of the train of M. de Breves, the French Ambassador at Constantinople) "a notable companion and a great scholler in his kinde; for he spake six or seven languages besides the Latin, which he spake very well: he was borne in Constantinople. I had a long discourse with him in Latin of many things, and amongst other questions I asked him whether he were ever baptized; he tolde me, no, and said he never would be. After that wee fell into speeches of Christ, whom he acknowledged for a great Prophet, but not for the Sonne of God; affirming that neither he nor any of his country-men would worship him, but the onely true God, Creator of heaven and earth: and called us Christians, Idolaters, because we worshipped images; a most memorable speech if it be properly applied to those kind of Christians which deserve that imputation of idolatry. At last I fell into some vehement argumentations with him in defence of Christ; whereupon being unwilling to answer me, he suddenly flung out of my company (k)." Coryate quitted Lyons on the 6th of June, and on the 11th ascended Mount Senis. On the 12th he arrived at Turin, where he found so great a distemperature in his body, by drinking the sweet wines of Piedmont, that it caused a grievous inflammation in his hands and face (l). His illness, however, did not prevent him from continuing his journey. He left Turin on the 13th, and two days after came to Milan, where he stayed only one day. His next stage was to the city of Lodi, at which place arriving too late, he could not obtain entrance into the town, but was obliged to repose that night in the coach he rode thither in (m). On the evening of the 20th he arrived at Padua, where he was informed of a very extraordinary custom which discharged persons in debt from the obligation of payment (n); a custom which, had it not been noticed by a less hasty and more informed traveller (o), might have been suspected for an imposition by some one who had discovered the credulity of Coryate's disposition. In this city he saw Livy's house, of which he gives a long description (p): and here also in the Church of St. Anthony he observed a monument, which "made me even lament, says he (q), being that" of a certain English Nobleman, "namely, Edward Courteney, Earle of Devonshire, who was buried there in the time of Queen Mary; he died there in his youth, and was the sonne of Henry, Earle of Devonshire, and Marquisse of Exceter, who was beheaded by Queen Mary. Truly it strooke great compassion and remorse in me to see an Englishman so ignobly buried. For his body lieth in a poore wooden coffin, placed upon another faire monument, having neither Epitaph

[B] *Without taking any degree.* His friend Lawrence Whitaker, in a note to some verses (12), says, he proceeded a Cæsarian Doctor, at the University of Royston. To what this alludes may be difficult to discover at so great a distance of time; probably some court merriment. It was at Royston, where King James frequently resided, that Coryate made an Oration (13) on presenting to him a copy of his *Crudities*. He is also styled Doctor by Anthony Washbourne, in another copy of verses (14).

[C] *And kept him as a servant.* It is not known

when, nor by whose means, he came to be noticed by Prince Henry; but as his name does not occur in either of the Lists of that Prince's Household, at the settlement of it in the years 1603 or 1610 (15), it is to be presumed he was retained only for the purpose of creating mirth. "Sweetmeats and Coryate made up the last course at all entertainments. Indeed he was the Courtiers anvil to try their wits upon, and sometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard knocks as he received, his bluntness repaying their abuse (16)."

"nor

"nor any other thing to preserve it from oblivion, so that I could not have known it for
 "an Englishman's coffin, except an English gentleman, my kinde friend, Mr. George
 "Rooke, of whom I have before spoken, had told me of it and shewed me the same [D]." He remained at Padua three days. On leaving it he proceeded to Venice, where he arrived on the 24th. Of this place he speaks with the utmost rapture: "it yieldeth," says he, "the most glorious and heavenly shew upon the water that ever any mortal eye beheld; such a shew as did ravish me with delight and admiration (r)." Here he resided six weeks, which he declares to have been the sweetest time for so much he ever spent in his life (s) [E]. As at Lyons he entered into a dispute with a Turk on the Truth of the Christian Religion, so here he engaged in another with a Jewish Rabbin, whom he endeavoured to convert; but as the event of this controversy had nearly terminated in a very serious manner, we shall relate it in his own words. "After there had passed many vehement speeches to and fro betwixt us, it happened that some forty or fifty Jews more flocked about me, and some of them beganne very insolently to swagger with me because I durst reprehend their religion. Whereupon, fearing least they would have offered me some violence, I withdrew myself by little and little towards the bridge, at the entrance into the Ghetto, with an intent to flee from them; but by good fortune our noble Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, passing under the bridge in his gondola at that very time, espied me somewhat earnestly bickering with them; and so incontinently sent unto me out of his boate one of his principal gentlemen, Master Belford his Secretary, who conveyed mee safely from these unchristian miscreants, which perhaps would have given me just occasion to forswear any more comming to the Ghetto (t)." We also find him visiting a Courtezan with a design of converting her; and it must be owned he gives a very entertaining account of the manners of these people. Indeed, whatever censure any other parts of his travels are liable to, his description of Venice, and the manners and customs of the people, may be perused with much satisfaction by those who wish to be acquainted with the particular modes of living in different ages and nations; his account, though prolix, being always to be depended on for its veracity, and in this instance being calculated to afford much information. He departed from Venice the 8th of August, and passing through Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, on the 14th arrived at Brixia, where happening to be present at the dedication of a new image of the Virgin Mary, he found himself tempted to purloin a little waxen idol, in which he succeeded, and brought it away undiscovered (u). His next stage was to Bergamo, where he was constrained to repose in a stable among horses; and this vile lodging he with difficulty obtained, being obliged for it to the curtesy of an Italian Priest, who was shot the same night by a Bravo (w). Intending to go through the Grisons country into Germany, he repaired to a monastery in order to obtain some information for his conduct in his journey. He was received in a friendly manner by the Monks, who recommended him to a Dominican Friar, from whom he obtained the necessary instructions; and among others was particularly warned to avoid a certain Castle seated on the Lake of Como, which was then garrisoned by the Spaniards, who might possibly seize and imprison him being an Englishman (x). On the 18th he left Bergamo, and on the 26th arrived at Zurich, where he was introduced to Henry Bullinger, nephew of the famous preacher of both those names, who was the successor of Zuinglius, in the Ecclesiastical function at this place. He describes Bullinger as a "very vigilant preacher and painefull labourer in the Lord's Vineyard. He shewed himself," says he, "very debonaire and courteous unto me." And our traveller particularly notices that he was led through his library, which was exceedingly well furnished with divinity books; and, among other curiosities, he was shewn some MSS. of Bullinger's grandfather, and also an execrable book written by one Joannes Casa, Bishop of Beneventum in Italy, in defence of the horrid sin of sodomy (y). He stayed at Zurich but one day, after which

(s) *Ibid.* 160.(u) *Ibid.* 340.(y) *Ibid.* 391.(r) *Crudities*, 157.(t) *Ibid.* 236.(w) *Ibid.* 350.(x) *Ibid.* 351.

[D] *And shewed me the same.* It may not be improper to give some farther account of this Nobleman, who was the last Earl of Devonshire of the family of Courtney, and not more remarkable for his misfortunes than for his singular endowments of body and mind, which were supposed to have made a deep impression on the hearts of one, if not two Queens, viz. Mary and Elizabeth. He was polite, studious, and learned; an accurate master of the languages, and skilled in the Mathematics, Painting, and Music. He lived a prisoner in the Tower from the age of fourteen to twenty-one years. On Queen Mary's accession to the Throne, he was released, and she conceived an affection for him which he was no stranger to; yet seemed rather to attach himself to the Princess Elizabeth, whose youth and lively conversation had more prevailing charms than the pomp and power of her sister. This preference not only produced a total change in Mary's sentiments with regard to the Earl, but was nearly proving fatal to Elizabeth. On suspicion of being concerned with

that Princess in Wyat's Rebellion, he was imprisoned again in Fotheringay Castle, whence on his release he travelled into Italy, and died at Padua at the age of thirty years. Some say he was poisoned (17).

[E] *Sweetest time for so much he ever spent in his life.* How well satisfied he was with Venice, will appear by the following passage. "Had there been an offer made to me, before I tooke my journey to Venice, eyther that foure of the richest Mannors of Somersetshire (wherein I was borne) should be gratis bestowed upon me if I never saw Venice, or neither of them if I should see it; although certainly those Mannors would do me much more good in respect of a state of livelyhood to live in the world then the sight of Venice, yet notwithstanding I will ever say, while I live, that the sight of Venice and her resplendent beauty, antiquities, and monuments, hath by many degrees more contented my minde and satisfied my desires than those four Lordshippes could possibly have done (18)."

(17) Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. 3. 338, 339. Warton's Life of Sir Tho. Pope, 62. 100.

(18) *Crudities*, 120.

he

he continued his journey through Badon to the Baths of Hinderbove. Of these, together with the customs of the place, the properties of the waters, and the manners of the inhabitants and visitors, he gives a very accurate and entertaining account (z). On the 30th he arrived at Basil, and after remaining there one day he went to Straßbourg, and thence to Lower Baden. At Heidelberg he saw the famous vessel which held 530 hogheads of Rhenish wine, worth one thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight pounds, eight shillings (a). His next stage was to Spira. On the 10th of September he came to Wormes, having in his way thither had an encounter with a boor, occasioned by his pulling some grapes in a vineyard (b). In two days after his arrival at Wormes, we find him at Mentz, and the next day at Frankfort (c). He was at Colen on the 19th, and thence he proceeded to Flushing, where he embarked in a vessel for London. He arrived at the Custom-House there on the 3d of October, and in this manner concluded the first part of his travels, which had employed five months wanting a few days. In this short time he had seen forty-five cities (d). The length of his journey was 1975 miles, more than half of which he performed with only one pair of shoes. These memorable shoes, we are told, were only once mended, and on his return to Odcombe were hung up in the Church there (e). Having thus recited, with a degree of minuteness worthy of Thomas himself, the several stages of his journey, it will readily occur to the Reader, that had our Traveller been qualified for the task of improving his country by his observations on the laws, manners, customs, or government of the several countries through which he passed, the hasty manner in which he made his tour would totally preclude such expectations. And it may be observed in his defence that he had no view of that kind. To one who had objected that he had copied out more inscriptions and epitaphs than any judicious traveller would have done in many years, and thereby had branded him with the note of a tomb-stone traveller (e), he answers. "But because this objection shall not justly take hold upon me, that I am a tombe-stone traveller, if God shall grant me happy success in my next journey, I will so farre wade into a few matters of policie for the better satisfaction of the Reader, as I may with security of my life attain unto. Surely I do not a little wonder that the observing of inscriptions and epitaphes should be objected unto me by way of disgrace." He had just before observed, that being a private man, and no statish, matters of policy were impertinent unto him. It may, therefore, be concluded, that accuracy in those things which he professed to discuss, and veracity in relating the circumstances of his journey, are only to be sought after in his book; and so far as any commendation is due to an Author, in these points he is entitled to his reward [F]. It will give some surprize to those who have not perused the account of his journey, and to many who form their judgment on the manners of past times by what they see at present, to be informed that he was the first Englishman who made use of a fork at his meals: as the passage shews how far behind the Italians we then were in point of delicacy, and is also descriptive of the manners of the age; it will be set down at large in the note [G]. But though his Travels cannot be considered as very important to the public, they produced that which the greater number of Travellers have in view. They afforded himself much

[F] *He is entitled to his reward.* A late Author (19) appears not to have done justice to our Traveller, when, speaking of the length of William Lithgow's Travels, he says, that "here the marvellous seems to rise to the incredible," and to set him in point of veracity below Coryate, "whom it is nevertheless certain that he outwalked." It may be observed in Coryate's favour, that his minute accuracy not his want of veracity, was what subjected him to the ridicule of his contemporaries. Much more just is the judgment of Mr. Aubrey, cited by the same author (20) concerning him, "that though he was not a wise man, he wrote faithfully matter of fact." Another writer, who had sufficient opportunities of knowing him says, that if he had lived to have written his travels—"there might have been very good use of his observations; for as he was a very particular, so was he without question a very faithful relator of things he saw; ever disclaiming that bold liberty which divers travellers have, and do take by speaking and writing any thing they please of remote parts, when they cannot easily be contradicted, taking a pride in their feigned relations to overspeak things (21)."

(21) Terry's Travels, 59.

[G] *Set down at large in the note.* "Here I will mention a thing that might have been spoken of before in discourse of the first Italian towne. I observed a custome in all those Italian cities and townes through the which I passed, that is not used in any other country that I saw in my travels, neither doe I thinke that any other nation of Christendome doth use it, but only Italy. The Italian

and also most strangers that are commorant in Italy, do alwaies at their meales use a little forke when they cut their meat. For while with their knife which they hold in one hand they cut the meate out of the dish, they fasten their forke which they hold in their other hand upon the same dish, so that whatsoever he be that sitting in the company of any others at meale, should unadvisedly touch the dish of meate with his fingers from which all at the table doe cut, he will give occasion of offence unto the company, as having transgressed the lawes of good manners, insomuch that for his error he shall be at least brow beaten if not reprehended in wordes. This forme of feeding I understand is generally used in all places of Italy; their forkes being for the most part made of yron or Steele, and some of silver, but those are used only by Gentlemen. The reason of this their curiosity is, because the Italian cannot by any meanes indure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane. Hereupon I my selfe thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate, not only while I was in Italy, but also in Germany, and oftentimes in England since I came home, being once quipped for that frequent using of my forke by a certain learned Gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one Mr. Laurence Whitaker, who in his merry humour doubted not to call me at table *furcifer*, only for using a forke at feeding, but for no other cause (22)."

(22) Crudities, 90.

enter-

entertainment, indeed so much that on his return he declared, that "of all the pleasures in the world Travel is the sweetest and most delightful," and, that "such is the exuberance and superfluity of these exoticke pleasures (arising from travelling) that for my own part, I will most truly affirm I reaped more entire and sweet comfort in five months travels of those seven countries mentioned in the front of my booke, than I did all the dayes of my life before in England which containd two and thirty years (g)." On his return to England he immediately began to digest his Travels in order for publication; and that he might proceed therein without interruption he retired to his native place Odcombe, where he employed himself in that business, according to Ben Jonson, five months (b). While on his journey through Europe he had resolved to visit many of the places again which he then only imperfectly noticed, particularly Venice (i) and some parts of Switzerland (k). But he had not long been in England before he changed his design, and determined to enlarge the plan of his future Travels. Having therefore completed his book, he was desirous of having it printed at London without delay. To effect which, he applied himself, by Letter [H], to Sir Michael Hicks, desiring his intercession with the Earl of Salisbury then Lord Treasurer, to obtain a licence. His request was granted, and the next year his work made its appearance under the following affected

(g) Epistle to the Reader prefixed to Crudities.

(i) Crudities, 280.

(b) Verses prefixed to Crambe.

(k) Ibid. 390.

[H] To effect which he applied himself by Letter.] This Letter which formerly belonged to James West, Esq (23); is still extant. It is now in the possession of the writer of this article, and having never been printed may not improperly be inserted here.

(23) Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales.

Right Worship and generose Sir,

Though I feare I shall incurre your reprehension for presuming to write unto your worship; yet I hope the superficial acquaintance which I had with you lately at Mr. Ingrams (where it pleased you, after a very debonaire and courteous manner, to take notice of me) will in some sort dispense with my bouldnesse. I write unto you partly by way of deprecation for my error committed at that time at Mr. Ingrams table, which I beseech you to impute not to any voluntarie malapartnes of mine, but rather to the merry prompting of that joviall black-bearded Gentleman that sat next unto me, who you know is soe much given to his *παρρησία* and libertie of speech, that sometimes he will not sticke amicissimum quempiam perstringere even to glaunce with some exquisite straine of witte at the dearest freinde he hath: partly also for that I am soe bould to insinuate my selfe unto you with a suite, whereunto if it shall please you to condescend, not onely I my selfe shall be obliged unto you for it, in the strictest bonde of true observance till I suffer the fatall dissolution of my bodie and sowle, but perhaps many notable members of other commonwealths may render no small thanks unto you for the same. Therefore, without any long introductions to discover unto you the summe of the matter it is thus; having travelled about two years since in these seven famous countries France, Savoy, Italie, Rhetia, commonly called the Grisons cuntry, Helvetia, alias Swicerland, some partes of high Germanie, and the Netherlands, I was disposed to turne my microcosme (a phrase that a certaine learned Gentleman not long since used of me) into eyes, I meane to prye into all thinges of chiefest remarque that were obvious unto my eyes in every place where I travelled, in soe much that by my incessant industrie and Herculean toyle I wrote soe many observations in the foresayd countries as have filled very neere four quires of paper, having in the space of five months surveyed forty-seven cities; and this my itinerarie I have concealed soe long, that it seemed cum lineis ac blattis rixari (as eloquent Angelus Politian writeth of certaine of his bookes, in an epistle to Laurentius Medices, Duke of Florence) determining indeed rather Thetidi aut Veneris eas largiri marito, then to evulge them to the light of my cuntry before the consummation of my future travells, which I thinke will be very neere ten yeares hence, but some of my deare friendes, especially a certaine learned Gentleman, one Mr. Lawrence Whitaker, hath used such importunities of persuasions unto me, who, amongst other things, alledged that excellent proverbiall verse,

Πολλὰ μετὰ χρόνον κείνη κείνη ἀκρῶς.

that I have confidently resolved, by God's gracious permission, to imprint the observations of my past

VOL. IV.

travells, for the benefite of my travelling cuntry men, before I goe abroad againe, for which cause, determining to dedicate them to the Prince, I went lately to his Highnesse, pronounced an oration unto him before a greatesse assemblie of courtiers, and withal presented unto him my journall, who soe graciously accepted it, that he hath promised to entertaine the dedication thereof. Since which time I have laboured very much about the licencing of my booke, that it might be printed first with the late Archbyshop of Canterbury, whose sudden death hath much defeated my designement, after that with some of the High Commissioners, and the Byshop of London, of whom I can not get an approbation, seeing it is not in their power to allowe any bookes to be printed (as they affirme) but theologicall, soe that the whole scope of my suite unto your worship doth tend unto this, that you would vouchsafe to intercede for me unto my Lorde Treasurer, that it would please his Lordship to give order it might be printed in London, with some expedition: the Prince not onely approving, yea applauding it, together with all those selected flowers of gentilitie that flourish in his princely courte, but also earnestly expecting it, especially since there is not as much as one line contained in my whole journall that maketh against other state, or any forraine Prince confederate with us, or against religion or good manners, my booke containing principally the most remarkable antiquities of those cities that I have described; yea, and so many of them, that I hope you will pardon me, though I thinke that no man of other nation since the incarnation of Christ, hath observed more for the time, in the foresayd countries, which I hope you would not hold to be unlikely, if you did but knowe what intolerable paynes I tooke in my travells, both by day and night, scarce affording my selfe two howe's rest sometimes of the whole twenty-four, in the citie of Venice, by reason of my continuall writing, whereupon divers English men that lay in the same howse with me, observing my extreme watchings wherewith I did grievously exccruciat my bodie, instantly desired me to pittie my selfe and not to kill my selfe with my inordinate labours. To conclude, if it shall please your worship to gratifie me in this my earnest supplication, you will adde unto me very spurres of diligence, and give me wonderfull encouragement to observe such thinges in my future travells as I doubt not but shall be acceptable to the King and Queen themselves and all their royall children, as also to the greatest Peers and Nobles of this kingdom; in hope whereof I will commend your worship to the gracious clientele of the omnipotent Jehova.

From my chamber in Bowe-lane this 15th November, 1610.

Your Worship's moste suppliant Beadsman,

THOMAS CORYATE.

To the Right Worshipful Sir Michaell Hix's, Knight, give these with all speede.

4 B

title,

title, "Coryat's Crudities hastily gobbled up in five months Travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of High Germany, and the Netherlands, newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, and now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling Members of this Kingdome." It contains besides his Travels some posthumous Latin Poems, the productions of his deceased father, and many copies of verses by the most eminent Poets [I] of the time, who tickled the Author's vanity, at the same time that they made a jest of him. We learn that he printed at his own expence (l), and his success was in every way answerable to his expectation; for whether from the singularity of the style, or the whimsical character of our Traveller, his work at its first publication was much read, but the fame of it lasted only a short time, for about two years afterwards it appears to have been little noticed [K]. The Author had however been flattered into so high an opinion of the merit of his work, that in answer to a writer who had said he would have epitomized it if "he could have melted out of the whole lump, so much matter worth the reading as wold have filled four pages [m]," he replies, "I will boldly affirme for the better justification of my observations, and by way of opposition against the malicious censure of that hypercriticall Momus, that of the fixe hundred fiftie and foure pages, he shall find at the least five hundred worthy the reading (n)." And it was his intention to have translated both these and his future travels into Latin, for the benefit not only of his own country, but also of those he had already, or might hereafter resolve to travel through (o). A copy of his Crudities, it appears, he presented to the Bodleian Library; and being expected to visit Oxford afterwards at the Act, Sir Thomas Bodley desired the book might be sent for, and placed for the time in some such place in the Library as may seem, he adds, to have magnified the Author and the book (p). In 1611 he published "Coryat's Crambe, or his Colwort twise sodden, and now served in with other Macaronicke Dishes as the second course to his Crudities," 4to. On the 20th of Oct. 1612, after taking leave of his countrymen by an Oration spoken at the cross at Odcombe (q), he proceeded on his farther travels, in which he intended to employ ten years (r). He arrived at Zante on the 13th of January 1613, and there saw the Sepulchre of Marcus Tullius Cicero and his wife, "such an obscene and ignoble grave that I could not but condole the misfortune of that famous and incomparable Orator, from the inexhausted fountaine of whose incomparable learning, so many excellent Orators have drawn liquor of Rhetoricall invention, to the great garnishing and adorning of their polite lucubrations. For it standeth *sub dio* in the open aire without any sepulchrate or Titularie-stone that might testifie to the Reader who lieth there, which cannot but strike a kind of veneration into any man that hath any sparke of learning (s)." From Zante he proceeded to Syo, and while there made an attempt to visit the Tomb of Homer, in which he did not succeed (t). He then sailed in an English ship to the Trojan shore, on which he landed on the 22d of February (u). He here employed much pains for several hours in searching out the most notable antiquities of Troy, which one of his companions, Master Robert Rugge, observing, "to yield mee some kind of guirdon or remuneration for my paines in a merrie humour drew his sword out of the scabberd, and ascending to one of those great stones that lye in the open part of this middle gate, knighted mee, that kneeled upon another stone on my right knee, by the name of the first English Knight of Troy; and on the knighting of mee pronounced those wittie verses extempore:

Coryate no more, but now a Knight of Troy;
 Odcombe no more, but henceforth England's joy:
 Brute, Brute of our best English wits commended,
 True Trojane from Æneas' race descended:
 Rise top of wit, the honour of our nation,
 And to old Ilium make a new Oration.

[I] Many copies of verses by the most eminent Poets.] Among these we find the names of Ben Jonson, John Harrington, Dudley Digges, John Donne, Christopher Brooke, John Hoskins, Inigo Jones, Richard Corbet, John Chapman, John Owen, Thomas Farnabie, Michael Drayton, John Davis, besides many others. The verses are also in various languages, as English, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, and even Welch and Irish. The Author was so little conscious of the design of them, that in the introduction to them he makes a formal apology for their insertion, desiring the Reader to ascribe it not to any ambitious humour in him to obtrude so many to the world in praise of his book, and assuring him that when he saw the multitude of them to increase to so great a number, he resolved to put above a thousand of them into an Index Expurgatorius, and to detain them from the press. But that Prince Henry, to whom his performance was dedicated, gave a strict and express

commandment to print all those verses which he had read to his Highness (24). The Author had the honour of presenting copies of this his work to the King, the Queen, Prince Henry, the Duke of York, afterwards Charles the First, and the Princess Elizabeth afterwards Queen of Bohemia, to each of whom he made an Oration which he afterwards made public (25).

[K] Little noticed.] In the year 1613, two years after the publication of the Crudities, an Epigramatist writes thus of it:

Wonder of Writers (for once so thou wert)
 What pitty 'tis thy fame no longer lasted,
 That such of note in travell and desert,
 Like time-les blossomes should so soon be blasted;
 For thus farre boldly may thy booke compare,
 How ill so ever, sure 'twas passing rare (26).

"Two

(l) Cotton's Compleat Angler, p. 18. ed. 1766. Laquei ridiculosi, or Springs for Woodcocks, by H. P. (Parrot) 12mo. 1613. Epigram 144.

(m) The Od-combian Banquet dished forth, &c. 1611, 4to. at the end. (n) Crambe at the end.

(p) Reliquie Bodleianæ, p. 355.

(r) Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, 58.

(s) 2 Purchas his Pilgrims, Fo. 1625. P. 1811.

(24) Introduction to the Verses prefixed to Crudities.

(25) Crambe.

(26) Laquei ridiculosi Epigram, 192.

(o) Epistle to the Reader prefixed to Crudities.

(q) Wood's Ath. Ox.

(t) Ibid. 1812.

(u) Ibid. 1815.

“ Two Turks that stood but a little way from us when he drew his naked sword, thought
 “ verily hee meant to have cut off my head for some notorious villany which I had per-
 “ petrated. Those verses I answered extempore. Also our Musketeers discharged two
 “ volleys of shot for joy of my knighthood.”

Loe heere with prostrate knee I doe embrace
 The gallant title of a Trojane Knight,
 In Priam's court, which time shall ne're deface,
 A grace unknowne to any British wight:
 This noble knighthood shall Fame's trump resound
 To Odcombe's honour, maugre Envie fell
 O're famous Albion throughout that island round,
 Till that my mournfull friends shall ring my knell.

After repeating these verses, standing upon a high stone at the entrance of the great gate, he pronounced an Oration, which if the Reader should incline to peruse we must refer him to the volume whence this account is extracted (x). On his return to the ship, observing Mount Ida at the distance of two miles, and seeing a plowman holding a plough, he with one Mr. Francis Flyer, did the like one after another, “ in order,” says he, “ that if wee live to be old men, we may say in our old age we had once holden the
 “ plough in the Trojan territorie, especially in that part we saw the citie stood (y).” With this part of his journey he declared himself so entirely satisfied, that he would not for 500l. but have seen those things which were worthy observation at Troy; and had he not seen them then, he should have taken a journey from England for the sole purpose. We next find him at Constantinople, where he resided some time; and during his abode there, received great civilities from Sir Paul Pinder, the English Ambassador, at whose house he had free access and welcome whenever he pleased, and to whom, as usual, he made an Oration. The time when he arrived at Constantinople does not appear; but on the first day of April, 1613 (z), being the day preceding Good Friday, he was there, and present at midnight at the Monastery of Franciscan Fryers, where after mass he saw a number of slaves whip themselves for an hour and a half without mercy. These wretches were hired by their masters to undergo this punishment as an atonement for sins confessed by their Lords, and were in return rewarded with their liberty (a). While he resided here he was seized with an ague which afflicted him for three days, but by the assistance of blood-letting it was entirely removed (b). He continued at Constantinople until the 21st of January in the year following (c), when he proceeded on his journey to Jerusalem. He embarked in very tempestuous weather, attended with much snow, and arrived at Gallipoli (d). On the 14th of February he went ashore at Lesbos, and on the 18th came to Syo. On the 20th, sailing by the Sanyan Coast, he discerned Patmos, and passed near Cofs, the birth-place of Hippocrates. He saw the tops of Ararat, said to be then distant ninety-four leagues, on the 23d, and the next day landed at Scanderoon (e); whence he proceeded to Aleppo, travelling thither in four days. While he continued at Aleppo, his countryman, Bart Haggat, Consul at that place, rode with him to the Valley of Salt mentioned in II. Samuel viii. 13 (f). On the 15th of March, 1613, in company with Henry Allard of Kent, he set out on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which place, after passing through Damascus on the 26th, he entered on the 12th of May, 1614. On Palm Sunday evening he lay in the Temple, in the Upper Gallery, and was roused out of his sleep by the turbulent cries of the Greeks who came forth from their Quire with a very clamorous noise, having eleven banners of silk and cloth of gold carried before them, each of which had three streamers, and on the top of the staff a gilded cross. A world of lamps was carried before them; men, women, and children confusedly crying Kyrie eleeson. The next day other nations joined with them displaying their banners. On the 28th he visited Jordan (g), and afterwards returned to Aleppo on foot and remained there three months longer (h); after which he departed in a caravan into Persia, passing the river Euphrates, about four days journey beyond Aleppo. Thence in two days he came to Ur, the birth-place of Abraham, and continued there four days. In four more he came to the River Tigris, which he crossed on foot, it being then no higher than the calf of his leg. He then entered Mesopotamia, and resided six days at Tauris the Metropolis, formerly called Ecbatana. In two days he came to Casbin, and thence in twenty-three days to Spahan in Parthia, the residence of the Persian King, who was then in Gurgistan, ransacking the poor Christians there with great hostility, with fire and sword. There he remained two months, when he proceeded with a caravan into the East-Indies, and in four months and odd days arrived at Lahore (i) [K]. From Lahore he had twenty days journey to Agra, and ten more to Asmere,

[K] Arrived at Lahore.] “ About the middle of the way,” says he, “ between Spahan and Lahore, just about the frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Shirley and his Lady, travelling from the Court of the Mogul (where they had been very graciously received, and enriched with presents of great value) to the King of Persia's Court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their travells, that

(4) *Ibid.* 19.

(n) Purchas, i. 599.

Asmere, where the Mogul kept his Court. In this journey, between Jerusalem and Asmere, he spent fifteen months and odd days, travelling two thousand seven hundred miles, and all the way on foot (k). He expended also in his ten months travels, between Aleppo and Asmere, but three pounds sterling, "yet says he fared reasonable well every day, victuals being so cheap in some countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competently for a penny sterling a day: yet of that three pounds I was coufened of no less than ten shillings sterling by certain lewd Christians of the Armenian nation, so that indeed I spent but fifty shillings in my ten months travels (l)." At Asmere he remained twelve months and sixty days, until he had learned the Turkish, Morisco or Arabian languages, some good knowledge of the Persian and Indostan tongues, in the acquisition of which he displayed very singular talents, and obtained such a command over them as was very useful to him during the remainder of his journey (m) [L]. On the 16th of September, 1616, he departed from Asmere to Agra, where he resided six weeks longer (n). After this we find him several months with the Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, living at Mandoa, the Mogul's Court, many miles up the country; during which time it appears that he met with several circumstances calculated to give him chagrin [M], and began to decline both in health and spirits [N]. This became so evident, that when he was about to

(27) Letter from Asmere, p. 17.

"that it was a great comfort unto me to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did he shew me to my singular contentment, both my books neatly kept, and hath promised to shew them, especially mine Itinerarie, to the Persian King; and to interpret unto him some of the principal matters in the Turkish tongue, to the end I may have the more gracious access unto him after my return thither. For through Persia I have determined (by God's helpe) to return to Aleppo. He adds, "both he and his Lady used me with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed forty shillings upon me in Persian money; and they seemed to exult for joy to see me, having promised me to bring me in good grace with the Persian King, and that they will induce him to bestow some princely benefits upon me: this, I hope, will be partly occasioned by my book, for he is such a jocund Prince that he will not be meanly delighted with divers of my facetious Hieroglyphicks, if they are truly and genuinely expounded unto him (27)."

[L] *Very useful to him during the remainder of his journey.* He became so well acquainted with the Persian language, that he obtained, without the knowledge of the English Ambassador, access to the Great Mogul, to whom he made an Oration. "After I had ended my speech, I had some short discourse with him in the Persian tongue, who amongst other things told me, that concerning my traueil to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any good, because there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himselfe, so that his commendatory Letters would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their country. So that he earnestly dissuaded me from the iourney, if I loued my life and well fare; at last, he concluded his discourse with me, by a summe of money, that he threw downe from a window, thorow which he looked out, into a sheet tied vp by the foure corners, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of siluer, each worth two shillings sterling, which counteruailed ten pounds of our English money: this businesse I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my countrymen (sauiug one speciall, priuate, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had throughly accomplished my desigine: for I well knew that our Ambassadour would haue stopped and barracadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might haue had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified unto me, after I had effected my proiect, alleaging this, forsooth, for his reason, why hee would haue hindered me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our nation, that one of our countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to craue money of him: But I answered our Ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my businesse,

"that he was contented to cease nibbling at me, neuer had I more need of money in all my life, then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes cities called Emert, in the countrey of Mesopotamia, where a miscreant Turke stripped me of almost all my monies, according as I wrote vnto you in a very large letter the last yeare, which I sent from the Court of this mightie Monarch, by one of my countrimen that went home by sea in an English ship, laden with the commodities of this India, which letter, I hope, came to your hands long since (28)." In the Indostan language he became so great a proficient, that a woman, a landress belonging to the Ambassador's house, who had such a freedom and liberty of speech, that she would scold, brawl, and rail, from sun-rising to sun-set, he one day undertook in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning so silenced her, that she had not one word more to speak (29).

[M] *Several circumstances calculated to give him chagrin.* Among others, Mr. Richard Steel, a Merchant, who in travelling to England had met our Author, informed King James of it, who replied, "Is that fool yet living?" This troubled him much, having expected that the King would have spoken more and better of him. At another time when he was ready to depart, the Ambassador gave him a Letter, and in that a bill to receive 10*l.* at Aleppo. The letter was directed to the Consul there, who was desired to receive the bearer with curtesy, as he would find him an honest poor wretch. "Our Pilgrim," says Mr. Terry, liked the gift well; but the language by which he should have received it did not at all content him; telling me, *That my Lord had even spoiled his curtesy in the carriage thereof; so that if he had been a very fool indeed, he could haue said very little less of him than he did, Honest poor Wretch!* and furthermore he then told me, that when he was formerly undertaking his voyage to Venice, a person of honour wrote thus in his behalf unto Sir Henry Wotton, then and there Ambassador: My Lord, Good wine needs no bush, neither a worthy man letters commendatory, because whithersoever he comes he is his own Epistle, &c. There (said he) was some language on my behalf; but now for my lord to write nothing of me by way of commendation but honest poor wretch, is rather to trouble me than to please me with his favour." The letter, to please him, was altered (30).

[N] *Began to decline both in health and spirits.* He began to be apprehensive that he should not live to reap the fruit of his travels. "And certainly" (says Mr. Terry) he was surprized with some such thoughts and fears, (for so he told us afterwards) when upon a time he being at Mandoa with us, and there standing in a room against a stone pillar, where the Ambassador was, and myself present with them, upon a sudden he fell into such a swoon, that we had very much ado to recover him out of it; but at last, come to himself, he told us

(28) Printed in Purchas, vol. i. 598. See Terry, 96.

(29) Terry, 70.

(30) Terry, 74.

to depart, the Ambassador desired him to stay longer, but he thankfully refused the offer, and soon afterwards set out for Surat, about three hundred miles distant, and lived to arrive there. He was then in a bad state of health and afflicted with a flux, which was increased by drinking (though moderately, being very temperate) some sack, which had been brought from England. In a few days he died, in the month of December, 1617, and was buried under a little monument, like one of those usually made in our church-yards (o). Another Traveller, in 1626, says, his grave was to be known but by two poor stones (p). His papers appear to have fallen into the hands of Sir Thomas Roe, who gave a few of them to Mr. Purchas, by whom some parts, though very imperfectly, were inserted in his Collection of Travels (q). Of our Author's character some traits are inserted below [O]. His death deprived the wits and minor writers of much entertainment which they had promised themselves on his return to England [P].

(q) Purchas, i. 597.

(o) Terry, 76.

(p) Herbert's Travels, 35.

" that some sad thoughts had immediately before
" presented themselves to his fancy; which, as he
" conceived, put him into that distemper, like *Fan-*
" *ninus* in *Martial*, *Ne moriari mori*, to prevent death
" by dying: for he told us that there were great ex-
" pectations in England of the large accounts he
" should give of his travels after his return home,
" and that he was now shortly to leave us; and he
" being at present not very well, if he should die in
" the way towards Surat, whither he was now in-
" tended to go (which place he had not as yet seen)
" he might be buried in obscurity and none of his
" friends ever know what became of him, he travel-
" ling now, as he usually did, alone (31)."

(31) Terry, 75.

[O] Some traits are inserted below. " He was,
" says Mr. Terry, of a very coveting eye, that could
" never be satisfied with seeing, as Solomon speaks,
" *Eccles. i. 8. Though he had seen very much; and I*
" *am persuaded that he took as much content in*
" *seeing, as many others in the enjoying of great*
" *and rare things. He was a man who had got the*
" *mastery of many hard languages (as before I ob-*
" *served) to the Latin and Greek he brought forth*
" *of England with him; in which, if he had obtained*
" *wisdom to husband and manage them, as he had*
" *skill to speak them, he had deserved more fame in*
" *his generation. But his knowledge and high at-*
" *tainments in several languages made him not a*
" *little ignorant of himself, he being so covetous,*
" *so ambitious of praise, that he would hear and en-*
" *dure more of it than he could in any measure*
" *deserve; being like a ship that hath too much sail*
" *and too little ballast. Yet if he had not fallen*
" *into the smart hands of the wits of those times he*
" *might have passed better (32). He carried folly*
" *(which the charitable call merriment) in his*
" *very face. The shape of his head had no promi-*
" *ing form, being like a sugar-loaf inverted with*
" *the little end before, as composed of fancy and me-*
" *mory without any common sense. Such as con-*
" *ceived him fool, as *duo*, and something else, as*
" **decem*, were utterly mistaken, for he drave on no*
" *design, caring for coin and counters alike; so con-*
" *tented with what was present, that he accounted*
" *those men guilty of superfluity who had more suits*
" *and shirts than bodies, seldom putting off either*
" *till they were ready to go away from him (33)."*

(32) Terry, 71.

[P] On his return to England. Amongst others,
John Taylor the Water Poet, appears to have been
one of our Author's persecutors. In his works are
several satirical pieces ridiculing him for his follies.
It appears that at one time our Author made a formal
complaint to the King against his antagonist, which
is recorded by the latter in these words, " Master
" Thomas Coriate (on a time) complained against
" me to King James, desiring his Majesty that he

(33) Fuller, 31.

" would cause some heavy punishment to be inflicted
" upon me for abusing him in writing, (as he said I had)
" to whom the King replied, that when the Lords
" of his Honourable Privie Councell had leisure and
" nothing else to doe, then they should heare and
" determine the differences between Master Coriate
" the scholler, and John Tayler the sculler: which
" answer of the King was very acceptable to Master
" Coriate." Whereupon I made this following pe-
" tion to the King:

To the King's most excellent Majestie.

The humble Petition of John Tailor, your Maje-
sties poore Water Poet,

Sheweth:

Most mightie Monarch of this famous ile,
(Upon the knees of my submissive minde)
I begge thou wilt be graciously inclin'd,
To reade these lines my rusticke pen compile:
Know (Royal Sir) Tom Coriate workes the wile,
Your high displeasure on my head to bring;
And well I wot, the sor, his words can file,
In hopes my fortunes head-long downe to fling.
The King, whose wisdom through the world did
ring,

Did hear the cause of two offending harlots;
So I beseech the (Great) great Britaine's King,
To do the like for two contending varlots.
A brace of knaves, your Majesty implores
To heare their suites as Solomon heard whores (34).

See also " Odcomb's Complaint, or Coryate's
Funeral Epicedium, or Death Song upon his late re-
ported drowning." " The Eighth Wonder of the
World, or Coryate's Escape from his supposed drown-
ing." " Laugh and be Fat, or a Commentary upon
the Odcombian Banket." " Master Thomas Co-
ryate, to his Friends in England, sends greeting, &c." In
" The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses," 4to.
1614, he says,

A Poet needs must be a Poet borne,
Or else his art procures his greater scorne,
For why? if art alone made men excell,
Methinks Tom Coryate should write ex'lent well:
For he was born belike in some crosse yeere,
When learning was good cheap, but wit was
deare (35).

A Copy of Verses, in the Somersetshire dialect, by
our Author, is printed in " Guidott's Collection of
Treatises concerning Bath Waters," 8vo. 1725.]

R.

(34) Wit and Mirth, 200. Taylor's Works.

(35) Taylor's Works, 249.

COSIN (JOHN), a learned Bishop of Durham in the seventeenth century, was the
eldest son of Giles Cosin a citizen of Norwich (a), by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of
Remington of Remington-castle, a good and ancient family (b). He was born
at Norwich November 30, 1594; and educated in the Free-School there, till he came to
be fourteen years of age. Then he was transplanted into Caius-College in Cambridge, in
1610; of which he was successively chosen Scholar, and Fellow; and where he regularly
took his degrees in Arts (c). Having distinguished himself by his learning, diligence, and
ingenuity, in the year 1616, when he was about twenty years of age, he had an offer, at
the same time, both from Dr. Lancelot Andrews then Bishop of Ely, and from Dr.

(a) But original-
ly of Foxhearth.
He was a very
rich man, and a
person of great
probity.

(c) Dr. Smith,
ib. and Dr. Ba-
shire, p. 36, 43.

(b) See *The dead Man's real Speech*. A fune-
ral Sermon on
Bishop Cosin,
&c. by H. Ba-
shire, 8vo. Lond.
1673, p. 38;
and *Vita Joannis
Cosini, Episcopi
Dunelmensis*.
*Scriptore Thomæ
Smitho*. Lond.
1707. 4to. p. 1.

Overall Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, of a Librarian's place. But, by his late Tutor's advice, he accepted of the latter's invitation; who liked him so well, that, on account of his knowledge and fair writing, he made him also his Secretary (*d*). At the same time he encouraged him to study Divinity, and sent him from time to time to keep his Exercises in the University (*e*). But, in 1619, he lost his excellent patron, and with him all hopes and prospect of advancement (*f*). However, Providence soon raised him a better Patron in Dr. Richard Neile then Bishop of Durham, who took him for his domestic Chaplain; and in 1624 conferred upon him the tenth Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Durham [*A*], in which he was installed on the 4th of December that same year (*g*). In the September following, he was collated to the Archdeaconry of the East-riding in the Church of York, vacant by the resignation of Marmaduke Blakeston, whose daughter he had married (*b*): and on the 20th of July 1626, he was collated by his patron Bishop Neile to the rich Rectory of Branspeth [*B*], in the Diocese of Durham (*i*). The same year, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*k*). About that time, having frequent meetings, at the Bishop of Durham's House in London, with Dr. William Laud then Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Francis White soon after Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Richard Montague, and other learned men, distinguished by their zeal for the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; he began to be obnoxious to the then Puritans, who looked upon all such Divines as Popishly affected (*l*). This imputation of theirs on Mr. Cofin in particular, was sufficiently authorized, as they imagined by his 'Collection of Private Devotions,' [*C*] published in 1627; wherein many things were thought too much favourable to Popery: but how wrong this imputation was, let his whole conduct testify. In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a prosecution against Peter Smart Prebendary there, for a seditious Sermon preached in that Cathedral [*D*]. About the same time, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity;

(*d*) Smith, p. 1, 2.

(*f*) Bishop Overall died May 7, 1619, having the year before been translated to Norwich.

(*e*) Basire, *ubi supra*.

(*g*) Smith, and Basire, *ubi supra*. See also Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; 4to. Lond. 1727, vol. i. p. 273.

(*b*) Willis, *ibid*. p. 100.

(*i*) Smith, and Basire, as above.

(*k*) Smith, p. 4.

(*l*) *Ibid*.

[*A*] And, in 1624, conferred upon him the tenth prebend in the Cathedral Church of Durham.] All the while he enjoyed it, which was about six and thirty years, he was very constant in his residences, both ordinary and extraordinary; during which he kept a laudable hospitality, according to the statutes of that Church. So that Dr. Basire testifies (*1*), that upon search of the register of that Cathedral, he could not find one dispensation for him in all the time he continued Prebendary.

(*1*) *Ubi supra*, p. 44, 45.

[*B*] Was moreover collated by his patron, Bishop Neile, to the rich Rectory of Branspeth.] The parochial Church of which he beautified in an extraordinary manner (*2*).

(*2*) See The Hist. of the Cathedral Church of Durham, by Sir William Dugdale, p. 81, at the end of his Hist. of St. Paul's, 2d edit. 1716, fol.

(*3*) *Ubi supra*, p. 5, 6.

(*4*) Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 742.

(*5*) *Horarium Regia Autoritate Editum*. ann. 1560; and reprinted in 1573, cum privilegio, by Will. Seers.

[*C*] His Collection of Private Devotions.] The title of it was, *A Collection of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer*. Dr. Smith informs us (*3*), that it was written at the command of King Charles I. who observing that his Queen's Protestant attendants were frequently reading in the *Hours of the Virgin Mary*, and other popish books of devotion, that were set, perhaps on purpose, about the royal apartments: lest they should thereby be tainted with superstition, and other false principles, he ordered a Manual of Prayers to be composed for their use, out of the holy Scriptures, and the ancient Liturgies, which was accordingly done, by Mr. Cofin. Others affirm (*4*), that it was written at the request of the Countess of Denbigh, the Duke of Buckingham's sister. This Lady being then somewhat unsettled in her religion, and warping towards Popery, these Devotions were drawn up to recommend the Church of England farther to her esteem, and preserve her in that communion. This book, though furnished with a great deal of good matter, was not altogether acceptable in the contexture; although the title-page sets forth, that it was formed upon the model of a book of *private Prayers*, authorized by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1560 (*5*). To give the reader some part of it: 'After the Calendar, it begins with the Apostles Creed in twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer in seven petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined, and the sins forbidden. Then follow the precepts of charity, the seven sacraments, the three theological virtues, the three kinds of good works, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the twelve fruits of the Holy Ghost, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the eight beatitudes, the seven deadly sins, their opposite virtues, and the four last things. And, after some explanatory prefaces and introductions, were subjoined the forms of prayer for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, and likewise for the *Vespers* and *Compline*,

formerly called the canonical hours. Next to these was the litany, the seven penitential psalms, prayers preparatory for receiving the Holy Eucharist, prayers to be used in time of sickness, and at the approach of death, &c.' Though this book was approved by Geo. Mountain, Bishop of London, and licensed with his own hand, yet it was somewhat surprising at first view; and some moderate persons were shocked with it, as drawing too near the superstitions of the Church of Rome: at least they suspected it as a preparation to further advances. The top of the frontispiece had the name of Jesus, in three capital letters, I. H. S. Upon these there was a cross, incircled with the sun, supported by two Angels, with two devout women praying towards it. This book was severely animadverted upon by Henry Burton, in his 'Examination of Private Devotions: or, The Hours of Prayer, &c.' and by W. Prynne, in his 'Brief Survey and Censure of Mr. Cofin's cozening Devotions.' *Ibid*. 1628.

[*D*] In 1628 he was concerned, with other members of the Church of Durham, in a prosecution against Peter Smart, &c.] This Peter Smart, who had been School-master at Durham, was collated Dec. 30, 1609, to the sixth Prebend in the Church of Durham, and removed July 6, 1614, to the fourth Prebend (*6*). He had also other preferments. Being to preach, July 7, 1628 (*7*), in the Cathedral Church of Durham, he took for his text Psalm xxxi. 7. *I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities*. From which he took occasion to make a most bitter invective against some of the Bishops, charging them with no less than Popery and Idolatry. Among other virulent expressions he had these—p. 11. 'The Whore of Babylon's bastardly brood, doting upon their mother's beauty, that painted harlot of the Church of Rome, have laboured to restore her all her robes and jewels again, especially her looking-glass the Mass, in which she may behold her bravery.—The Mass coming in, brings with it an inundation of ceremonies, crosses, and crucifixes, chalices and images, copes and candlesticks, tapers and basons, and a thousand such trinkets, which we have seen in this Church since the communion-table was turned into an altar.—p. 26. I assure you the altar is an idol, a damnable idol as it is used. I say, they are whores and whoremongers, they commit spiritual fornication who bow their bodies before that idol the altar.—&c.' For this sermon he was questioned first at Durham, afterwards in the High-Commissioned-Court at London; whence he was removed, at his own desire, to that at York, where refusing, with great scorn, to recant, he was, for his obstinacy, degraded, and by sentence at Com-

Lond. 1628, 4to.

Ibid. 1628.

(*6*) Willis, as above, p. 266, 268.

(*7*) Dr. Nalson says, by mistake, it was 1638, p. 518. But he was suspended for his Sermon in 1631.

Divinity; and in 1634, February the 8th, was elected Master of Peter-House, in the room of Dr. Matthew Wren, newly made Bishop of Hereford. In that station, he strenuously applied himself to promote sound Religion, and useful Learning ^(m). He served the office of Vice-Chancellor for the University of Cambridge, in 1640. In the same year, King Charles I. to whom he was Chaplain, conferred upon him the Deanery of Peterborough; in which he was installed November 7, 1640 ⁽ⁿ⁾. But this dignity he did not long enjoy, or rather he did not quietly enjoy it at all: since his troubles began three days after. For on the 10th of November, a petition from Peter Smart against him was read in the House of Commons; wherein Smart complained of the Doctor's superstition, and innovations in the Church of Durham, and of his severe prosecution in the High-Commission-Court ^(o). Whereupon, on the 21st of the same month, Dr. Cofin was ordered to be sent for by the Serjeant at Arms, and a Committee appointed to prepare a charge against him ^(p). Soon after, he presented a Petition to the House, which, on the 28th following, was read, and referred to a Committee ^(q). On the 3d of December, the Serjeant had leave given him by the Commons, to take bail for Dr. Cofin; which was accordingly done, the 19th of January 1640-1, the Doctor himself being bound in two thousand pounds, and his securities in a thousand pounds a-piece, for his appearance upon summons ^(r). Three days after, namely, January the 22d, he was, by a vote of the whole House, sequestered from his ecclesiastical Benefices; being the first Clergyman that was then used in that manner ^(s). On the 15th of March ensuing, the Commons sent up one and twenty Articles of impeachment against him ^[E] to the House of Lords ^(*); to which the

(o) Rushworth's Historical Collection, P. iii. vol. i. edit. 1721, p. 41, 53; and Dr. Nalson, &c. ed. 1682, vol. i. p. 518.
(p) Nalson, *ibid.* p. 538.
(r) *Ibid.* p. 651, 728.
(s) Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, fol. Lond. 1714, P. ii. p. 58.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 8, 9, 10.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 9, 11, and J. Le Neve's *Fasts*, edit. 1716, p. 241.

(q) *Ibid.* p. 569.

(*) Rushworth, *ubi supra*, p. 188; and Nalson, vol. i. p. 789, 790.

(8) Out of the peculiar contributions at London and elsewhere, gathered up for silenced Ministers.

(9) This is Dr. Cofin's own account, as published in Dr. Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, p. 258, &c. Compare it with that in Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* B. xi. p. 173.
(10) Fuller, *ibid.*
(11) Dr. Cofin, *ubi supra*.

mon Law, soon after dispossessed of his prebend and livings; whereupon he was supplied with 400l. a year by subscription from the Puritan party ⁽⁸⁾, which was more than all his preferments amounted to. As for Dr. Cofin, he was so far from being Mr. Smart's chief prosecutor (as he avers) that after he was questioned in the High Commission at Durham, he never meddled in the matter, save that once he wrote a letter to the Archbishop of York, and the Commissioners, in his favour ⁽⁹⁾.—Mr. Smart's character is not represented to any great advantage. One author indeed ⁽¹⁰⁾ calls him a man 'of a grave aspect, and 'reverend presence.' But another, who knew him better ⁽¹¹⁾, assures us, 'That he was an old man of 'most froward, fierce, and unpeaceable spirit, &c.' He had not preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, though Prebendary of it for seven years, 'till he preached that seditious sermon for which he was questioned. And whilst he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he seldom preached more than once or twice a year.

^[E] *The Commons set up one and twenty articles of impeachment against him.* They were carried up by one Mr. Rouse, who introduced them with the following speech. 'My Lords, I am commanded by the 'House of Commons, to present your Lordships a declaration and impeachment against Dr. Cofin, and 'others, upon the complaint of Mr. Peter Smart; 'which Mr. Smart was a *Proto-Martyr*, or first Confessor of note in the late days of persecution. The 'whole matter is a tree, whereof the branches and 'fruit are manifest in the articles of this declaration.'—Then follow these articles against Dr. Cofin.

1. That he was the first man that caused the Communion-table in the Church of Durham to be removed and set altar-ways, in the erecting and beautifying whereof, he (being then Treasurer) expended two hundred pounds ⁽¹²⁾. 2. That he used to officiate at the west-side thereof, turning his back to the people. 3. That he used extraordinary bowing to it. 4. That he compelled others to do it, using violence to the persons of them that refused so to do: for instance, once some omitting it, he comes out of his seat, down to the seat where they sat, being gentlewomen, called them whores, and jades, and pagans, and the like unseemly words, and rent some of their clothes. 5. That he converted divers prayers, in the Book of Common Prayers, into hymns, to be sung in the choir, and played with the organ, contrary to the ancient custom of that Church. 6. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that Church, at the end of every sermon, to sing a psalm; this custom, when Dr. Cofin came thither, was abrogated, and instead thereof, they sung an anthem in the choir, there being no psalm sung either at the minister's going up into the pulpit, or at his coming down. 7. That the first Candlemas-day at night, that he had

been in that Church, he caused three hundred wax-candles to be set up and lighted in the Church at once, in honour of our Lady, and placed threescore of them upon and about the altar. 8. That in this Church there were reliques of divers images, above which were remaining the ruins of two Seraphims, with the picture of Christ between them, erected in Queen Mary's time, in the time of Popery; all which, when Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, were demolished by virtue of a commission by her to that intent granted, which so continued demolished from that time, 'till Dr. Cofin came to that Church, who, being Treasurer, caused the same to be repaired, and most gloriously painted. 9. That all the time he was unmarried, he wore a cope of white satin, never officiating in any other, it being reserved solely for him, no man excepting himself making use thereof, which, after marriage, he cast off, and never after wore. 10. That there was a knife belonging to the Church, kept altogether in the vestry, being put to none but holy uses, as cutting the bread in the Sacrament, and the like; Dr. Cofin refusing to cut the same with any other but that, thinking all others that were unconsecrated, polluted; but that, which he putting holiness in, never termed but the consecrated knife. 11. That in a sermon preached in that Church, he did deliver certain words in disgrace of the reformers of our Church; for instance, the words were these, 'The reformers of this Church, when they abolished 'the Mass, took away all good order, and, instead of 'a reformation, made it a deformation ⁽¹³⁾. 12. That he seldom or never, in any of his sermons, stiled the Ministers of the word and Sacraments by any other name than Priests, nor the Communion-table by any other name than Altar. 13. That by his appointment there was a cope bought, the seller being a convicted Jesuit, and afterwards employed in that Church, having upon it the picture of the invisible and incomprehensible Trinity. 14. That whereas it had been formerly a custom in that Church, at five of the clock to have morning-prayers read, winter and summer: this custom, when Dr. Cofin came thither, was abandoned; and instead thereof was used singing and playing on the organs, and some few prayers read, and this was called first-service; which being ended, the people departed out of the Church, returning at nine o'clock, and having then morning-prayers read unto them, and this was called second-service; which innovation being disliked, and complained of by Mr. Justice Hutton, was reformed. 15. That he framed a superstitious ceremony in lighting the tapers which were placed on the altars, which, for instance, was this: a company of boys that belonged to the Church, came in at the choir-door with torches in their hands lighted, bowing towards the altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers: having done, they withdrew themselves, bowing

(13) Dr. Nalson informs us, that the Doctor's words were, 'That we must 'not think that 'when the Bishops took away the Mass, 'they took away 'all religion.' Which he made out by producing his Sermon: Nalson, *ubi supra*, p. 792.

(12) Mr. Fuller says, that it was a marble altar with Cherubins, which cost 2000l. with all the appurtenances thereof. See Fuller, *ubi supra*, p. 173.

the Doctor put in his Answer upon oath; and so fully vindicated himself⁽¹⁾, during the five days the affair was depending before the Lords, that most of them acknowledged his innocence.

(1) Both by his own self, and by the very witness that Smart and his son-in-law, produced against him.

Examen Historic. p. 286.

ing so oft as before, not once turning their back-parts towards the altar, the organs all the time going. 16. That he counselled some young Students of the University to be imitators and practisers of his superstitious ceremonies, who, to ingratiate themselves in his favour, did accordingly; and being afterwards reproved for the same, by some of their friends, confessed, that Dr. Cofin first induced them to that practice, and encouraged them therein. 17. That he used, upon communion-days, to make the sign of the cross with his finger, both upon the seats whereon they were to sit, and the cushions to kneel upon, using some words when he so did. 18. That one sabbath-day there was set up an unnecessary company of tapers and lights in the Church, which Dr. Hunt, being then Dean, fearing they might give offence, being they were then unnecessary, sent his man to pull them down, who did so; but Dr. Cofin being thereat aggrieved, came to the fellow, and there mis-called him in a most uncivil manner, and began to beat him in the public view of the congregation, to the great disturbance of the same. 19. That the Dean and Chapter of that Church, whereof Dr. Cofin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr. Cofin then and there spake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were these, 'The King hath no more power over the Church than the boy that rubs my horse-heels.' 20. That there being many of the Canons of the said Church present at that time, amongst the rest there was one took more notice of his words than the rest, and acquainted one of his Fellow-Canons with them when he came home. This Canon being a friend to Dr. Cofin, told the Doctor that such a man exclaimed of him, and charged him with words that he should speak at such a time: the Doctor presently sends for him, and when he came into the house the Doctor desires him to follow him into an inner room, who did so; but so soon as he came in, the Doctor shuts the door, and sets both his hands upon him, calling him rogue and rascal, and many other names, insomuch that the man, fearing he would do him a mischief, cried out; Mrs. Cofin coming in, endeavoured to appease her husband, and, holding his hands, the other ran away. 21. That the Doctor did seek many unjust ways to ensnare this man, that so he might take a just occasion to put him out of his place; but none of them taking effect, he put him out by violence, having no other reason why he did so, but because he had no good voice, when he had served the place two years before Dr. Cofin came thither: for instance of which unjust ways to ensnare this man, Dr. Cofin hired a man and woman to pretend a desire of matrimony, and to offer a sum of money to this petty Canon to contract matrimony between them in a private chamber, so thereupon to take advantage of his revenge upon him. This plot being confessed by the parties, to be first laid by Dr. Cofin, and that they were his instruments (14).—Besides the several particulars mentioned in these articles, Mr. Fuller informs us, that Dr. Cofin was accused of having bought a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Christ, with a red beard, and a blue cap. And to have made an anthem to be sung, of the three Kings of Collen, by the names of Gasper, Balthazar, and Melchior (15).

(14) Nalson, *ubi supra*, p. 789, 790; and the Diurnall Occurrences, or daily Proceedings of Parliament in 1640, and 1641, Lond. 1641, 4^{to}. p. 52, &c.
(15) Fuller, *Ch. Hist. ubi supra*.

(16) B. xi. p. 173.

To these articles Dr. Cofin put in his answer, upon oath, before the House of Lords, as is above related. But seeing afterwards the substance of them published in Mr. Fuller's Ecclesiastical History (16), he wrote from Paris a letter to Mr. Warren, and Dr. Reeves, in his own vindication, dated April 6, 1658, wherein he declares, as he had done before the Lords, 1. That the Communion-table in the Church of Durham (which in the Bill of Complaint and Mr. Fuller's History is said to be the marble-altar, with Cherubims) was not set up by him [Dr. Cofin], but by the Dean and Chapter, (whereof Mr. Smart himself was one) many years before Mr. Cofin became Prebendary

of that Church, or ever saw the country. 2. That by the public accounts which are there registered, it did not appear to have cost above the tenth part of what is pretended, appurtenances and all (17). 3. That likewise the copes used in that Church were brought in thither long before his [Dr. Cofin's] time, and when Mr. Smart, the complainant, was Prebendary there, who also allowed his part (as he [Dr. Cofin] was ready to prove by the Act-book) of the money that they cost, for they cost but little. 4. That as he never approved the picture of the Trinity, or the image of God the Father, in the figure of an old man, or otherwise to be made or placed any where at all; so he was well assured that there were none such (nor to his knowledge or hearsay ever had been) put upon any cope that was used there. One there was that had the story of the Passion embroidered upon it, but the cope that he used to wear, when at any time he attended the Communion-service, was of plain white fatten only, without any embroidery upon it at all. 5. That what the Bill of Complaint, called the image of Christ, with a blue cap, and a golden beard, (Mr. Fuller's History says it was red, and that it was set upon one of the copes) was nothing else but the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb (set up in the Church, under a side-arch there, two hundred years before Dr. Cofin was born) being a little portraiture, not appearing to be above ten inches long, and hardly discernible to the eye what figure it is, for it stands thirty foot from the ground. 6. That by the local statutes of that Church, (whereunto Mr. Smart was sworn, as well as Dr. Cofin) the treasurer was to give order, that provision should every year be made of a sufficient number of wax-lights for the service of the Choir, during all the winter-time; which statute he [Dr. Cofin] observed when he was chosen into that office, and had order from the Dean and Chapter, by capitular act, to do it: yet upon the Communion-table they that used to light the candles, never set more than *two fair candles, with a few small sizes* near to them, which they put there of purpose, that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the psalms, and reading the lessons out of the Bibles: but *two hundred* was a greater number than they used all the Church over, either upon Candlemass-night, or any other.—7. That he never forbade (nor any body else that he knew) the singing of the (metre) psalms in the Church, which he used to sing daily there himself, with other company, at morning prayer. But upon fundays and holydays, in the choir, before the sermon, the Creed was sung, (and that plainly for every one to understand) as it is appointed in the Communion-book, and after the sermon, was sung a part of a psalm, or some other anthem taken out of the scripture, and first signified to the people where they might find it. 8. That so far was he from making any anthem to be sung of the three Kings of Colen, as that he made it, when he first saw it, to be torn in pieces, and he himself cut it out of the old song books belonging to the Chorister's School, with a pen-knife that lay by, at his very first coming to that College. But he was sure that no such anthem had been sung in the Choir during all his time of attendance there, nor (for ought that any of the eldest persons of the Church and town could tell, or ever heard to the contrary,) for fifty or threescore years before, or more. 9. That there was indeed an ordinary knife, provided and laid ready among other things belonging to the administration of the Communion, for the cutting of the bread, and divers other uses in the Church-vestry.—But that it was ever *consecrated*, or so called, otherwise than as Mr. Smart, and some of his followers had, for their pleasure, put that appellation upon it; he [Dr. Cofin] never heard, nor believed any body else had, that lived at Durham (18). The rest of the articles mentioned above, Mr. Smart could not prove, and Dr. Cofin gave a very satisfactory answer to them, remaining upon the Rolls of Parliament. But as Mr. Fuller did not specify them all, the Doctor did not think it necessary to repeat in this letter his answer to each

(17) By this it seems, that the sum mentioned in the original articles was 2000*l.* though in the printed ones there is only 200*l.* See above, note (12).

(18) This Letter is printed in Dr. Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, &c. Appendix, p. 283, &c. Dr. Fuller afterwards asked Dr. Cofin's pardon for what he had said as above, relating to him. See Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

innocence. Mr. Glover, one of Smart's own Counsel, told him openly at the Bar of the House of Lords, 'That he was ashamed of him, and could not in conscience plead for him any longer.' Whereupon the Lords dismissed the Doctor, upon his putting in bail for his appearance; but they never sent for him again (u). About the same time, upon a motion made in the House of Commons, 'that he had enticed a young Scholar to Popery,' he was committed to the Serjeant at Arms, to attend daily till the House should call him to a hearing. After fifty days imprisonment, and charges of twenty shillings a day, he came at length to a hearing; when he made it appear, That being Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he had most severely punished that young Scholar (whom, upon examination, he had found guilty) by making him recant, and expelling him the University: and to this some of the members bore witness. However, the Doctor had no manner of reparation made him for his great trouble and expences (w). In 1642, he was concerned, with others, in sending the Plate of Cambridge University to King Charles I. then at York; for which a furious storm fell upon several members of that University, and particularly upon Dr. Cofin; who having, some time before (x), been voted unworthy to be a Head or Governor in either of the Universities, or to hold or enjoy any ecclesiastical promotion; was ejected from his Mastership by a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, dated March 13, 1642-3. So that, as he was the first that was sequestered, so was he also the very first of his University, who was turned out (y). Thus being deprived of all his preferments, and still fearing the worst that might follow, he thought fit to leave the kingdom, and to withdraw to Paris, in the year 1643. Being safely arrived to that place, he did, according to King Charles's order and direction, take under his care, and officiate as Chaplain to, such of Queen Henrietta Maria's household as were Protestants. With them, and other English exiles that were daily resorting to Paris, he formed a congregation, that assembled at first in a private house, and afterwards in the Chapel of Sir Richard Brown, Ambassador from the Court of England to that of France. Not long after, he had lodgings assigned him in the Louvre, with a small pension, on account of the relation he bore to Queen Henrietta (z). During his residence in this place, he showed, how false and groundless was the imputation that had been thrown upon him, 'of his being Popishly affected.' For, notwithstanding his great straits, he remained steady and unmoved in the profession of the Protestant Religion. He kept up the English Church-Discipline, and the form of worship appointed by the Common Prayer: he reclaimed some that were quite gone over to Popery, and confirmed several more in the Protestant Profession, who by their converse with Romanists, were become wavering, and inclinable to entertain favorable opinions of the Popish Tenets (a). He also had several Controversies and Disputes with divers Jesuits and Romish Priests; particularly once with the Prior of the English Benedictines at Paris [F]; in which he acquitted himself with so much learning and sound reasoning, that he utterly defeated the suspicions of his enemies, and much exceeded the very expectations of his friends (b). There were made him very great offers of Preferment [G], if he would have been tempted thereby, to alter his Religion; but he stood proof against them all (c). He composed, during his exile, several learned works, chiefly against the Roman Catholics, of which we shall give an account below. Though he was extremely zealous for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, yet he kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the Protestant Ministers at Charenton [H]; who, on their parts, expressed the utmost

(u) Walker, *ubi supra*, p. 59; and Smith, p. 10, 11; and Heylyn's *Exam. Hist. Hist. Hist.*, p. 286.

(w) *Persecutio Undecima*, p. 23. Nalson, as above, p. 568.

(x) January 22, 1640-41. Nalson, as above, p. 734.

(z) Smith, p. 12, 13, 14.

(c) Walker, *ubi supra*, p. 60.

(y) Walker, *ubi supra*, p. 152.

(a) See *Examen Historicum*, *ut supra*, p. 293.

(b) Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, B. xi. p. 173.

each of them. Upon the whole, therefore, as we cannot, on the one hand, enough wonder at the weakness of Dr. Cofin, for inventing and pressing the observance of such ceremonies and insignificant things, as some of those above-mentioned: so, on the other hand, who can be sufficiently amazed at the confidence of P. Smart, in charging the Doctor with things which he could so easily disprove?

[F] *Particularly once with the Prior of the English Benedictines at Paris.* The Prior's name was — Robinson. And the controversy between him and Dr. Cofin was managed both by word and writing. The argument was, concerning the validity of the ordination of our Priests, &c. in the Church of England. And the Doctor had the better so far, that he could never get from the Prior any reply to his last answer. This conference was undertaken to fix a person of honour then wavering about that point. The sum of the conference was written by Dr. Cofin to Dr. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, in two letters, bearing date June 11, and July 11, 1645 (19).

[G] *There were made him very great offers of preferment.* One author speaks upon this point to the following purpose (20). Dr. Cofin 'being by the violence of the persecution which was raised against the episcopal party, forced to quit his native country, and seek a retreat among the Papists in France, he continued a most unshaken Protestant, and bold

'propugnator of the Reformed Religion, even to the hazard of his life; and when the necessitous condition to which he was reduced, and all the advantageous offers imaginable were made him to embrace the Roman Communion, yet were not those temptations capable of removing him from his foundation, insomuch, that despairing of ever obliging him to change his religion, the Papists were so enraged at him, as, I have heard it from his own mouth, frequently to threaten him with assassination, and that he should not escape pistol or ponyard; and in revenge, which I have heard him aver was the most sensible affliction that ever befel him in his whole life, they inveigled his only son from him to become a Papist (21).' We may add this other testimony of Dr. Cofin's attachment to the Reformed Religion. — 'Whilst he remained in France, he was the Atlas of the Protestant Religion, supporting the same with his piety and learning, confirming the wavering therein, yea, daily adding profelytes (not of the meanest rank) thereunto (22).'

[H] *He kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the Protestant Ministers at Charenton.* One author indeed tells us (23), that 'after getting over into France, he neither joined with the Church of French Protestants, at Charenton, nigh Paris, nor with the Papists, — but confined himself to the Church of old English Protestants therein.' But Dr.

(21) He was educated in grammar learning in a Jesuit's school, as were many others of our youths during the Civil War, which corrupted him.

Smith, p. 13.

(22) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 295.

(23) Fuller, *ubi supra*.

(19) Basire, *ubi supra*, p. 59, 60.

(20) Nalson, as above, p. 519.

(e) See D. Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. ed. 1733, p. 388. Mr. Neal adds, that the Doctor was 'softened in his principles by age and sufferings.'

(k) Dr. Smith says, it was only near sixteen thousand pounds. *Vita, ut supra*, p. 24, 25.

(f) Smith, *ubi sup*, p. 25.

(24) In his Letter, inserted in Heylyn's *Examen Historicum*, p. 283, &c.

(25) See Basire, p. 58, 59; and note [P] No. 2.

(26) Basire, p. 58; and Smith, p. 19. See particularly *Examen Historicum*, p. 291, 292.

utmost regard for him; and permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations [I], according to the rites prescribed by the book of Common-prayer (d). Thus having, during his seventeen years exile in France, behaved 'discreetly and prudently' even in the judgment of his enemies (e); he returned to his native country at the Restoration of King Charles II. and took possession again of his preferments and dignities. About the end of July 1660, he came to his Deanery at Peterborough, and was the first that read the Common-prayer in that Cathedral, after the late times of confusion (f). But here he was not suffered to rest; for the King designed, a very little while after, to make him Dean of Durham. But reflecting on his sufferings, and upon his constant attendance and services beyond the seas, he nominated him Bishop of that rich See (g). Accordingly, he was consecrated on the 2d of December 1660 in Westminster-Abbey (h). As soon as he could go down into his Diocese, he set about reforming many Abuses that had crept in there during the late Anarchy; and by his generous and hospitable temper, accompanied with a kind and courteous deportment, he gained an universal respect and esteem (i). But he chiefly distinguished himself by his very great munificence, and charity, and by a public spirit. For, considering himself principally as steward of the large revenues belonging to his See, he laid out a great share of them, in repairing or rebuilding the several edifices belonging to the Bishopric of Durham, which had either been demolished, or neglected, during the civil wars. For instance, he repaired the castle at Bishop's Auckland [K]; and that at Durham, which he enlarged with some additional buildings: and repaired the Bishop's house at Darlington, then very ruinous. He also enriched his new Chapel at Auckland, and that in the Castle of Durham, with several pieces of gilt plate, books, and other costly ornaments, to remain to his successors in the Bishopric for ever: the charge of all which buildings, repairs, ornaments, &c. amounted to no less than twenty six thousand pounds (k). He likewise built and endowed two Hospitals; the one at Durham for eight poor people, the other at Auckland for four; the annual revenue of the first being seventy pounds, and of the other thirty pounds: and near his Hospital at Durham he rebuilt the School-Houses, to the charge of three hundred pounds. He also built a Library near the Castle of Durham; the charge whereof, and pictures wherewith he adorned it, amounted to eight hundred pounds; and gave books thereto, to the value of two thousand pounds; as also an annual pension of twenty marks for ever to a Library-keeper. The College of dissolved Prebends at Auckland, purchased by Sir Arthur Haselrigg, and by him forfeited to the King, which King Charles II. gave to Bishop Cosin, in fee, he gave to his successors, Bishops of Durham for ever; the value thereof being three hundred and twenty pounds. He rebuilt the East end of the Chapel at Peterhouse in Cambridge, which cost three hundred and twenty pounds; and gave in books to the Library of that College, a thousand pounds. He founded eight Scholarships in the same University, namely five in Peter-house, of ten pounds a year, each; and three in Gonvill and Caius College of twenty nobles a-piece *per Annum*; both which, together with a provision of eight pounds yearly, to the common chest of these two Colleges respectively, amounted to two thousand five hundred pounds. He likewise made an augmentation of sixteen pounds a year to the vicarage of St. Andrews at Auckland (l). The rest of his numerous Benefactions we shall give an account of in the note [L]. In a word, this generous Bishop, during the eleven years

(d) Smith, *ubi supra*, p. 19, 20. *Examen Historicum*, p. 291, 292.

(f) See Mr. Sim. Gunton's Hist. of Peterborough, Supplement, p. 339.

(g) Basire, p. 49.

(h) Register and Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil, &c. by Bishop Kennet, edit. 1728, fol. p. 323. Dr. Sandcroft preached the Consecration Sermon. Vid. Smith, p. 21.

(i) Smith, p. 21, 22, 23. In 1661, he was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference, where he yielded to some moderating concessions. See Life of R. Baxter, fol. l. i. Part ii. p. 305.

Cosin, in opposition to the former part of that assertion, declared to all the world, that he never refused to join with the Protestants there, or any where else, in all things wherein they joined with the Church of England (24). And that he was constant in the same opinion, appears by a letter of his, dated from Paris, Feb. 7, 1650, to one Mr. Cordel, then at Blois, who seemed shy to communicate with the Protestants there, upon the scruple of their in orderly ordination: in which letter he has this passage,—'To speak my mind freely to you, I would not wish any of ours absolutely to refuse communicating in theyre Church, or determine it to be unlawful, for fear of a greater scandal that may thereupon arise, than we can tell how to answer or excuse—(25).'

[I] And permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations.] Where he baptized, married, and had even some persons ordained Priests and Deacons by English Bishops, according to the several forms in the book of Common Prayer. With their consent likewise he did, in the year 1645, 'solemnly, in his priestly habit, with his surplice, and with the office of burial used in the Church of England, inter, at Charenton, the body of Sir William Carnaby, Knt. not without the troublesome contradiction and contention of the Romish Curate of that parish (26).'

[K] He repaired the castle at Bishop's Auckland.] This (the chief country-seat of the Bishops of Durham,) was, upon the seizure of the Bishop's land,

bestowed upon Sir Arthur Haselrigg; who designing to make it his principal seat, and not liking the old-fashioned building, resolved to erect a new and beautiful fabric, all of one pile, according to the most elegant fashion of those times. To fit himself therefore with materials for this his new house, he pulled down a most magnificent and large chapel, built by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, in the time of King Edward I. with the stone whereof, and an addition of what was deficient, he erected his new fabrick in a large court, on the east-side of the castle. But Bishop Cosin, soon after his consecration, taking notice that the greatest part of the materials, used in that building, were taken from the above-mentioned consecrated chapel, he not only refused to make use of it for his habitation, though it was commodiously contrived, and nobly built, but took it wholly down, and with the stone thereof built another beautiful chapel on the north side of that great court; and, under the middle isle thereof, caused a convenient vault to be made for his own sepulture (27).

[L] The rest of his numerous benefactions, &c.] They were as follows. He gave to the Cathedral at Durham a fair carved Lectern, and Litany-desk, with a large scalloped silver patten, gilt, for the use of the communicants there, which cost forty-five pounds.—Upon the new-building of the Bishop's Court, Exchequer, and Chancery, and towards the erecting of two Sessions-houses at Durham, he gave a thousand pounds.

(27) Dugdale, *ubi supra*, p. 82.

years he fate in the See of Durham, is said to have spent above two thousand pounds a year, in pious and charitable uses (m). For the two last years of his life he enjoyed but a very indifferent state of Health, being very much afflicted with the stone. At length the roaring pains of that distemper, as he used to call them, together with a pectoral Dropsy, put an end to his most valuable life (n), at his house in Pall-Mall, Westminster, on the 15th of January 1671-2, when he was seventy-seven years, one month, and sixteen days old (o). In his Will, dated December 11, 1671, he made a large and open declaration of his Faith [M]. About the year 1625, he married Frances daughter of Marmaduke Blakeston, M. A. (p) by whom he had a son, whom he disinherited on account of his embracing Popery [N]; and four daughters, one married to Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart. another to Sir ——— Burton, Bart. and the youngest to Dr. Denys Granville, brother to the Earl of Bath, and afterwards Dean of Durham (q). As for the Bishop's body, it was for some time deposited in a vault in London; and in April, 1672, conveyed to Bishop's Auckland in the diocese of Durham; where on the 29th of that month, it was buried in the Chapel belonging to the Palace, under a tomb of black marble, with an inscription [O] prepared by the Bishop in his life-time (r). We shall give an account of his works in the note [P]. As to his personal qualifications; the Bishop was tall and

(m) Bafire, ubi supra, p. 79, 80.

(n) Ibid. p. 86, 87.

(o) Smith, ubi supra, p. 27, 28.

(p) Archdeacon of the East Riding, and Prebendary of York and Durham, &c. See Willis, ubi supra, p. 100, 180, 269; and Bafire, as above, p. 39.

(q) Smith, p. 16; and from private information.

(r) Smith, p. 28. Willis, ubi supra, p. 251.

The Burial Service was read by Guy Carleton, Bishop of Bristol and Prebendary of Durham; and Dr. If. Bafire preached the funeral Sermon. Smith, *ibid.*

pounds. — Moreover, he gave towards the redemption of Christian captives, at Algiers, *five hundred pounds*. — Towards the relief of the distressed loyal party in England, *eight hundred pounds*. — For repairing the banks in Howdenshire, *a hundred marks*. — Towards the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, *fifty pounds*. By his Will he bequeathed to the poor of his hospitals at Durham and Auckland, to be distributed at his funeral, *six pounds*. — To the poor people of the country, coming to his funeral, *twenty pounds*. — To poor prisoners detained for debt, in the goals of Durham, York, Peterborough, Cambridge, and Norwich, *fifty pounds*. — To the poor people within the precincts of the Cathedral at Norwich, and within the parish of St. Andrew's there, in which he was born and educated in his minority, *twenty pounds*. — To the poor of Durham, Auckland, Darlington, Stockton, Gateshead, and Branspeth, (all in the Bishoprick of Durham) *thirty pounds*. — To the poor in the parishes of Chester in the Street, Houghton le Spring, North-Allerton, Creike, and Howden, (all lordships belonging to the Bishops of Durham) *forty pounds*. — Towards the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, when it should be raised five yards from the ground, *a hundred pounds*. — To the Cathedral of Norwich, whereof the one half to be bestowed on a marble-tablet, with an inscription, in memory of Dr. John Overall, some-time Bishop there, (whose Chaplain he had been) the rest for providing some useful ornaments for the Altar, *forty pounds*. — Towards the re-edifying of the north and south-sides of the College-chapel at Peterhouse, in Cambridge, suitable to the east and west ends, already by him perfected, *two hundred pounds*. — Towards the new building of a Chapel at Emanuel-College, in Cambridge, *fifty pounds*. — To the children of Mr. John Heyward, late Prebendary of Litchfield, as a testimony of his gratitude to their deceased father, who, in his Lordship's younger years, placed him with his uncle, Bishop Overall, *twenty pounds a-piece*. — To the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough, to be employed for the use of the poor in that town, *a hundred pounds*. — To the poor of Durham, Branspeth, and Bishop's Auckland, to be distributed as his two daughters (the Lady Gerard, and the Lady Burton) should think best, *a hundred pounds*. — To some of his domestick servants he gave *a hundred marks*, to some *fifty pounds*, and to the rest half a year's wages, over and above their last quarter's pay (28).

(28) Dugdale, ubi supra, p. 83, 84, 85; and Smith, p. 25, 26, 27.

[M] In his Will — he made a large and open declaration of his Faith. Wherein, after repeating the substance of the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, he condemns and rejects whatsoever heresies or schisms, the ancient catholic and universal Church of Christ, with an unanimous consent, had rejected and condemned; together with all the modern fautors of the same heresies; sectaries, and phanatics, who, being carried on with an evil spirit, do falsely give out, they are inspired of God. As the Anabaptists, new Independents, and Presbyterians of our country, a kind of men hurried away with the spirit of malice, disobedience, and sedition. — Moreover, (adds he) I do profess, with holy asseveration, and from my very heart, that I am now, and ever have been from my youth, al-

together free and averse from the corruptions and impertinent new-fangled, or papistical, superstitions and doctrines, — long since introduced, contrary to the Holy Scripture, and the rules and customs of the ancient Fathers. But in what part of the world soever any Churches are extant, bearing the name of Christ, and professing the true Catholic Faith and Religion, worshipping and calling upon God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with one heart and voice, if I be now hindered actually to join with them, either by distance of countries, or variance amongst men, or by any hindrance whatsoever; yet always in my mind and affection I join and unite with them: which I desire to be chiefly understood of Protestants, and the best Reformed Churches, &c. This part of his Will was written in Latin, and the latter part, containing his benefactions, in English (29).

[N] He had a son, whom he disinherited on account of his embracing Popery. See above, note [G] of this article. He was prevailed upon, not only to embrace Popery, but also to take Religious Orders in the Church of Rome; and though Dr. Cosin used all the ways imaginable, and even the authority of the French King, which, by his interest, he had procured, to regain him out of their power, and from their persuasion, yet all proved ineffectual. Whereupon he disinherited him, allowing him only an annuity of one hundred pounds (30). He pretended to turn again, but relapsed before the Bishop's decease.

(29) See Bafire, p. 111, &c. Smith, p. 55, &c.

(30) Nalson, as above, p. 519; and Smith, p. 13, 26.

[O] With an inscription. Which runs thus.

In non morituram memoriam.
JOHANNIS COSIN
Episcopi Dunelmensis,
Qui hoc Sacellum construxit,
Ornavit, & Deo consecravit
Ann. M, DC, LXV.
In Festo S. Petri.
Obiit xv die Mensis Januarii
Anno Domini, MDCLXXI.
Et hic sepultus est, expectans
Felicem corporis sui Resurrectionem,
Ac vitam in coelis æternam.
Requiescat in pace.

Round a marble-stone on the floor, are also these words engraved.

Beati mortui
Qui moriuntur in Domino,
Requiescunt enim
A laboribus suis (31).

(31) Smith, ubi supra, p. 28; and J. le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1679, p. 171.

i. e. To the never-dying memory of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who built and adorned this Chapel, and consecrated it to God in 1665, June 29. He died the 15th day of January, in the year of our Lord 1671, and is buried here, waiting for the happy resurrection of his body, and eternal life in heaven. Let him rest in peace. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.

[P] We shall give an account of his works, &c.] erect,

erect, and had a grave and comely presence. He had a sound understanding, well improved with all kinds of useful learning. And, as for his hospitality, generosity, and charity,

Besides his *Collection of Private Devotions*, mentioned above, he published, 'A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture: or, The certain and indubitable Books thereof, as they are received in the Church of England.' London, 1657, 4to. reprinted in 1672. This history is deduced from the time of the Jewish Church, to the year 1546, that is, the time when the Council of Trent corrupted, and made unwarrantable additions to, the ancient Canon of the Holy Scriptures. Consequently it was directed against the Papists, and was written by the author during his exile at Paris. He dedicated it to Dr. M. Wren, Bishop of Ely, then a prisoner in the Tower.

(32) Bafire, p. 66; and Smith, p. 17.

(33) And printed in *Bibliotheca Literaria*, &c. Lond. 1723, 4to. No. v. p. 33; &c.

Dr. P. Gunning had the care of the edition (32). — Since the Bishop's decease the following books and tracts of his have been published. I. 'A Letter to Dr. Collins, concerning the Sabbath,' dated from Peterhouse, Jan. 24, 1635 (33). In which, speaking first of the morality of the sabbath, he affirms, that the keeping of that particular day was not moral, neither by nature binding all men, nor by precept binding any other men but the Jews, nor them farther than Christ's time. But then, adds he, whether one day of seven, at least, do not still remain immutably to be kept by Us Christians, that have God's will and example before, and by virtue of the rules of reason and religion, is the question? And for this he decides in the affirmative. Then he proves, that the keeping of our Sunday is immutable, as being grounded upon divine institution, and Apostolical Tradition, which he confirms by several instances. Next he shews, that the Schoolmen were the first who began to dispute, or deny, this day to be of Apostolical Institution, on purpose to set up the Pope's power, to whom, they said, it belongeth, either to change or abrogate the day. Towards the end, he lays down these three positions against the Puritans: 1. 'The observation of the Sunday in every week is not commanded us by the fourth commandment, as they say it is. 2. Nor is our Sunday to be observed according to the rule of the fourth commandment, as they say it is. 3. Nor hath it the qualities and conditions of the Sabbath annex to it, as they say it hath.' II. There is published, A Letter from our author to Mr. Cordel, dated Paris, Feb. 7, 1650. See above note [H]. It is printed at the end of a pamphlet, intitled, 'The Judgment of the Church of England, in the case of Lay-baptism, and of Dissenters baptism (34).' III. *Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, prisca, casta, desecrata: omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, Ordinibus, ostensa. Anno MDCLII. i. e.* A Short Scheme of the ancient and pure doctrine and discipline of the Church of England (35). Written at the request of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon (36). IV. *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis. Cui præmittitur, atque opponitur, tum S. Scripturæ, tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Doctrina Catholica, de Sacris Symbolis, & præsentia Christi in Sacramento Eucharistiæ. i. e.* The History of Popish Transubstantiation, &c. written by the author at Paris, for the use of some of his countrymen, who were frequently attacked upon that point by the Papists. It was published by Dr. Durrell, at London, 1675, 8vo. and translated into English in 1676, by Luke de Beaulieu, 8vo (37). There is a *Second Part* still in manuscript (38). V. 'The differences in the chief points of religion, between the Roman Catholics and us of the Church of England; together with the agreements which we, for our parts, profess, and are ready to embrace, if they, for theirs, were as ready to accord with us in the same. Written to the Countess of Peterborough (39).' VI. 'Notes on the Book of Common-Prayer.' Published by Dr. William Nicholls, at the end of his Comment on the Book of Common-Prayer, Lond. 1710, fol. VII. 'Account of a Conference in Paris, between Cyril, Archbishop of Trapezond, and Dr. John Cosin.' Printed in the same book. — The following pieces were also written by Bishop Cosin, but never printed, 1. 'An Answer to a Popish Pamphlet, pretending,

(34) 2d edit. Lond. 1712, 8vo.

(35) Printed at the end of Dr. Smith's Life of Bishop Cosin. (36) Smith, p. 15.

(37) Ibid. p. 16, 17.

(38) Bafire, p. 67.

(39) Printed at the end of *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, by Bishop Bull.

that St. Cyprian was a Papist. 2. An Answer to four queries of a Roman Catholic, about the Protestant Religion.' 3. 'An Answer to a paper delivered by a Popish Bishop to the Lord Inchequin.' 4. 'Annales Ecclesiastici, imperfect.' 5. 'An Answer to Father Robinson's Papers, concerning the validity of the Ordinations of the Church of England.' See above, note [F]. 6. 'Historia Conciliorum, imperfect.' 7. 'Against the forsakers of the Church of England, and their seducers in this time of her trial.' 8. 'Chronologia Sacra, imperfect.' 9. 'A Treatise concerning the abuse of auricular confession in the Church of Rome (40).' By all which learned works, as one observes (41); and his abilities, quick apprehension, solid judgment, variety of reading, &c. manifested therein; he hath perpetuated his name to posterity, and sufficiently confuted, at the same time, the calumnies industriously spread against him, of his being a Papist, or Popishly inclined (42); which brought on him a severe persecution, followed with the plunder of all his goods, the sequestration of his whole estate, and a seventeen years exile. M.

(40) Bafire, p. 67, 68.

(41) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 294.

(42) Therefore, as Dr. Smith observes, *Erubescant jam Schismaticorum filii de parentum avorumque convitiis, mendaciis, & calumniis, in Cosinum*, p. 18.

While the integrity, the learning, and, above all, the munificence of this eminent Prelate entitle his name to respect, it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that he was of a superstitious turn of mind. Of this sufficient proofs may be collected from the preceding article, though written with a very favourable pen. The story related in note [K], says a valuable correspondent, "is an instance of the weakness and vain scrupulousness of the Bishop. I shall grant, that it is unlawful to convert a Church or Chapel to secular use. But the present case is different. The Chapel had been destroyed, the materials separated, and part of them applied to the building of another fabric. This was, in the sense of the law, a sort of specification; and all that could have been demanded of Sir Arthur Haselrigg, and all that could be expected of the Bishop of Durham, was, that a Chapel, not inferior to the one destroyed, should be rebuilt. The Bishop did otherwise: he built a Chapel indeed, but he also destroyed a house. This last, I am confident, he had no authority to do; and his heirs would have been obliged to compound with his successor for the waste committed wantonly and foolishly. It may also here be observed, that Dr. Smith says, this Chapel had been destroyed by gunpowder during the civil war; so that it is probable that Haselrigg only employed the stones of the ruined Chapel, and did not destroy the Chapel."

In the third volume of the Clarendon State Papers, lately published, we find a letter, written, in 1658, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, by Dr. Cosin, which affords a farther proof that, notwithstanding his superstition and his fondness for the pomp of external worship, he was steadily attached to the Protestant Religion. In this letter, speaking of the Queen Dowager Henrietta and Lord Jermyn, he says, "they hold it for a mortal sin to give one penny towards the maintenance of such heretics as Dr. Cosin is." Again, "The Dukes of Richmond hath been sick in her chamber a whole month together, and I have gone daily hence fifteen days to attend her there. She promiseth to be firm in Religion, for which purpose, I with the King would now and then put a line in his Majesty's letters to her; for she is and will be more affected with what his Majesty writes to her, than what all the Doctors of the world can say besides (43)."

(43) State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 418.

Some few of Dr. Cosin's letters are extant, among Dr. Birch's Collections, in the British Museum. One of these letters, which contains several curious particulars concerning Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, and Bishop Overall, will have due notice taken of it hereafter (44).

(44) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 170.

From Mr. Granger we learn, that the Bishop's "Scholastical History of the Canon of the holy Scripture" is a book still in esteem (45).

(45) Biographical History of England, vol. iii. p. 234.

It

(s) See Bafire, p. 37—103.
(u) See Willis, *ubi supra*, p. 228, 811.
This 1000 l. was for keeping a garrison at Berwick, against the Scots.

charity, they were so very conspicuous and extensive, that he is justly reckoned to have been one of the most munificent, if not the most munificent, of all the Bishops of Durham (s). Among many other services he did to his See, one was, the obtaining a release (in compensation of the loss that See suffered by taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries,) of the annuity, or pension, of one thousand pounds (t), charged upon that Bishopric, ever since Queen Elizabeth's day (u).

(t) Or, eight hundred and four-score pounds. Bafire, p. 56.

It is justly observed, by the authors of the new universal, historical, and literary Dictionary, that, though Dr. Cosin was not, in his impeachment, convicted of any thing Papistical, he was found active in inventing and pressing vain and insignificant ceremonies, and that in this respect he answered to the character of Laud, being one of the Divines of his School (49).

(49) New Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 141.

Since the preceding part of this note was sent to the press, we have seen Mr. Hutchinson's "History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham;" in which there is a full account of a contest between Bishop Cosin and the people of his palatinate, concerning their right to representatives in Parliament. In Cromwell's time they had been admitted to that privilege; and it was a privilege which they were not willing to relinquish. Accordingly, the Grand Jury, at the general Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at Durham, on the third day of October, 1666, presented a petition to the Court, in the names and on the behalf of the Freeholders of the said county, setting forth, "That they do not enjoy the privilege of sending Members to Parliament, as all other counties of the kingdom do;" and expressing their hope, that the "Justices will take the same into their serious consideration, and nominate and send up to London, with all convenient speed, such persons as they shall think fit, for the effectual prosecution of this great concernment of the country, that they may

petition the Parliament to grant this just and reasonable request, that they may have Knights and Burgesses to represent them in Parliament, like all other counties in the kingdom." This petition being read, the Bishop entered his protest against it, in which he was joined by Dr. Sudbury, Dean of Durham, Dr. Bafire, Thomas Cradocke, Samuel Davison, and William Blakiston, Esquires, five of the Justices then present in Court. But Sir Nicolas Cole, Bart. Henry Lambton, John Tempest, Anthony Byerley, Ralph Davison, Cuthbert Carr, Lodwicke Hall, Robert Clavering, Ralph Carr, John Morland, and Christopher Sanderfon, Esquires, eleven Justices then also present in Court, did approve of the said petition, and give their assent to the same. After this, the Freeholders published the reasons on which they grounded their request that there might be Knights and Burgesses for the County Palatine of Durham. These reasons our Prelate answered at large, and contended earnestly for the accustomed rights and privileges of his Bishopric. His opposition was successful during his own life. But two years after his decease, and one year before Bishop Crew was translated from Oxford to Durham, the Gentlemen of the county renewed their efforts, and obtained an Act, in 1673, by which the county and city were enabled to send four representatives; two for the county, and two for the city (50).]

(50) Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. i. p. 539—548.

* * [COSTARD (GEORGE), A Clergyman of the Church of England, and Author of several learned works, was born about the year 1710 (a). He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, of which he was admitted a member in 1726, if not earlier; and on the 28th of June, 1733, he took the degree of Master of Arts (b). He also became a Tutor, and Fellow of his College; and, indeed, seems to have spent a great part of his life there, though the Fellows of Wadham College hold their fellowships only for a limited number of years. The same year in which he took the degree of Master of Arts, he published, in 8vo, 'Critical Observations on some Psalms.' The first ecclesiastical situation in which he was placed, was that of Curate of Islip in Oxfordshire (c). Part of a letter written by him to Mr. John Catlain, containing an account of a fiery meteor seen by him in the air, on the 14th of July, 1745, was read at the Royal Society on the 7th of November in that year, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 477. The following year he published, at London, in 8vo, 'A Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq; President of the Royal Society, concerning the rise and progress of Astronomy amongst the Ancients.' In this very learned letter he endeavoured to prove, that the Greeks derived but a very small portion of their astronomical knowledge from the Egyptians or Babylonians [A]. He says, that 'though the Egyptians and Babylonians may be allowed, by their observations of the heavens, to have laid the foundation of astronomy; yet, that, as long as it continued amongst them, it consisted of *observations* only, and nothing more; and that in this state it lay, even amongst the Greeks, for some time [B]; till geometry being im-

(a) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 627.
(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

[A] Derived but a very small portion of their astronomical knowledge from the Egyptians or Babylonians.] Mr. Costard admits, that the Chaldeans were diligent observers of the heavens, and that they carefully marked every phenomenon that could come to their knowledge. But he is of opinion, that the observations on eclipses, spoken of as made by the Chaldeans, were nothing more than mere registers of what had been observed. 'That the theory of the moon's motions was at all known so early as this, or that the Chaldeans were ever capable of calculating and predicting an eclipse, is more,' he says, 'than can be made appear from any good authority now extant (1).'

(1) Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq. p. 22.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 50.

The Babylonians, he remarks, confessed, that their knowledge of the heavens was brought to them from the Egyptians (2); and he says, that 'the *Pole*, the *Gnomon*, and the *Division of the day into twelve*

'parts,' were the only things that the Greeks 'confessedly learnt of the Babylonians (3).'

(3) *Ibid.* p. 52.

[B] In this state it lay, even amongst the Greeks, for some time.] He says, that it is from the time of Thales that we may properly date all that truly deserves the name of astronomy (4). Thales, he remarks, was the first Greek that went to Egypt for improvement; and his scholar and successor was Anaximander. In tracing the progress of astronomy amongst the Greeks, Mr. Costard proceeds to observe, that, 'in Pythagoras's time, the Greeks had begun to compare the distances of the planets, the sun, and moon, with each other. But, when the distance of the sun from the earth was made only three times, or, at most, six times the distance of the moon from it, it is plain that this part of astronomy was but in its very childhood. It is, farther, a convincing proof, that they had not as yet any tables

(4) *Ibid.* p. 88, 89.

proved by them, and them alone, into a science, and applied to the heavens, they became the true and proper authors of every thing deserving the name of astronomy (d).^(d)

In 1747, Mr. Costard published, in 8vo, 'Some Observations tending to illustrate the Book of Job [C]; and in particular the words, *I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c.*'

(d) Letter to Martin Folkes Esq; p. 156.

To

(5) *Ibid.* p. 122. 'tables for calculating the motions of the moon, or the diameters of the earth's shadow in lunar eclipses, or determining the parallaxes in solar ones; without which tables, in the judgment of the best astronomers, neither the times nor quantities of eclipses can be investigated (5).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 123. 'That the system, called the Pythagorean, grew up amongst the disciples of that philosopher is highly probable; but that he himself delivered it to them, in the form we now have it, seems to be by no means fact (6).—What time the planets began to be observed, is not known; but that they were all discovered at the same time, is hardly probable. They were at first, no doubt, considered only as fixed stars; by degrees they were found to have a motion of their own; and, at last, their periods came to be taken notice of and settled. But this, we are assured by Seneca, was not so early as the time of Democritus, that is, about 500 years before Christ. Those of the planets Jupiter and Mars seem, if conjecture may be allowed, to have been the first that were so. The stations and retrogressions indeed of Jupiter and Mars would extremely perplex their theories; but as their motions are soon discernible, and they come in opposition to the sun, they seem more likely to have been observed than Saturn; whose retrogressions, though not so large as those of the other two, yet the slowness of whose motion, and the weakness of his light, would all contribute to make him less distinguished from the fixed stars about him. The planet Venus was known to Homer by the name of *Hesperus*; but Pythagoras, if Laertius and Pliny may be credited, or else Parmenides, was the first that said, *Phosphorus* and *Hesperus* were the same, i. e. I suppose, discovered the circular motion of that planet. When Mercury began to be considered, as having a regular motion of his own, is uncertain; but it is probable not till afterwards, as he is so seldom seen, his greatest elongation being only about 22° 46'.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 126 —134. 'From this time, however, it is probable, their motions began to be observed, and geometry to be applied to the purposes of astronomy: a thing, as far as appears, unattempted by the Egyptians and Babylonians: and yet without this it could never be reduced to a science. About the time we are now speaking of, lived Cleostratus, who, according to Pliny, formed the signs of the *Zodiac*; unless he means only the constellations *Aries* and *Sagittary*, concerning which, he says, he composed a treatise. He formed the *Kids* likewise, according to Hyginus; the constellation *Heniochus* being probably formed before. By such easy gradations did that people proceed, and from such small beginnings; till, in the time of Eudoxus, or the year before Christ 363, there might be read in the heavens the antient history of their most illustrious families during the poetical ages. This philosopher was an astronomer, physician, and lawgiver. He learned geometry of Archytas, and was recommended by Agesilaus to Nectanebo, King of Egypt, and by him to the priests; with whom he staid a year and four months, and wrote his *On Asteris*, according to Laertius. For there it was that he learned, that the sun finished his course in 365 days and 6 hours; a thing which, it seems, was hitherto unknown to the Greeks. He wrote, amongst other things, a treatise on the constellations, which is lost, all but a few fragments that are preserved by Hipparchus on Aratus, whose sphere, according to him, is the very same with that of Eudoxus (7).'

'About the year of Rome 542, or 211 before Christ, flourished the great Archimedes; who, besides that he was an excellent mathematician, was, in the proper sense of the word, as good an astronomer. That he observed the *solstice*, is certain from Hipparchus; and Macrobius tells us, that he assigned the distance of the moon from the earth, Mercury from the moon, Venus from Mercury,

'the sun from Venus, Mars from the sun, Jupiter from Mars, and Saturn from him, in Stadia; as likewise the distance from the orbit of Saturn to the fixed stars.'

'About the 150th olympiad, or 175 years before Christ, flourished Hipparchus, who observed the autumnal equinox, A. V. C. 592, according to Ptolemy; and the vernal equinox, A. V. C. 626; so that he seems to have continued his observations for 34 years together. Geometry having now been taken in to the assistance of astronomy, and the Pythagoreans having invented the 32d proposition of the first book of Euclid, this philosopher was enabled in a more correct manner to attempt the *Parallax* of the sun; and a noble attempt indeed it was. But, though it discovers a vast comprehension of thought, and the uncommon skill of the contriver, yet it supposes too great an accuracy of observation ever to be admitted into practice (8).'

(8) *Ibid.* p. 144 145, 146.

—'He first began to make a *catalogue* of the *fixed stars*, a thing highly celebrated by Pliny, as a task for a God; and discovered the *precession* of the *Equinox*, as Ptolemy informs us. He is said to have calculated eclipses, both of the sun and the moon, for 600 years to come.—And this brings us down to the year 140 after Christ, when Ptolemy observed the *Equinox*, and composed his excellent work; a work that conveys very extraordinary conceptions of its author; but at the same time hardly permits us to imagine, that the Egyptians, his countrymen, or the Babylonians, ever knew the true system, as the world has been since obliged with it by Copernicus. Different parts of it, indeed, lie scattered in the different writings of the Pythagorean philosophers, and others; but that it was never reduced to one consistent form, and admitted as the genuine one, seems apparent from Ptolemy's embracing a worse. If others were acquainted with what is now called the Pythagorean system, it is certain it was lost, or obscured by the superior authority of Ptolemy's. It was this that was publicly taught, and privately explained and commented on. It was translated at last into the Arabic language, and by that people studied and admired. The knowledge of the *Almagest* was by them looked upon as the *ne plus ultra* of science; and though many of them were very diligent and accurate observers, yet not one of them pretended to call in question its principles, or to prefer any other system before it. In Europe, indeed, during this interval, astronomy was in a manner unknown, or entirely lost. What little there was confined itself almost wholly to the Moors in Spain. At last, about the year 1230 after Christ, at the command of the Emperor Frederick, Ptolemy's *Almagest* was translated out of Arabic into Latin.

'From this time astronomy may date its second birth, being gradually improved, by the concurrent labours of 500 years, to the perfection it is now arrived at. For, about the year 1250, flourished the famous Alphonsus, King of Castile, celebrated for his Astronomical Tables. He was succeeded, about the year 1507, by the incomparable Copernicus, the author of the system now admitted for the true one, as being most agreeable to the laws of gravitation, and the best observations. Amongst these last, the principal place is due to those of Tycho Brahe; as by the help of which the ingenious Kepler was enabled to lay down the true laws of motion that obtain among the heavenly bodies. No sooner was that discovery made, than this science took very hasty strides towards perfection, by the unwearied diligence and sagacity of many able astronomers and mathematicians, particularly our own countrymen, Ward, Flamsteed, Halley, and, above all, Sir Isaac Newton (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* p. 147 —155.

[C] *Observations tending to illustrate the book of Job.* Mr. Costard observes of this book, that it is 'an exalted and regular piece of Eastern poetry, and of the

To which was annexed, 'The third chapter of Habakkuk, paraphrastically translated into English verse.' The same year a curious letter written by him to the Rev. Dr. Shaw, principal of St. Edmund Hall, relative to the Chinese chronology and astronomy, was read at the Royal Society, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 483. In this letter he took notice, that it had been the affectation of some nations, and particularly of the Babylonians and Egyptians, to carry up their histories to so immoderate a height, as plainly to shew those accounts to be fictitious, and without foundation. This also was the case with the Chinese; and Mr. Costard urged a variety of arguments to prove, that the mathematical and astronomical knowledge of the Chinese was inconsiderable, and that little dependance was to be placed on the pretended antiquity of their history (e). The following year he published, at Oxford, in 8vo, 'A farther Account of the Rise and Progress of Astronomy among the Antients, in three Letters to Martin Folkes, Esq.' Of these letters the first treats of the astronomy of the Chaldeans; the second is an elaborate inquiry concerning the *constellations* spoken of in the book of Job [D]; and the fourth is on the Mythological astronomy of the antients. In these letters, he has displayed a considerable extent both of oriental and of Grecian literature.

(e) Vid. Abridgment of the Philos. Transactions, vol. x. p. 1231, &c.

His next publication, which appeared in 1750, in 8vo. was 'Two Dissertations: I. Containing an Inquiry into the meaning of the Word *Kesitab*, mentioned in Job, ch. xlii. ver. 11. In which is endeavoured to be proved, that though it most probably there stands for the name of a coin, yet that there is no reason for supposing it stamped [E] with

the dramatic kind. The persons speaking are Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar; who regularly take their turns in the debate, which is upon a question no less important than how—"to vindicate the ways of God to men." What methods are pursued by them, in order to this, doth not at present fall under my design to observe. 'Tis apparent, however, that their several answers to Job's pleas may be looked on as three distinct acts. These replications and rejoinders continue to the 32d chapter, where Elihu begins the share he takes in the conference. This brings us to the 38th chapter, which concludes the fourth act, when the Deity appears, and closeth the scene in the fifth. I will not say, that this is the first Tragedy that we know of as extant in the world, or that any Eastern productions of this nature laid the foundation of the Greek stage. It may not be improper to observe, however, that two rules laid down by a very great master of the art of poetry are exactly maintained. It is not, as was said,

— *quinto productior actu;*

nor is God introduced, till it becomes

— *dignus vindice nodus.*

The narration at the beginning and end may be looked on as the Prologue and Epilogue; and the part assigned Job's wife seems intended for a short and refined satire on those that, without proper accomplishments or abilities, impertinently interpose their judgments in points of the highest importance, and which it is impossible they should understand. But if this is a proper representation of the case, will it not be a farther proof of the lateness of the composition? Poetry, no doubt, such as it was, must have been of very antient original. But then it seems to have been confined for a long time to songs, short hymns, panegyrics, and the like; rather taught and treasured up in the memory, like those of the Druids, than committed to writing. Regular poems must have been owing to leisure, education, and the establishment of schools and academies (10). He was of opinion, that the book of Job was not older than the time of the Jewish captivity at Babylon.

(10) Nichols, *ubi supra*.

[D] Inquiry concerning the *constellations* spoken of in the book of Job.] In this letter, among other things which he endeavours to prove, one is, that the authors of the septuagint version did not understand the original, in those passages in which the *constellations* are mentioned. He thinks it probable, that those whom Ptolemy employed to translate the Hebrew writings knew nothing of astronomy, or the original names by which the *constellations* were first called by the old Chaldean or Egyptian observers; and

that this led them to 'apply, with uncertainty and confusion, the fabulous names given them by the Greeks, and which in their time had universally taken place of the other (11).'

[E] No reason for supposing it stamped.] In the first of these Dissertations, Mr. Costard observes, that whoever would prove the book of Job to be older than Moses from the *Kesitab* being mentioned in it, must take upon them to prove, 'that it was a coin out of use in Job's country ever since the time of that lawgiver; and must likewise assert, that the writer, in order to give his poem the air of antiquity, could not introduce the mention of such a coin, though laid aside, he knew, many hundreds of years before he was born (12).' He also takes notice, that Buxtorf says, the piece of money called the *Kesitab* was so named, 'because it had the figure of a Lamb stamped upon it, and his authority hath been implicitly followed by many of the moderns without examination. But if *Kesitab* never signifies a Lamb, as Bochart very rightly observes, then that could not be the reason of the appellation, whatever else was (13).' Upon the whole, Mr. Costard was of opinion, 'that the word *Kesitab* most probably signifies a coin of some sort or other, yet that it neither appears to have been stamped, nor can be proved to have been a Jewish one; that it is more reasonable to think it was a piece of Canaanite money; that it had, therefore, no connection with the law of Moses; nor consequently was set aside by it (14).'

(11) Farther Account of the Rise and Progress of Astronomy, p. 44, 45.

(12) Two Dissertations, p. 1, 2.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 36.

Mr. Costard remarks, that 'who was the original author of stamped money is uncertain. But it is probable, it came into use among different people, at different times, according as they improved in arts and sciences, trade, and commerce. In Italy, if we believe Macrobius, the first coiner of money was Janus. But as his age is uncertain, as well as upon what authority Macrobius, a later writer, asserts this, or before him Athenæus, nothing farther can be said upon the subject. That silver was very scarce among the Romans, in much later times, seems evident; since we are told, that their money, before Numa, consisted only of bits of leather. This Prince is said to have introduced into that state brass money, which, however, was not stamped, but delivered out by weight. Servius Tullus, according to Pliny, was the first among them that stamped this brass coin, which he did, it seems, with the figure of an animal, an ox or a sheep. This, according to Pliny, was the only coin they had till A. U. C. 485, in the Consulship of Q. Fabius, and five years before the first Punic war. That war broke out in the year before Christ 261, and Fabius was Consul in the year before Christ 265. And it was sixty-two years later still before they had any gold money, or the year before Christ 203. What impressions they used upon these coins is

‘with any figure at all; and, therefore, not with that of a lamb in particular. II. On the signification of the word *Hermes*; in which is explained the origin of the custom, among the Greeks, of erecting stones called *Hermæ*; together with some other particulars, relating to the mythology of that people.’ These dissertations were inscribed to his friend Dr. Hunt, then Professor of the Hebrew and Arabic languages in the University of Oxford. At the conclusion of them, Mr. Costard says, ‘The study of the oriental languages seems to be gaining ground in Europe every day; and provided the Greek and Latin are equally cultivated, we may arrive in a few years at a greater knowledge of the ancient world, than may be expected, or can be imagined. But without this foundation, I may venture to pronounce, from the little experience I have had, that all will be darkness and perplexity. It is beginning at the wrong end, which can never be attended with success in any thing. It may not, perhaps, be improper to add, before I have done, that for such researches as these I have here been speaking of, few places, if any, in Europe, are so well adapted as the University of Oxford (f).’

(f) Nichols, *ut supra*, p. 628.

In 1752, he published, in 8vo, at Oxford, ‘Dissertationes II. Critico-Sacræ, quarum prima explicatur Ezek. xiii. 18. Altera vero, 2 Reg. x. 22.’ The same year a translation was published of the latter of these dissertations, under the following title: ‘A Dissertation on 2 Kings x. 22, translated from the Latin of Rabbi C——d, with a dedication, preface, and postscript, critical and explanatory, by the translator.’ In the preface and dedication to this publication, it is attempted to place Mr. Costard in a very ludicrous light (g).

(g) *Id. ibid.*

On the 25th of January, in the year following, a letter written by Mr. Costard to Dr. Bevis, concerning the year of the eclipse foretold by Thales, was read at the Royal Society, and was afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions (h); as was also another letter written by him to the same gentleman, concerning an eclipse mentioned by Xenophon (i).

(h) Vol. xlviii. part i. p. 17.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 155.

At the close of the same year, another letter written by Mr. Costard, and addressed to the Earl of Macclesfield, concerning the age of Homer and Hesiod, was likewise read at the Royal Society, and afterwards published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1754 (k). In this letter Mr. Costard states the ages of Homer and Hesiod much lower than the ordinary computations. He endeavours to make it appear, from astronomical arguments, that Homer and Hesiod both probably lived about the year before Christ 580; which is three centuries later than the computation of Sir Isaac Newton, and more than four later than that of Petavius. In 1755, he wrote a letter to Dr. Birch,

(l) Birch's MSS.

No. 444c—580.

which is preserved in the British Museum (l), respecting the meaning of the phrase *Sphæra Barbarica* [F]. Some time after this, he undertook to publish a second edition of Dr. Hyde's *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum*; and which was accordingly printed, under his inspection, and with his corrections, at the Clarendon Press at Oxford in 4to. in 1760. Mr. Costard's extensive learning having now recommended him to the notice of Lord Chancellor Northington, he obtained, by the favour of that nobleman, in June, 1764, the Vicarage of Twickenham, in Middlesex (m); in which situation he continued till his death. The same year he published, in 4to, ‘The Use of Astronomy in History and Chronology, exemplified in an Inquiry into the Fall of the Stone into the Ægospotamos, said to be foretold by Anaxagoras. In which is attempted to be shewn, that Anaxagoras did not foretell the fall of that stone, but the solar eclipse in the first year of the Peloponnesian war. That what he saw was a comet, at the time of the battle of Salamis: and that this battle was probably fought the year before Christ 478; or two years later than it is commonly fixed by chronologers.’

(m) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 142. edit. 1784.

In

uncertain; but the learned now seem to be agreed, that the practice of striking heads upon them, in the manner that is now seen on those called *Consular*, did not begin till about the times of Marius and Sylla, or the year before Christ 107.

How soon the Greeks became acquainted with the art of striking money, is yet more uncertain. But probably not till either commerce began to flourish among them, or they had occasion to pay large armies abroad. If this last was the case, that was not till the time of Darius Hystaspes, or about the year before Christ 520.—The oldest Greek coin extant, according to F. Hardouin, in his *Chronology of the Old Testament*, is one of Amyntas, the sixth in his order of Macedonian Kings. But this learned Jesuit afterwards published a gold one of Cyrene, which the authors of the notes in the *Science des Medailles* take to be as old as the time of Cyrus.

The first people that coined gold and silver money, according to Herodotus, were the Lydians. But what impress they used, or whether indeed any at all, he hath not told us. Nor can we know at present, as none of their coin that we can be certain of, is preserved in any of the cabinets of

Europe. The Medes their neighbours, we know, struck theirs with the effigies of their Prince shooting, and kneeling with one knee on the ground. These were called *Darics*, from the Prince that probably first coined them. Xenophon useth that name for a coin extant in Cyrus's time, and Suidas says, they were so called, not from Darius Hystaspes, but one elder than him. Perhaps Darius, the son of that Ahasuerus, who was King of the Medes at the taking of Babylon by Cyrus. That the first stamping of money, with an effigy in Asia, is to be placed somewhere about this time, is not improbable. But that silver unstamped was in use long before, is certain. At the time of the Jews captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, or the year before Christ 616, according to my computation, Jeremiah purchased his cousin's land for *seven shekel and ten sheph, or silverlings* (15).

(15) *Ibid.* p. 3—12.

[F] The meaning of the phrase *Sphæra Barbarica*. Mr. Costard says, that the most obvious and natural meaning of the words *Sphæra Barbarica*, which are used by Julius Firmicus in his *Astronomicon*, by Scaliger in his *Notes on Manilius*, and by other writers, seems to be constellations as delineated, or described, by other nations besides the Greeks, together

In 1767, he published, in one volume, 4to, 'The History of Astronomy, with its application to Geography, History, and Chronology; occasionally exemplified by the globes.' This work was chiefly intended for the use of students, and contains a full and distinct view of the several improvements made in geography and astronomy. Mr. Costard has shewn, 'by a gradual deduction, at what time, and by whom, the principal discoveries have been made in geography and astronomy, how each discovery has paved the way to what followed, and by what easy steps, through the revolution of so many ages, these very useful sciences have advanced towards their present state of perfection (n).' The following year he published, in 4to, 'Astronomical and Philological Conjectures on a Passage in Homer [G]:' but these conjectures appear to be fanciful and ill-grounded. About this time a correspondence took place, between the learned Jacob Bryant, Esq; and Mr. Costard, concerning the land of Goshen [H], which has been lately published by Mr. Nichols, in his 'Miscellaneous Tracts by Mr. Bowyer (o).' We do not find that from this period

(n) Monthly Review, vol. xxxviii, p. 324.

(o) 4to. 1785.

gether with the names by which they distinguished them.' But, he adds, that the phrase may mean what Berosus and his Chaldeans taught concerning persons born when such or such a particular constellation rose, or what events might be expected to attend them throughout their life-time after (16).'

(16) Birch's MSS. No. 4440—530.

[G] *Conjectures on a passage in Homer.* The passage in question is that in which Thetis tells Achilles, that she cannot speak to Jupiter in his behalf, because he is gone to an Ethiopian feast, from which he will not return till the end of twelve days. In order to explain this, Mr. Costard, contrary to the general sense of antiquity, endeavours to prove, that Jupiter means the sun, and that a day signifies a month (17).

(17) Monthly Review, vol. xxxix. p. 402, 403.

[H] *Concerning the land of Goshen.* Mr. Costard endeavoured to prove, that Goshen was 'the Delta of the Greeks in general, at least that part of it which was habitable in the time of Joseph (18).'

(18) Nichols's Miscellaneous Tracts by Mr. Bowyer, p. 681.

—'The particular spot inhabited by the Israelites,' he says, 'was called the Land of Rameses (Gen. xlvii. 11.) from a city of that name which, probably, was the capitol of that district. And it was from that city that the Israelites began their march (Exod. xii. 37.)' He adds, 'Wherever Goshen is to be placed, it could not be at a very great distance from the Red Sea, and the nearer the better; for the Israelites crossed it in the night of the third day from their setting out from Rameses. And Rameses is expressly said, Gen. xlvii. 6. to be in or belong to that district. For though Goshen, from the name, seems as if it lay between the branches of the Nile, yet the territory might extend without it to the East, where I conjecture Rameses

(19) *Ibid.* p. 686.

was situated (19).' He thought that Rahab, Goshen, and Delta, meant the same country and district; and that Zoan, Goshen, Rahab, and Delta, were only different names given at different times to one and the same country. Mr. Bryant differed from Mr. Costard upon this subject. 'There is reason to think, says he, that not a part only, but the whole of Delta was habitable in the time of Joseph: for the Caphtorim had made their migration to Philistia before the days of Abraham; and their original establishment is supposed by most learned men to have been about Pelusium and Sethron; and if the sea coasts were inhabited, we may readily admit that the higher lands were so likewise, for they must have been first occupied. Both this settlement in Egypt, and migration from it, are mentioned by the prophets. *Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, or Misraim, and the Philistines from Caphtor?* Amos ix. 7. *The Lord will spoil the Philistines, the remnant of the country, or rather of the isle, of Caphtor.* Jer. xlvii. 4. The Caphtorim, we find, are put into opposition to the Misraim; the former inhabited one of the island provinces near the sea, the latter were in possession of the other parts of Delta. The region of the former being unwholesome and inconvenient for its marshy and barren soil, probably induced them to quit it very early; for before the time of Abraham's sojournment in Canaan, they had driven the Avim from their settlements in that country, and seized them to their own use. Gen. xx. xxii. 33, 34. See Bochart, I. 293. But waving this, and allowing to Delta what extent you please, yet Goshen and Delta can never be esteemed synonymous, and the same, without perplexing the Mosaic account, and making it in

many places inconsistent with itself. The wonders exhibited in Egypt are said to have been displayed in Rahab and in Zoan. Pharaoh confessedly resided in those parts; and they must necessarily have been occupied by many of the Misraim, and the Naphtuhim, as the upper regions of Egypt were possessed by the sons of Pathros. Let us then, as Goshen and Delta are to be esteemed synonymous, use them in that manner, putting one for the other, as shall seem best to us, and attend the consequence. In the plague of flies, the cities and houses of the Misraim were to be full of them, and also the ground on which they stood was to be covered: but, says the Lord, *I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there.* Exod. viii. 21, 22. The land of Goshen was to be severed: it is plain, therefore, that it was a detached province. If, instead of Goshen, you put Rahab or Delta, every circumstance will be contradictory. The land will, without any limitation, be said to be affected, and at the same time not to be affected, with this curse from heaven. Again, Ch. ix. ver. 24, 25, 26, we read of the plague of hail, where fire was mingled with the hail. It is said to have been grievous over all the land of Egypt; there was none like it in all the land of Egypt or Misraim since it became a nation; and the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt, or Misraim, &c. only in the land of Goshen there was no hail. If then the land of Goshen was Rahab and Delta, there could be no hail in Delta and Rahab, nor in Zoan; for they are by you supposed to be the same, yet they were the places of all others which were most afflicted by it. As then the Scripture plainly says, that in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel dwelt, none of these plagues were felt; it is manifest, that the land of Goshen was a particular and separate district; and never could comprehend all Rahab or Delta, of whatever dimensions they may be supposed to have consisted (20).'

(20) *Ibid.* p. 689, 690.

After some farther arguments in support of his opinion, which appear to be conclusive, Mr. Bryant adds, that the Land of Goshen was a particular district 'at the very point of Delta, above Heliopolis, and called the Arabian Nome by the Greeks; but originally termed Cusha and Cushan, and by the Misraim Gushan. Its situation may be exactly defined, as it lay at the extreme point of Delta, nearly between Babylon and the Pyramids, which latter were a small matter above; which Cusha was in process of time called by different nations Casa, Kaifa, Geesha: and it is demonstrable from its situation, that the modern Geeza is the very place; for it lies exactly in the same direction between the Hill of Arabia, where stood Babylon and the Pyramids before-mentioned (21).' Mr. Costard had partly supported his opinion by etymological arguments; but Mr. Bryant says, 'I know nothing more fallacious than etymological proofs: and I have made it a rule, never to admit them singly and unsupported; on the contrary, to make etymology dependent upon history, and not to render history blindly subservient to etymology (22).'

(21) *Ibid.* p. 691.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 693.

But though Mr. Bryant differed from Mr. Costard upon this subject, he professed a due esteem of his parts and learning, and acknowledged, that in what he had written relative to it, he had displayed much curious erudition (23).]

(23) *Id. ibid.*

our author printed any work for some years; but in 1778, he published, in 8vo, "A Letter to Nathaniel Brassey Halhead, Esq; containing some Remarks on his Preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws." This appears to have been the last of his publications: it contains some criticisms, which were intended to invalidate the opinion, which Mr. Halhead had conceived, concerning the great antiquity of the Gentoo laws, and some arguments against a notion which had been adopted by several writers, drawn from the observation of natural phænomena, that the world is far more antient, than it is represented to be by the Hebrew chronology. Mr. Costard died on the 10th of January, 1782 (p). (p) Nichols, *ut supra*, p. 629. He was a man of uncommon learning, and eminently skilled in Grecian and Oriental literature. But he dealt too much in conjectures; and appears to have been possessed of more erudition than judgment. His private character was amiable; and he was much respected in the neighbourhood in which he lived, for his humanity and benevolence. From some passages in his writings, he appears to have been strongly attached to the interests of public freedom. He had a great veneration for the antient Greeks; of whom he says, that 'Tis to the happy genius of that once glorious people, and that people alone, 'that we owe all that can properly be styled astronomy (q).' And in another place, he says of the Greeks, that 'their public spirit and love of liberty claim both our admiration and imitation. How far the sciences suffer, where oppression, superstition, and arbitrary power prevail, that once glorious nation affords at this day too melancholy a proof (r).' (q) Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq. p. 22. (r) *Ibid.* p. 157. Mr. Costard's library, oriental manuscripts, and philosophical instruments, were sold by auction by Mr. Samuel Paterson, in March, 1782 (s).] (s) Nichols, *ut supra*. T.

COTES (ROGER), a celebrated Mathematician and Plumian Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy in the University of Cambridge in the eighteenth Century. He was the son of the Reverend Mr. Robert Cotes, Rector of Burbage in Leicestershire, which was also the place of his nativity (a) [A]. He was born there July the 10th, 1682, and received his first education at Leicester school, where, when he was between eleven and twelve years of age, he shewed a strong inclination to the mathematics, which being observed by his uncle the Reverend Mr. John Smith, father to the worthy Dr. Robert Smith, his successor as Plumian Professor in the University of Cambridge, he gave him all imaginable encouragement, and prevailed upon his father, to send him for some time to his house in Lincolnshire, that he might assist him in those studies, where he laid the solid foundation (b) of that deep and extensive knowledge in those sciences, for which he was afterwards so deservedly famous. He removed thence to London, and was sent to St. Paul's school, where under the care of Dr. Thomas Gale, and Mr. John Postlethwait, successive Masters, he made a great progress in classical learning, and yet found so much leisure as to keep up a constant correspondence with his uncle, not only in Mathematics, but also in Metaphysics, Philosophy, and Divinity (c). His next remove was to Cambridge, where, April 6th, 1699, at the age of seventeen, he was admitted Pensioner of Trinity-College in that University, and at Michaelmas 1705 was chosen Fellow of his College (d). He was at the same time Tutor to Anthony Earl of Harold, and the Lord Henry de Grey sons to the then Marquis, afterwards Duke of Kent, to which most noble family Mr. Cotes had the honour to be related (e). In January following he was appointed Professor of Astronomy, and Experimental Philosophy, upon the foundation made by Thomas Plume, Doctor in Divinity, Archdeacon of Rochester, being the first that enjoyed that office, to which he was chosen for his great learning and eminent abilities (f). He took the degree of Master of Arts in 1706, and in 1713 he entered into Holy Orders. The same year, at the desire of Dr. Richard Bentley, he published at Cambridge the second edition of Sir Isaac Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, with all the improvements which the author had made to that time, to which he prefixed a most excellent preface (g). This added greatly to the high reputation he had already acquired for his profound knowledge in the abstrusest parts of the mathematics, amongst the greatest men of the age. He wrote also a description of the great Meteor, that was seen on the 6th of March 1715-6, which was published in the Philosophical Transactions (h) [B]. These

(a) From the information of Dr. Robert Smith, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge.

(b) From the information before-mentioned.

(c) A fact often mentioned by the late Professor Saunderson.

(d) From the information of Dr. Smith.

(e) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 38.

(f) Knight's Life of Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, p. 430.

(g) This was the second edition of that most valuable Work, and the Preface is considered as a masterpiece in its kind.

(h) No. 265.

[A] Which was also the place of his nativity.] The little town of Burbage, or rather Burbach, lying in Sparkenhoe-hundred, in Leicestershire, and at the distance of about six miles from Leicester; is remarkable for its once having had an Earl for its Rector (1). This noble and reverend person was Anthony de Grey, the eighth Earl of Kent, who was Minister there at the time that ancient title descended to him, in 1639, and to his honour be it remembered, that he did not think himself obliged to alter his manner of living in the least. He kept a very hospitable house before, and was always glad of the company of his brethren, in which course he continued, excusing his attendance in parliament, on account of his age and infirmities, which, however, he would not suffer to excuse him from the

(1) Knight's Life of Dean Colet, p. 429, 430.

duties of his function, preaching constantly as long as it was possible for him to be carried up into the pulpit (2). He was great grandfather to the late Henry, Earl, Marquis, and at length Duke of Kent, to whom, as descended from a daughter of Major Farmer, in the same county, our author, Mr. Cotes was, nearly related.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, in Durham, p. 299.

[B] Which was published in the Philosophical Transactions.] This curious account is contained in a letter to Robert Danyne, D. D. Rector of Spofforth, in Yorkshire; which though it went out of his hands in his life-time, and might be very probably transmitted to the Royal Society before his death, yet it was in some respect a posthumous work, since it did not appear 'till after our author's decease. There are two things in

These were the only fruits of his learned and laborious studies, that appeared in his lifetime; but he left behind him several admirable and judicious Tracts, part of which, after his decease, his learned kinsman and worthy successor in his professorship, Dr. Robert Smith, gave to the public, which were received with universal approbation [C]. He died,

(3) Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxxii. No. 365. p. 66.

in it very remarkable, the first is the clearness and conciseness with which the facts are described, the other the plainness and perspicuity of the manner in which he accounts for them; the reader will not be displeased to have a taste of both (3). 'It was, says he, after seven before I had notice of this uncommon sight. At first I saw only two or three of the triangular streams towards the north and north-west: These were not of long duration, but were succeeded by others, which appeared, and vanished again by turns, arising from, and ascending up to places in the Heavens of very different altitudes above the Horizon. From the time I began to view them, they continued to ascend more and more copiously, being propagated still farther and farther from the north towards the west and east, and directed always to the heads of *Gemini*, 'till at length when they seemed almost to meet at the point of convergence, they began to ascend up towards it from the southern parts also, and all round it; in so much that at a quarter after seven we had a perfect canopy of rays over us: the bottom of this canopy did no where reach down to the horizon; for near the north, where it descended the most, its altitude was about ten or fifteen degrees, and near the south where it descended the least, its altitude was about forty degrees. It remained in this state about two minutes, during which time we saw several colours, some fainter and more permanent, others brighter, but quickly vanishing. Thus in the west I observed the rays to be tinged for some considerable time, with an obscure and heavy red; and in one of the brightest streams, at another time there suddenly broke out a very vivid red, which was instantly and gradually succeeded by the other prismatic colours; all vanishing in about a second of time. These colours affected the sense so strongly, that I thought them to be more intense than those of the brightest rainbow I had ever seen. A small time before the appearance lost its perfection, we were surprized to observe a shaking and trembling of the streams, chiefly in their upper parts; during which their convergence was confounded, and the whole Heaven seemed to be in a convulsion. At the same time I could perceive waves of light towards the north, which moved upwards, and in their motion crossed the streams lying parallel to the horizon. These waves were different from those broad ones, which you mention, and which I also took notice of: Their breadth seemed to be about a degree, their length about ninety degrees, and I can compare them to nothing better, than to those slender waves upon the surface of stagnant waters, which are made by casting in a small stone.—An irregular gust of wind blowing upon and shaking the columns, was I suppose the cause of that trembling which appeared in the triangular streams; and the cause also which destroyed that fine appearance of the canopy. The slender circular waves seen at the same time, might also be explained from the same cause. I need not detain you any longer by endeavouring to make out some other particulars of this unusual appearance: I fear I have been already too tedious. However, I will not omit to mention a very easy contrivance by which the thing may be tolerably well represented to view. Take a hoop and round about it fasten several straight sticks parallel to each other, but all inclined to the plane of the hoop; hold this plane parallel to the horizon, and in that posture move it with sticks over a candle, the shadows of the sticks upon the ceiling of your room, will converge to a point not directly over the candle (as they would have done had the sticks been perpendicular to the plane of the hoop) but to the point in which a line drawn from the candle parallel to the sticks, shall intersect the plane of the ceiling.'

[C] Were received with universal approbation.] The title of this work at large runs thus. *HARMONIA MENSURARUM, sive Analysis & Synthesis per rationum angu-*

lorum mensuras promotæ: accedunt alia Opuscula Mathematica: per Rogerum Cotesium. Edidit et auxit Robertus Smith, Collegii S. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses socius, Astronomiæ & Experimentalis Philosophiæ post Cotesium professor. Cantabrigiæ 1722, 4to. That is *The Harmony of Measures: or Analysis and Synthesis advanced by the measures of Ratio's and Angles. To which are added other Mathematical pieces by Roger Cotes. Published and augmented by Robert Smith, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, and successor to the said R. Cotes, as Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy.* This work is dedicated by the learned editor to Dr. Richard Mead. He next proceeds to give us, in a very elegant and affectionate Preface, a copious account of the performance itself, the pieces annexed to it, and of such other of the author's works as are yet unpublished. He tells us how much this work was admired by the judicious Professor *Saunderson*, and how dear the author of it was to the late learned Dr. Bentley, to whom he gives the highest, that is the justest, commendations. This book consists of three parts. In the first, called *Logometria*, the author's chief design is to shew how that sort of problems, which are usually reduced to the quadrature of the Hyperbola and Ellipsis, may be reduced to the measures of Ratio's and Angles, and afterwards be solved more readily by the canon of Logarithms, Sines, and Tangents. He defines the measures of Ratio's to be quantities of any kind, whose magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the Ratio's to be measured. In this sense any canon of Logarithms is a system of numeral measures of the Ratio's of the absolute numbers to an Unit: The parts of the asymptote of the Logistic line intercepted between its ordinates, are a system of linear measures of the Ratio's of those ordinates: The areas of an hyperbola, intercepted between its ordinates to the asymptote, are a system of plane measures of the Ratio's of those ordinates: And since there may be infinite systems of measures, according as various kinds of quantities are made use of; such as number, time, velocity, and the like; or according as the measures of any one system may be all increased or diminished in any given proportion; in such variety, much confusion may possibly arise, as to the kind and absolute magnitudes of particular measures, which happen to fall under consideration. Our author very happily removes this difficulty, by shewing, that the nature of the subject points out the measure of a certain immutable Ratio, for a modulus in all systems whereby to determine the kind and absolute magnitudes of all other measures in each system. The first proposition is to find the measures of any proposed Ratio. This he considers in a way so simple and general, as naturally leads to the notion and definition of a modulus; namely, that it is an invariable quantity in each system, which bears the same proportion to the increment of the measure of any proposed Ratio, as the increasing term of the Ratio bears to its own increment. He then shews that the measure of any given Ratio is as the modulus of the system from whence it is taken, and that the modulus in every system is always equal to the measure of a certain determinate and immutable Ratio, which he therefore calls the Ratio modularis. He shews that this Ratio is expressed by these numbers 2,7182818, &c. to 1, or by one, to 0,3678794, &c. so that in Briggs's canon, the Logarithm of this Ratio is the modulus of that system: In the Logistic line, the given subtangent is the modulus of that system. In the hyperbola, the given parallelogram contained by an ordinate to the asymptote, and the absciss from the center, is the modulus of that system, and in other systems the modulus is generally some remarkable quantity. In the second proposition, he gives a concise uncommon method, for calculating Briggs's canon of Logarithms, together, with rules for finding intermediate Logarithms, and numbers, even beyond the limits of the canon. In the third proposition, he constructs any system of measures by a canon

died, to the regret of the University in general, and more especially of such as were addicted to mathematical studies, in the prime of his life, in the thirty-third year of his age, June the

non of Logarithms, not only when the measure of some one Ratio is given, but also without that datum, by seeking the modulus of the system by the rule above-mentioned. In the 4th 5th and 6th propositions, he squares the hyperbola, describes the logistic line, and equiangular spiral, by a canon of Logarithms; and shews some curious uses of these propositions in their scholia. Take an easy example of the logometrical method in the common problem for finding the density of the atmosphere. Supposing gravity uniform, every one knows that if altitudes are taken in any arithmetical progression, the densities of the air in those altitudes will be in a geometrical progression, that is, the altitudes are the measures of the Ratio's of the densities below, and in those altitudes; and so the difference of any two altitudes is the measure of the Ratio of the densities in these altitudes. Now to determine the absolute or real magnitude of these measures, the author shews *à priori*, that the modulus of the system is the altitude of the atmosphere, when reduced every where to the same density as below. The modulus therefore is given (as bearing the same proportion to the altitude of the mercury in the barometer, as the specific gravity of mercury does to the specific gravity of air) and consequently the whole system is given. For since in all systems the measures of the same Ratio's are analogous among themselves, the Logarithm of the Ratio of the air's density in any two altitudes, will be to the modulus of the canon (that is to the Logarithm of the Ratio modularis defined above) as the difference of those altitudes is to the aforesaid given altitude of the homogeneous atmosphere. He concludes the Logometria with a general scholium, containing great variety of elegant constructions, both logometrical and trigonometrical, such as give the length of curves, either geometrical or mechanical, their areas and centers of gravity, the solids generated from them, and the surfaces of these solids, together with several curious problems in Natural Philosophy, concerning the attraction of bodies, the density and resistance of fluids, and the trajectories of planets. Several of these problems have two cases, one constructed by the measure of a Ratio, and the other by the measure of an angle. The great affinity and beautiful harmony of the measures in these cases have given occasion to the title of the book. The measures of angles are defined to be quantities of any kind, whose magnitudes are analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Such may be the arcs or sectors of any circle, or any other quantities of time, velocity, or resistance, analogous to the magnitudes of the angles. Every system of these measures has likewise its modulus, homogeneous to the measures in that system, and may be computed by the trigonometrical canon of sines and tangents, just as the measures of Ratio's by the canon of Logarithms; for the given modulus in each system, bears the same proportion to the measure of any given angle, as the Radius of a circle bears to an arc, which subtends that angle, or the same as this constant number of degrees 57,29577 95130 bears to the number of degrees in the said angle. Upon the whole our author expresses himself thus. 'From these examples it will lie wholly in the power of able Geometricians to form a judgment of our method, which if they shall approve, they may carry it still farther, and thereby considerably extend its uses. A vast field lies open, in which they may exert their abilities; but especially if they add to Logometrics, the assistances that may be derived from trigonometry; for that there is a wonderful affinity and connection between these, I shall plainly make appear. I can hardly believe that any principles can be devised more general than these; as mathematics contain scarcely any thing else within its compass, than the theory of angles and ratio's. Neither will any one desire a more commodious method, who considers the facility in these matters, derived to us from those extensive tables, as well of the logarithms of whole numbers, as of signs and tangents, which were the valuable effects of our predecessors laudable industry. To

this end I have added some theorems both logometrical and trigonometrical, &c.' The reason which induced the author to assert his principles to be so general, will appear farther by an instance or two. In the problem already mentioned, he measures the ratio of the air's densities in any altitudes, by the altitudes themselves, making use of the altitude of an uniform atmosphere for the modulus. So likewise when he considers the velocities acquired, and the spaces described, in given times, by a body projected upwards or downwards, in a resisting medium with any given velocity; he shews that the times of descent added to a given time, are the measures of ratio's to a given modulus of time; whose terms are the sum and difference of the ultimate velocity and the present velocities that are acquired, that the times of ascent taken from a given time are the measures of angles to a given modulus of time, whose radius is to their tangents in the ratio of the ultimate velocity to the present velocities; and lastly, that the spaces described in descent or ascent, are the measures of ratio's to a given modulus of space, whose terms are the absolute accelerating and retarding forces arising from gravity and resistance taken together at the beginning and end of those spaces. This general account may suffice to illustrate what I am going to say, that since the magnitudes of ratio's, as well as their terms, may be expounded by quantities of any kind, the mathematician is at liberty, upon all occasions, to chuse those which are fittest for his purpose, and such are they without doubt that are put into his hand by the conditions of the problem. He may indeed represent these quantities by an hyperbola, or any other logometrical system, were not his purpose answered with greater simplicity by the very system itself which occurs in each particular problem. And the same may be said for the systems of angular measures, instead of recurring upon all occasions to elliptical or circular areas. As to the convenience of calculating from our author's constructions; he shews that the measures of any ratio's or angles are always computed in the same uniform way, by taking from the tables the logarithm of the ratio, or the number of degrees in the angle, and then by finding a fourth proportional to three given quantities, for that will be the measure required. The simplest hyperbolic area may indeed be squared by the same operation taught in the author's fourth proposition, but the simplest elliptic area requires somewhat more: Those that are more complex in both kinds, which generally happens, require an additional trouble to reduce them to the simplest: to square them by infinite series is still more operose, and does not answer the end of Geometry. Upon the whole therefore it may deserve to be considered; for what purpose should problems be always constructed by conic areas, unless it be to please or assist the imagination. The design of theoretical Geometry differs from problematical: the former consists in the discovery and contemplation of the properties and relations of figures, for the sake of naked truth, but the design of the latter is to do something proposed, and is best executed by the least apparatus of the former. The Logometria was first published by the author himself, in the Philosophical Transactions. But his logometrical and trigonometrical theorems above-mentioned were not published till after his decease. These theorems make the second part of the book, and are calculated to give the fluents of fluxions reduced to 18 forms by measures of ratio's and angles, in such a manner that any person may perfectly comprehend their construction and use, though altogether unacquainted with curvilinear figures as expressed by equations. And this circumstance also renders the speedy application of them to the analysis and construction of problems extremely easy. Of this kind the author has given a great many choice examples both in abstract and physical problems, which make up the third and last part of the book. The editor has published the author's own solution of a very difficult problem in fluxions by measures of ratio's and angles, and upon this foundation has constructed new tables of logometrical and trigo-

the 5th, 1716, and was buried in the Chapel of Trinity-College Cambridge, his memory being honoured with an inscription by the elegant pen of the most learned Dr. Bentley, Master of that College, his constant friend and patron (i).

(i) See this inscription at the end of Dr. Smith's Preface to the *Harmonia Mensurarum*.

trigonometrical theorems for the fluents of fluxions, reduced to ninety-four forms, part rational and part irrational. He has likewise added several notes upon the chief difficulties in the book, together with a method of composing synthetical demonstrations of logometrical and trigonometrical constructions, illustrated by various examples.

The first treatise in the miscellaneous works is concerning the estimation of errors in mixed Mathematics. It consists of twenty-eight theorems, to determine the proportion among the least contemporary variations of the sides and angles of plane and spherical triangles, while any two of them remain invariable. An example will shew their great use in astronomy. The time of the day or night is frequently to be determined by the altitude of some star. Let it then be proposed to find the error that may arise in the time from any given error, in taking the altitude. By applying the 22d theorem to the triangle formed by the complement of the star's altitude and declination, and by the complement of the pole's elevation, the author shews that the variation of the angle at the pole, and consequently the error in time, will be as the error in the altitude directly, as the sine complement of the pole's inversely, and as the sine of the stars azimuth from the meridian inversely. Consequently if the error in the altitude be given, under a given elevation of the pole; the error in time will be reciprocally as the sine of the azimuth contained by the meridian, and the vertical which the star is in. This error therefore will be the same, whatever be the altitude of the star, in the same vertical, and will be least when the vertical is at right angles to the meridian. But will be absolutely the least in the same circumstance if the observer be under the equator. In which case, if the error in the altitude be one minute, the error in the time will be four seconds. If the observer recedes from the equator towards either pole, the error will be increased in the proportion of the radius to the sine complement of the latitude: So that in the latitude of 45 degrees it will be 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, and in the latitudes of 50 and 55 it will be 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ seconds respectively. If the star be in any other vertical oblique to the meridian, the error will still be increased in the proportion of the radius to the sine of that oblique angle. Lastly, if the error in the altitude be either bigger or less than one minute, the error in time will be bigger or less in the same proportion. Much after the same manner may the limits of errors be computed in other cases which arise from the inaccuracy of observations, and hence the most convenient opportunities for observing are also determined. The second treatise is concerning the differential method. The author having written it before he had seen Sir Isaac Newton's treatise upon that subject, has handled it after a manner somewhat different. The name of the third treatise is CANONOTECTHICA: or concerning the construction of Tables by differences. It consists of ten propositions, mostly admirably contrived for expeditious computation of intermediate terms in any given series. The last proposition, which contains a general solution of the whole design, is this. 'Some of the equidistant terms being given of any series, the intervals of which are divided into any number of equal parts, let it be proposed to find the intermediate terms.' The book concludes with three small tracts concerning the Descent of Bodies, the motion of Pendulums in the Cycloid, and the motion of Projectiles, delivered in a very natural and easy manner. These tracts, as the editor informs us, were all composed by Mr. Cotes,

when he was very young. He wrote also a Compendium of Arithmetic, of the Resolutions of Equations, of Dioptricks, and of the nature of curves; all which pieces the learned editor declared his intention of publishing. Besides these which were in Latin, he composed a course of Lectures in English, which were published by Dr. Smith in 1737; since which time there has been a second edition; the title of which we shall give at large for the reader's satisfaction.

HYDROSTATICAL and PNEUMATICAL LECTURES, by Roger Cotes, M. A. late Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy at Cambridge, the second Edition by Robert Smith, D. D. Master of Trinity College Cambridge 1747, 8vo. The first edition was printed as is before observed in 1737, and both are inscribed to his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland. C.

** [When Dr. Plume founded a new Professorship for Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy, in the University of Cambridge, Mr. Whiston was one of the Electors. Besides Mr. Cotes, there was another candidate, who had been a Scholar of Dr. Harris's. As Mr. Whiston was the only Professor of Mathematics who was directly concerned in the choice, the rest of the electors naturally paid a great regard to his judgment. At the time of election, Mr. Whiston said, that he pretended himself to be not much inferior to the other Candidate's Master, Dr. Harris; but he confessed that he was but a child to Mr. Cotes (4). The votes were unanimous for Mr. Cotes; and it should be remembered, that he was then only in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

(4) Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, p. 116.

In 1707, Mr. Whiston and Mr. Cotes united together in giving a course of Philosophical Experiments at Cambridge. Among other parts of the undertaking, certain hydrostatic and pneumatic Lectures were composed. They were in number twenty-four, of which twelve were written by Mr. Cotes, and twelve by Mr. Whiston. But Mr. Whiston esteemed his own Lectures to be so far inferior to those of Mr. Cotes, that he could never prevail upon himself to revise and improve them for publication (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 113, 119.

The early death of Mr. Cotes is always spoken of with regret by every mathematician, and every philosopher; since, if his life had been continued, he would undoubtedly have proved one of the greatest men which this country has produced.

We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of inserting Dr. Bentley's elegant inscription to the memory of Mr. Cotes.

H. S. E.
ROGERUS ROBERTI Filius COTES
Collegii hujus S. Trinitatis Socius
Astronomiæ et experimentalis Philosophiæ
Professor Plumianus:
Qui
Immatura Morte præreptus,
Pauca quidem Ingenii sui Pignora reliquit,
Sed egregia, sed admiranda,
Ex inaccessis Matheseos Penetralibus,
Felici Solertia tum primum eruta.
Post magnum illum Newtonum
Societatis hujus Spes altera
Et Decus gemellum.
Cui ad summam Doctrinæ Laudem
Omnes Morum Virtutumque Dotes
In Cumulum accesserunt;
Eo magis spectabiles amabilesque,
Quod in formoso Corpore gratiores venirent.
Natus Burbagii in Agro Leicestriensi
Jul. 10, 1682; obiit Jun. 5, 1716 (6).]

K. (6) New general Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 148.

COTTON (Sir ROBERT), a most eminent Antiquary, was born at Denton [A], near Connington in Huntingdonshire, January 22, 1570 (a). His father was Thomas Cotton, Esq; [B], the fourth of the name, and his mother Elizabeth daughter of Francis Sherley

(a) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni Scriptore T. Smitho, p. 1, col. 1.

[A] Was born at Denton. The ancient seat of the Family was Connington; but Sir Robert's Grandfather being alive at the time of his Father's marriage, the

young married couple went and lived at Denton (1). [B] His Father was Thomas Cotton, Esq; &c.] The Cotton family has for many years flourished in

(1) Vita Cottoni, ubi supra, p. 1, col. 1.

(*) From the University Register and some of the College-books.

(b) See Camden's Ann. ad ann. 1600; and Memorials, &c. published by E. Sawyer, vol. i. p. 186, &c.
(i) Vita R. Cottoni, ubi supra, p. 10. col. 2.

(n) Printed at Lond. 1651 and 1672.

(2) Ibid.

Sherley of Stanton in the County of Leicester, Esq. Where this worthy person laid the foundation of that great knowledge of Antiquities he afterwards acquired, or what School he was educated in, is unknown. However, when he was fit for the University, he was admitted into Trinity-College in Cambridge (b), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1575 (*). From thence he went and lived some time in the country with his Father. But finding that he wanted in that retired condition several opportunities of improvement, which he could have in a more public place, he came to London; and having soon made himself known, was admitted into a Society of Antiquaries (c), which was composed of several very learned and eminent persons [C]. Here, following the natural bent of his genius, he prosecuted the study of Antiquities with the utmost alacrity, and with uncommon success: and, improving the favourable circumstances that were presented to him [D], he began in the eighteenth year of his age (d) to gather together ancient Records, Charters, and other Manuscripts; and left at his death the choicest Collection of this kind that ever was seen in any Age or Nation. In 1599, or 1600 (e), he accompanied Mr. Camden to Carlisle, who acknowledges to have received from his singular courtesy great light in those obscure and intricate matters which he treats of in his Britannia: and, probably, then it was that Mr. Cotton brought from the Picts-Wall, several Roman Monuments still to be seen at Connington (f). In the same year 1600 he wrote a *Brief Abstract of the Question of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (g), which was occasioned by Queen Elizabeth's desiring the thoughts of the Society of Antiquaries on that point, upon her sending Sir Henry Nevill Ambassador to Boulogne to treat of a peace with Archduke Albert (h). Having, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, rendered himself eminent for merit and learning, and being highly in favour with the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton; he was, at the accession of King James I. to the throne of England, created a Knight (i). During this whole reign he was very much courted, admired, and esteemed by the greatest men in the nation, and consulted, as an Oracle, by the Privy-Counsellors, and the rest of the Ministers, upon every difficult point relating to our Constitution: As, namely, about the Union of England and Scotland—the Dignity and precedence of the Knights of the Bath—the Laws of England before the Conquest—about embasing the Coin—the taxes granted from time to time to our Kings, &c. (k). In 1608, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the State of the Navy, which had lain neglected ever since the death of Queen Elizabeth (l); and drew up a Memorial of their Proceedings, to be presented to the King (m). In 1609 he wrote 'a Discourse of the lawfulness of Combats to be performed in the presence of the King, or the Constable and Marshal of England (n): and, 'An answer to such Motives as were offered by certain Military men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than peace.' Composed at the command of that Prince (†). For, several persons that were about him, knowing his enterprising genius, were endeavouring to stir up in him an

(b) Ibid. p. 4. col. 2.

The old College-books being lost, the exact time of his admission cannot be known.

(c) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.

Life of W. Camden.

Sir H. Spelman's Pref. to his Law-Terms.

(d) Vita R. Cottoni, ubi supra, p. 7. col. 1.

(e) Ibid. p. 9.

Life of Camden.

(f) Camden's Britannia, col. 506, edit. 1726.

(g) It is in Cotton, Libr. Julius, C. IX. 21.

See Casley's Catalog. p. 325.

(k) Ibid. p. 13.

(l) Ibid. p. 14. col. 1.

(m) It is in Cotton, Libr. Julius, F. III.

(†) It is in Cotton, Libr. Cleopatra, F. VI. 1.

England, even long before the time of King Edward III. They took their surname from Cotton in the County Palatine of Chester; and from William de Cotton, who lived in that county, are derived all the eminent families of that name in England. From this William was descended, in the fourth degree, William who married Agnes daughter and heir of Walter de Redware in the county of Stafford. His son was John, who, 12 Henry IV. married Isabella daughter and heir of William Falconer of Thurcaston in the county of Leicester. They had Richard who married Elizabeth, sister and coheir of Sir Hugh Venables, Knt. Their SECOND son was William, who, in the reign of Henry VI. married Mary daughter and heir of Robert Wefenham, Esq. This William being slain at the battle of St. Alban's May 23, 1455, left his only son and heir Thomas great-great-grand-father of Sir Robert Cotton. Mary just now mentioned, was grand-daughter of Agnes daughter and coheir of John Brus (or Bruce) of Connington and Exton, Esq; and by her was the Connington Estate brought into the Cotton family. This John Brus was lineally descended from Bernard second son of Robert Brus Lord of Annandale in Scotland, and Isabella daughter and coheir of David the second Earl of Huntingdon. From this Robert and Isabella was the Royal Family of Scotland descended; and by this means the Cotton-Family came to be related to the Kings of Scotland and England. On which account King James was wont to call Sir Robert Cotton *Cousin*; and Sir Robert used frequently to write his own name *Robert Cotton Bruce* (2).

[C] *A Society of Antiquaries, &c.* The first rise of this Society was 1590, when several ingenious Lovers of Antiquities agreed to meet every Friday in Term-time, at Derby-House, where the Herald's Office is now kept. Two Questions were proposed at every

meeting, which were to be handled at the next. But many of the chief Supporters of it either dying, or removing from London, it was discontinued for about twenty years. At last in 1614, it was revived by Sir James Ley Attorney of the Court of Wards, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Davis his Majesty's Attorney for Ireland, Sir Richard St. George Norroy, William Hackwell the Queen's Solicitor, Mr. Camden, Sir Henry Spelman: To whom may be added such of the old Foundation as were still living, viz. Arthur Agard, Lancelot Andrews, Henry Bouchier, Richard Broughton, Richard Carew, William Dethick, Sir John Doderidge, ——— Doyley, William Fleetwood, Abrah. Hartwell, Michael Heneage, Joseph Holland, Thomas Lake, Francis Leigh, ——— Oldworth, William Patten, John Stow, Thomas Talbot, Francis Thynne, James Whitlock, &c. They met at the same place as the former.—The first Society petitioned Queen Elizabeth, to be incorporated into a Society, or Academy, for the study of Antiquities and English History: but for fear That should be prejudicial to our two Universities, their Petition was rejected; as it was also in the next reign. At last the suspicious Court of King James I. taking umbrage at their Meetings, they dissolved themselves of their own accord (3). What Subjects they handled, the curious Reader may see in Sir Robert Cotton's Life, by Dr. T. Smith, prefixed to his Catalogue of the Cottonian Library, p. ix. (See article AGARD (ARTHUR)).

[D] *And, improving the favourable circumstances that were presented to him, &c.* For there were many such MSS. dispersed about, which had been taken out of the Libraries belonging to the Monasteries, that were then but newly dissolved.

(3) Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, ubi supra, p. 7, 8, 9. Sir H. Spelman's Preface to Law-Terms.

incli-

inclination to military affairs; which was not at all agreeable to the King his father's peaceable and timorous temper. But, what mostly employed Sir Robert's thoughts were the Collections he was ordered to make relating to the Revenue of the Crown, and the 'Manner and Means how the Kings of England have from time to time supported, and repaired their estates (6).' For King James having prodigally exhausted his Treasury, new Projects (as they were then called) were to be contrived to fill it up again. Accordingly, our ancient Histories and Records were searched, to find out means and methods to repair the King's Revenue, and to discover the Courses used by our Kings in raising Money (p). But of all the methods set down by Sir Robert and others, none proved so agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called *Baronets* [E]. Sir Robert Cotton, who had done great service in that affair (q), was chosen to be one, being the twenty-ninth Baronet that was created. He was, soon after, employed by the same King, to write *Animadversions upon Buchanan's and Thuanus's Accounts of the Behaviour and Actions of Mary Queen of Scots*, and to give a different turn to them from what had been done by those two famous Historians (r). What he drew up on that subject is supposed to be interwoven in Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, or else printed at the end of Camden's *Epistles*. In 1616 the same King, who was always a favourer of the Papists, and never cared to put the laws against them in execution, finding the Nation uneasy on account of their swarming in the Kingdom, ordered Sir Robert to examine, Whether, by the laws of the land, they ought to be put to death, or imprisoned? which Sir Robert performed with great learning (s), and wrote upon that occasion, 'Twenty-four Arguments, whether it be more expedient to suppress Popish practices against the due allegiance of his Majesty, by the strict executions touching Jesuits and Seminary Priests? or, to restrain them to close prisons, during life, if no reformation follows (*).' Probably then, likewise, he composed 'Considerations for the repressing of the encrease of Preefts, Jesuits, and Recufants, without drawing of blood (t).' He was also employed by the House of Commons, when the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in agitation, to show, by a short examination of the treaties between England and the House of Austria, the Unfaithfulness and Insincerity of the latter, and to prove, that in all their Transactions they aimed at nothing but universal Monarchy (u). In 1621, at the request of the Lord Montague of Boughton, he compiled 'A Relation to prove, That the Kings of England have been pleased to consult with their Peeres in the Great Councell and Commons in Parliament, of Marriage, Peace and War [F].' He wrote likewise a Vindication of our Ecclesiastical Constitution, against the Innovations that were attempted to be brought in by the Puritans; in 'An Answer to certain Arguments raised from supposed Antiquity, and urged by some members of the lower House of Parliament, to prove that ecclesiastical lawes ought to be enacted by Temporal men (w).' Being a Member of the first Parliament of King Charles I. he joined in the Complaints of the Grievances which the Nation was then said to groan under. But, however, he was always for mild remedies; and intended the King's Honour and Safety, and the Nation's Advantage [G], as appeared by the honest Advice he gave in 1627. For, being called before the King and Council, to deliver his Opinion, in point of History and Law, upon the juncture of affairs then, he declared (x), 'That those English Princes, who had most opposed [the growing Power of the House of Austria,] had always the affections and hearts of their People: That this was the business of the present reign, and the desire of the English Nation: That to carry on this design the King must have Money; and no way to get money with speed, assurance, and satisfaction but by grant of Parliament: No way to dispose a Parliament to suitable Grants but by removing all Jealousies, especially those relating to Religion and Liberties: And nothing more plausible than for the Duke of Buckingham to be the first adviser of calling such a Parliament (y).' He was also consulted about the Imprisonment of those Gentlemen, who had refused to contribute to the Loan (z); and about a Project then set on foot, to enhance the value of the Coin, in order to raise money for the King, when he could not obtain any from his Parliaments. This Project Sir Robert opposed to the utmost of his power; and showed in a Speech before the Privy-Council, Sept. 2, 1626, what a Dishonour such an Alteration would be to his Majesty, and how great a Loss and Prejudice to the Sub-

[E] Of all the methods — none proved so agreeable to the King, as the creating a new order of Knights, called *Baronets*.] By which he could easily raise a hundred thousand pounds; as each Baronet was to pay, at three payments, as much as would maintain for the space of three years, thirty foot Soldiers, to serve in the Province of Ulster in Ireland, at 8d. a day, which amounted to 1095 l. This Title was not unknown in our Records, for 13 Edward III. it was granted to William de la Pole, and his heirs; and mention is made of it in an Agreement between King Richard II. and several Earls, Barons, and Baronets, &c. (4).

[F] A relation to prove, &c.] This was printed

at London in 1651: and 1672 among Cottoni Posthuma, and in 1679, under the Title of 'The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments,' fol. but it is extremely full of faults. There are good and exact Copies of it extant in manuscript.

[G] Intended the King's honour and safety, and the Nation's advantage.] A certain writer observes, 'That he was no great friend to the Prerogative (5),' that is, he was not inclined to come into all the violent Measures of the Court. The Speech he delivered in the lower House of Parliament assembled at Oxford, is printed in Cottoni posthuma (*).

ject.

(6) Extant, *ibid.* and in Cottoni Posth.

(p) Vita R. Cottoni, p. 14, 15, 16.

(q) *Ibid.*

(r) *Ibid.* p. 16; 17.

(s) Vita, ut supra, p. 17, 18.

(*) Printed at London, among Cottoni Posthuma, 1672, p. 109.

(t) It is in the Royal Library 18, B. xxiv. 4. See D. Calley's Catal.

(u) Vita, ut supra, p. 19. It is printed among Cottoni Posthuma, p. 91, under the title of *A Remonstrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c.*

(w) *Ibid.* p. 21. See Cottoni Posthuma, p. 202, &c.

(y) Rushworth's Histor. Collect. vol. i. p. 467.

(x) This seems to be the substance of the treatise, intitled, 'The danger wherein this kingdom now standeth, and the remedy.' Cottoni posthuma, p. 308, &c.

(z) See Rush. *ibid.* p. 422, 428. Vita R. Cottoni, p. 23.

(4) Cotton. Libr. Nero D. VI. 16. & Vita Cottoni, p. 16. col. 1.

(5) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 616. edit. 1721.

(*) Page 273.

(a) *Vita, &c. ubi supra.*
See the whole
Speech in *Cottoni Posthuma*, p.
285, &c.
(b) *Vita, &c.*

(d) *Vita, &c.*
p. 24.

ject (a). He wrote Books upon several other subjects, that remain in manuscript; namely, (b) Of Scutage—Of Enclosures, and converting arable Land into pasture—The Antiquity, authority, and office of the High-Steward and Marshall of England—The antiquity, etymology, and privileges of Castles—and of Towns—Of the measures of Land—The Antiquity of Coats of Arms—Curious Collections—about military affairs—and Trade—Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, different from those printed under his name [H]. He likewise made collections for the History and Antiquities of Huntingdonshire: and had formed this noble Design, To write an Account of the state of Christianity in these Islands, from the first reception of it here, to the Reformation. The first part of this design was executed by the learned Archbishop Usher, in his book, *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum primordiis*, composed probably at the request of Sir Robert Cotton; who left eight Volumes of Collections for the continuation of that work (c). J. Speed's History of England owes most of its value, and its ornaments, to Sir Robert Cotton. For he put in order some of the author's indigested materials, adding many curious observations of his own: As his fine Collection of Seals, Medals, &c. and furnished it with those Coins and Seals wherewith it is adorned (d): and Mr. Camden acknowledges (e), to have received those Coins that are in his *Britannia*, out of the Collection of the famous Sir Robert Cotton; who, it seems, intended to have written an account and explanation of them; but was unhappily hindered. To Richard Knolles, author of the Turkish History, he communicated authentic Letters of the Masters of the Knights of Rhodes; and the Dispatches of Edward Barton, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Porte: To Sir Walter Raleigh, Books and Materials for the second Volume of his History, never published: And the same to Lord Verulam, for his History of Henry VII (f). The famous J. Selden was greatly indebted, for his learning and reputation, to the books and instructions of Sir Robert Cotton, as he thankfully acknowledges in more places than one (g). In short, this great and worthy man was the generous Patron of all lovers of Antiquities, and his House and Library were always open to ingenious and inquisitive persons. Incredible is the service that hath been done to Learning, especially to the History of these three Kingdoms, by his securing, as he did, his valuable Library for the use and service of posterity [I]. Witness the Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Sir William Dugdale, the Decem

(c) *Ibid.* p. 24.
They are in Cotton Libr. Cleopatrina E.

(e) *Britannia*, under the title
Romans in Britain, at the end.

(f) *Vita R. Cotton*, p. 24, 25.

(g) *Dedicat. A-nalector. Britanniae* and of History of Tithes.

Scrip-

[H] *Collections out of the Rolls of Parliament, &c.* In 1657 William Prynne, Esq; published, *An exact Abridgment of the Records of the Tower of London, from the Reign of King Edward II. unto King Richard III. of all the Parliaments holden in each King's reign, and the several Acts in every Parliament, &c.* collected by Sir Robert Cotton, Kt. and Bart. Lond. fol. 1657, (reprinted again 1679). — which the said Mr. Prynne did revise, rectify in sundry mistakes, and supply with a Preface, marginal Notes, several omissions, and exact Tables. Tho', after all, it was not done by Sir Robert Cotton, but by Mr. Bowyer, Keeper of the Tower Records in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and beginning of King James the first's, as Mr. Tyrrel asserts in the Preface to his 3d vol. of the Hist. of England (p. ix.) — The other works of Sir Robert Cotton, not already mentioned, are as follows, I. 'A relation of the Proceedings against Ambassadors who have miscarried themselves, and exceeded their Commission.' II. 'That the Sovereign's person is required in the Great Councils, or Assemblies of the State, as well at the consultations as at the conclusions.' III. 'The argument made by the command of the House of Commons (out of the Acts of Parliament, and authority of Law expounding the same) at a conference with the Lords, concerning the Liberty of the person of every Freeman.' IV. 'A brief Discourse concerning the power of the Peeres and Commons of Parliament in point of Judicature.' These four are printed in *Cottoni posthuma*. V. 'A short view of the long Life and Raigne of Henry the third, King of England: Written in 1614, and presented to King James I.' Printed 1627, 4to. and reprinted in *Cottoni posthuma*. VI. 'Money raised by the King without Parliament from the Conquest untill this day, either by Imposition or free Gift, taken out of Records, or ancient Registers' Printed in the *Royal Treasury of England, or General History of Taxes*, by Capt. J. Stevens, 8vo. There is also published under his name, 'A Narrative of Count Gondamor's Transactions during his Embassy in England, London 1659, 4to.' In the Epistle Dedicatory, the Publisher, John Rowland, says — 'It bears in the frontispiece the name of that ever-famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was

' never wont to treasure up any thing but what was rare; nor can I certainly say, whether it were penn'd by Himself or not. I insist the more upon him, because it was my chance to be one whom he vouchsafed to take by the hand a little before his death, I being sent to him by my Lord Privie-Seal, to acquaint him that by my Lord's mediation, the King was reconciled to him: but his Answer was, That his heart was broken, and that it was now too late: whereby it appears, that Princes are sometimes abused, and misinformed, to the ruin of the best men.' — We find, moreover, that he wrote the following things — 'An Abstract or memorial of such courses as have been used in military affairs both at land and sea, under 35 heads (5). — Extracts about Commerce, imperfect (6). — Short Memoranda from 1548 to 1553 (7). — Extracts about the Rights of the Crown and the Parliament (8). — Historical passages taken out of Letters from the year 1551 to 1573 (9). — And the Notes and Collections for the reign of King Henry VIII. in Speed's Chronicle (10).

[I] He secured his Library for the use and service of posterity. For he ordered in his will, That it should not be sold, but pass to his Family, &c. As it was this valuable and curious Library that has rendered Sir Robert Cotton most famous, and is likely to perpetuate his name, it will be proper to give a larger Account of it. It consists wholly of Manuscripts; many of which being in loose skins, small Tracts, or very thin Volumes, when they were purchased, Sir Robert caused several of them to be bound up in one Cover. They relate chiefly to the History and Antiquities of Great-Britain and Ireland, tho' the ingenious Collector refused nothing that was curious or valuable in any point of Learning. He lived indeed at a time when he had great opportunities of making such a fine Collection: when there were many valuable Books yet remaining in private hands, which had been taken from the Monasteries at their Dissolution, and from our Universities and Colleges at their Visitations: when several learned Antiquaries, such as Josceline, Noel, Allen, Lambarde, Bowyer, Elsing, Camden, &c. died, who had made it their chief business to scrape up the scattered Remains of our Monastical Libraries; and, either by legacy or purchase, he became master of all that

(5) Cotton, Libr. Julius C. IV.

(6) *Ibid.* F. VI. 48.

(7) *Ibid.* Titus B. VI. 13. fol. 45.

(8) *Ibid.* F. 162.

(9) F. 177.

(10) A. Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 530.

Scriptores, Dr. Gale, Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Strype's Works, Rymer's *Fœdera*, several pieces put out by T. Hearne; and every Book almost that hath been

(11) Chamberlayne's Present State of Great Britain, p. 217, 218. edit. 1735.

(12) 12 William III. c. 7.

(13) 5 Anne, c. 30.

(14) Addit. to Catalog. of Cotton Library, by D. Casley, p. 313—317.

that he thought valuable in their studies (11). This Library was placed by Sir Robert Cotton in his own House at Westminster, near the House of Commons, and was very much augmented and enlarged by his son and grand-son, Sir Thomas and Sir John Cotton. In the reign of King William (12), an Act of Parliament was made for the better securing and preserving that Library in the name and Family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; that it might not be sold, or otherwise disposed, and embezzled. Sir John, great-grand-son of Sir Robert Cotton, having sold Cotton-House to the late Queen Anne, to be a repository for the Royals as well as the Cottonian Library, an Act was made (13) for the better securing of her Majesty's purchase of that House; and both House and Library were settled and vested in Trustees: After which the Books were removed into a more convenient Room, the former being very damp; and Cotton-house was set apart for the use of the King's Library-keeper, who had there the Royal and Cottonian Libraries under his care. Some years after, the Cottonian Library was removed into a house near Westminster-Abby, purchased by the Crown of the Lord Ashburnham; where a Fire happening October 23, 1731, one hundred and eleven Books were lost, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 rendered imperfect (14): And it was thereupon removed to the new Dormitory, and afterwards to the old Dormitory belonging to Westminster-School.

* [The most extraordinary and interesting circumstance in Sir Robert Cotton's Life had not come to the knowledge of our learned Predecessor. Indeed, it was not generally known till the year 1767, when the following papers, taken from original manuscripts, were published in the Gentleman's Magazine.

" Letter from Dr. Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York, to Sir Henry Vane, Ambassador at the Hague, dated London, Nov. 6, 1629.

" On Saturday in the evening there were sent Mr. Vice-chamberlain and others to seal up Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and to bring himself before the Lords of his Majesty's Council. There were found in his custody a pestilent tractate, which he had fostered as his child, and had sent it abroad into divers hands; containing a project how a Prince may make himself an absolute tyrant. This pernicious advice he had communicated by copies to divers Lords, who, upon his confession, are questioned and restrained; my Lord of Somerset sent it to the Bishop of London; the Lord Clare to the Bishop of Winchester; and the Lord Bedford I know not well to whom. Cotton himself is in custody. God send him well out!

" I am, &c."

" The Same, to the Same, dated Nov. 9.

" Yesterday his Majesty was pleased to sit in Council with all the Board, and commanded that devillish project found upon Sir Robert Cotton to be read over unto us. For my own part, I never heard a more pernicious diabolical device, to breed suspicious, seditious humours amongst the people. His Majesty was pleased to declare his royal pleasure touching the Lords and others restrained for communicating that project; which was, to proceed in a fair, moderate, mild, legal course with them, by a bill of information preferred into the Star-chamber, whereunto they might make their answer by the help of the most learned Council they could procure. And though his Majesty had it in his power most justly and truly to restrain them till the cause was adjudged, yet, out of his princely clemency, he commanded the board to call them, and to signify unto them to attend their cause in the Star-chamber. They were personally called in before the Lords (the King being gone) and acquainted by the keeper with his Majesty's

VOL. IV.

" gracious favour. Two never spoke a word, expressing thankfulness for his Majesty's so princely goodness; two expressed much thankfulness, which were my Lord of Bedford, and Sir Robert Cotton. St. John and James are still in prison; and farther than unto these the paper reacheth not in direct travel, save to Selden, who is also contained in the bill of information. I fear the nature of that contagion did spread farther; but as yet no more appeareth. I am of opinion it will fall heavy on the parties delinquent.

" I am, Sir, &c."

" Sir Symonds D'Ewes's account of this affair, in his manuscript Life, written by himself, and still preserved among the Harleian MSS. will give farther light to this very interesting fact.

" Amongst other books," says he, " which Mr. Richard James lent out, one Mr. St. John, of Lincoln's-Inn, a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him, for money, a dangerous pamphlet that was in a written hand, by which a course was laid down, how the Kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. St. John shewed the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it; and so it passed from hand to hand, in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in his house to transcribe it; which plainly proves, that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his own library. This untrusty fellow, imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself, when he wrote another for Sir Robert; and out of his own transcript sold away several copies, till at last one of them came into Wentworth's hands, of the North, now Lord Deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords, and others of the Privy-Council, with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written book, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon, in the beginning of November, in the same year 1629, Sir Robert was examined, and so were divers others, one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. St. John himself was apprehended, and, being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower. Being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it, upon examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same MS. pamphlet of that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wretched instrument of shortening the life of Sir Robert Cotton: for he was presently thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his Library locked up from his use, and two or more of the Guards set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me, 'they had broken his heart, that had locked up his Library from him.' I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident; and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honourable personages, as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood, from himself and others, that Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, two Prelates that had been stigmatized in the first Session of Parliament, in 1628, were his fore enemies. He was so outworn, within a few months, with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well coloured (such as the picture I have of him shews) was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. I heard it certainly affirmed that the young fellow whom Sir Robert kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard; which shews God's admirable justice,

4 H

" to

been since published, relating to the History and Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. So valuable a Person, we may imagine, must have had many Friends and Acquaintance.

The

(15) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxvii. p. 335—337. New General Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 151—154. *Bibli. Top. Brit.* p. 47—50.

(16) *Biographia Britannica*, first edit. vol. iii. p. 1810.

(17) Gentleman's Magazine, *ubi supra*.

(18) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxvii. p. 388, 389. New General Biographical Dictionary, *ubi supra*.

"to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the instrument of his final ruin. I, at one time, advised him to look into himself, and seriously consider, why God had sent this chastisement upon him; which, it is possible, he did; for I heard from Mr. Richard Holdsworth, a great and learned divine, that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much confirmed in the faithful expectation of a better life (15)."

Those of our Readers who are not already acquainted with this transaction, will be surprized that such men as Sir Robert Cotton, the Earl of Bedford, and Mr. Selden, who were known to be always well affected to the liberties of the subject, should be charged either with having written or disseminated a Tract, the intention of which was to shew how a Prince might make himself an absolute tyrant. In fact, the accusation was totally groundless. It was indeed asserted, in the Attorney General's information against Sir Robert Cotton, "that the discourse or project was framed and contrived within five or six months past here in England;" but the truth of the case was, that it had been drawn up in the year 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, commonly called Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (16). Of this Sir Henry Foulis gave evidence upon oath, in the course of the prosecution; in consequence of which, Sir Robert Cotton and the rest of the Gentlemen were released. The Tract in question, which was the cause of so much trouble to Sir Robert, was entitled, "A proposition for his Majesty's service, to bridle the impertinency of Parliaments;" and the design of the author, who lived in exile at Florence, was to ingratiate himself with King James the first, and by that means to prepare the way for his return to his own country.

It hath been said, that Sir Robert Cotton had his Library restored to him, soon after his release from confinement (17). But there is ground for believing that this was not the case; for in a Letter which mentions his death in 1631, it is asserted, that before he died, he requested Sir Henry Spelman to signify to the Lord Privy Seal, and the rest of the Lords of the Council, that their so long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady. Upon this message, the Lord Privy Seal went to Sir Robert, to comfort him from the King, when it was too late. The Earl of Dorset, likewise, within half an hour after Sir Robert's death, came to his Son, Sir Thomas Cotton, to condole with him on that occasion; and to assure him from his Majesty, that to him would be continued the love which the King had for his father. It is added in the Letter, that Sir Robert had entailed, as far as law could do it, his Library of books upon his son, who made no doubt of obtaining the same. "But, says the writer, for all these Court Holy-waters, I, for my part, for a while suspend my belief." Hence it appears, that the Government was not only in possession of Sir Robert Cotton's Library at the time of his decease, but that it was then thought doubtful whether it would be restored to his posterity. Another instance is related in which he came under the persecution of the Crown. In the Paper Office, is a warrant for his commitment, so early as the year 1615. He was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Spanish Ambassador, that was prejudicial to the affairs of Government, and on this occasion his Library was shut up. It is probable, however, that it was speedily restored, as there can be no doubt but that the suspicion entertained of him was wholly groundless (18). Thus to be twice unjustly imprisoned, twice to have his Library taken from him, and the last time with such circumstances as shortened his life, was the treatment which a man who had deserved so well of his country met with, from the arbitrary Princes of the House of Stuart.

That the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his House was his bastard, might possibly be the calumny of the day. As to Mr. Richard James, who likewise makes so considerable a figure in the

preceding narration, he was born at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and admitted a Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on the 23d of Sept. 1608, being then about sixteen years of age. On the 30th of September, 1615, he became Probationer Fellow of his College. Having entered into Holy Orders, he preached frequently, and arrived to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. Upon what occasion we know not, he travelled abroad, and was in Russia, in 1619, a tour to which country was very uncommon in those days. He was esteemed to be well versed in most parts of learning, and was noted, among his acquaintance, as a good Grecian and Poet, an excellent Critic, Antiquary, and Divine. Beside all this, he was admirably skilled in the Saxon and Gothic languages. As for his preaching, it was not approved of by any of the University excepting by some of the graver sort. Of three Sermons, delivered by him before the Academics, one of them, concerning the observation of Lent, was without a text, according to the most ancient manner; another was against it, and a third beside it; "shewing himself thereby, says Anthony Wood, a humorous person." Selden was much beholden to him for the drudgery he did for him when he composed his *Marmora Arundeliana*, and acknowledges him, in the Preface to that Book, to be *Vir multijugæ Studiiq; indefatigabilis*. Mr. James's diligence and trouble were very great in ordering, disposing, and settling Sir Robert Cotton's Library. Nothing was wanting to him, and to the encouragement of his studies, but a sinecure or a Prebend; if he had obtained either of which, the labours of Hercules would have seemed to be a trifle. Several Latin and English Sermons were published by him; and he was the Author of *Poemata quædam in Mort. clariss. Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ Alleni*. With these Poems he printed Sir Thomas More's Epistle to the University of Oxford, for the embracing of the Greek Tongue. He translated, also, into English, the Octavius of Minutius Felix. Mr. James died of a Quartan Fever, at the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, in Westminster, in the beginning of December, 1638; and, on the seventh of the same month, was buried in St. Margaret's Church. He left behind him several manuscripts of his own composition, and others collected by him from various authors, all of which are written with his own hand. These are now deposited in the Bodleian Library. Among the rest of the manuscripts of Mr. James's composition, are a Russian Dictionary, with the English to it; Observations made in his Travels through some parts of Wales, Scotland, on Shetland, Greenland, &c. and Observations on the Country, Manners, and Customs of Russia, or Rusland (19). Sir Symonds D'Ewes has given a very unfavourable character of Mr. James; having described him as an atheistical profane Scholar, but otherwise witty and moderately learned. "He had so screwed himself," adds Sir Symonds, "into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, that whereas at first he only permitted him the use of some of his books; at last, some two or three years before his death, he bestowed the custody of his whole Library on him. And he being a needy sharking companion, and very expensive, like old Sir Ralph Starkie when he lived, let out, or lent out, Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any that would be his customers; which," says Sir Symonds, "I once made known to Sir Robert Cotton, before the said James's face (20)." With regard to the charge brought against Mr. James, of his being an atheistical profane Scholar, I may observe, that it does not comport with Wood's account of him, who expressly asserts that he was a severe Calvinist. As to the other part of the accusation, it is undoubtedly a strong circumstance in Mr. James's favour, that he continued to be trusted, protected, and supported, by the Cotton Family to the end of his days. This learned and laborious man fell a victim to intense study, and too abstemious and mortified a course of living (21).

(19) *Athenæ Oxonienses*. vol. i. col. 615—617.

(20) *Bibli. Top. Brit.* No. XV. p. 47. note.

(21) *Athenæ Oxonienses*, *ubi supra*.

To

The chief of them in the British Dominions, were, Henry Earl of Northampton, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Archbishop Usher, Henry Earl of Bath, Edward Earl of Manchester,

(22) Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 367—372.

To return to Sir Robert Cotton; it is greatly to his honour, that he was not, like some eminent men of that age, so devoted to the prerogative of the Crown, as to be unfriendly to the rights and liberties of the subject. At the same time, when he spoke in favour of a redress of grievances, he did it with distinguished prudence and temper. Of this he exhibited a proof in the speech which was made by him in the Parliament of 1625 (22). The advice which he gave to the Lords of the Council, when, in consequence of the distracted state of public affairs, and the national discontents, he was summoned to deliver his opinion concerning the proper methods to be pursued for the general welfare, reflects so much credit on his integrity and wisdom, that I shall make no apology for preserving it in this place.

“ My Lords,

“ As soon as the House of Austria had incorporated itself into the House of Spain, and, by their new discoveries, gotten to themselves the wealth of the Indies; they began to affect, and have ever since pursued, a fifth Monarchy.

“ The Emperor Charles would first have laid the foundation thereof in Italy, by surprizing Rome: but from this he was hindered by the force and respect of religion, Henry VIII. being made *Caput Fœderis* against him.

“ He then attempted it in High-Germany, practising by faction and force, to reduce those petty States to his absolute power. In this Henry VIII. again prevented him, by tying the Lutheran Princes under his confederacy and assistance.

“ His son, Philip II. pursued the same ambition in the Nether-Germany, by reduction whereof he intended to make his way further into the other. This the late Queen of England interrupted, by siding with the afflicted people on the one part, and making herself head of the Protestant league with the Princes on the other side; drawing in, as a secret of State, the countenance of France, to give the more reputation and assistance to them, and security to herself.

“ Spain seeing his hopes thus fruitless by these Unions and Sleights, began first to break, if he might, the amity of France and England: but finding the common danger to be so fast a tie, he raiseth up a party in that kingdom of his own, by the which the French King was so distressed, that, had not the English Council and assistance relieved him, Spain had there removed that next and greatest obstacle of his ambition.

“ His Council now tells him, from these examples, that the way to his great work is impassable, so long as England lies a lett in his Way; and adviseth him that the removal of that obstacle be the first of his intents. This drew on those often secret practices against the person of the late Queen, and his open fury, in the year 1588, against the body of the State; for which she, following the advice of a free Council, would never after admit of peace; winning thereby the hearts of a loving people, who ever found hands and money for all occasions at home; and by keeping sacredly her alliances abroad, secured her confederates, all her time, in freedom from fear of Spanish slavery; and ended her old and happy days in great glory.

“ Spain then, by the wisdom and power of that great Lady, despoiled so of his means to hurt, though not of his desire, makes up, with her peaceful successor of happy memory, the golden league; that (disarming us at home by opinion of security, and giving them a power in our Council by believing their friendship and pretended marriage) gave them way to cherish amongst us a party of their own; and bereft of power abroad, to lead in jealousy, and sow a division between us and our confederates; by which, we see, they have swallowed up the fortune of our Master's brother, with the rest of the Imperial States, distressed the King of Denmark by that quarrel, diverted Sweden's assistance by the wars with the Pole, and

moving of him now with the offers of the Danish crown; and now, whether from that plot, or our fatality, it hath cast such a bone between France and us, as hath gotten themselves, by our quarrel of religion, a fast confederate, and us a dangerous enemy: So that now we are left no other assurance against their malice and ambition, but the Netherlands; where the tie of mutual safety is weakened by daily discontents, bred and fed between us from some ill-affected to both our securities: so that, from the doubtfulness of friendship, as we now stand, we may rather expect, through our own domestic faction, if they grow too furious, they will sooner follow the example of Rome in her growing; (that held it equally safe, honourable, and more easy, *dare regem*, than *subjugare Provinciam*) considering the power they have in their hands, than give any friendly assistance to serve the present condition of our State. You may see therefore in what terms we stand abroad; and, I fear, at home, in no better.

“ There must be, to withstand a foreign invasion, a proportion both of sea and land-forces; for to give an enemy an easy passage, and a port to relieve him in, is no less than to hazard all at one stake. And it is to be considered, that no march by land can be of that speed to make head against the landing of an enemy, nor no such prevention as to be master of the sea. To this point of necessary defence there can be no less than 240,000*l*.

“ For the land-forces; if it were for an offensive war, the men of less livelihood were the best spared, and were used formerly to make such war, *purgamento Reipublicæ*, if we made no further purchase by it: but, for safety of a Common-Wealth, the wisdom of all times did never intrust the public cause to any other than such as had a portion in the public adventure. And this we saw in the year 1588, when the care of the Queen and Council did make the body of that large army no other than of Trained-bands, which, with the auxiliaries of the whole realm, amounted to no less than 34,000 men. Neither were any of those drawn out of their countries, and proper habitations, before the end of May, that they might be no long aggrivance to the public; such discontents being ever to us a more fatal enemy than any foreign force.

“ The careful distribution and direction of the sea and land-forces, being more fitting for a Council of war, than a private man to advise of, I pass over; yet shall ever be willing and ready, when I shall be called, humbly to offer up such observations, as I have formerly gathered by the like occasions of this realm.

“ There are two things requisite to make up this preparation, money and affections; for they cannot properly be severed. It was well and wisely said by that great and grave Counsellor, Lord Burleigh, in the like case, to the late Queen, *Win their hearts, and you may have their hands and purses*. And I find of late, that diffidence having been a defect in the one, it hath unhappily produced the same in the other.

“ In gathering of money for this present need, there are required three things, speed, assurance, and satisfaction: and the way to gather, as others in the like cases have done, must be by that path, which hath been formerly called *Via Regia*, being more secure and speedy; for, by unknown and untrod ways, it is both rough and tedious, and seldom succeedeth well. The last way, although it took place as it were by supply at first, and received no general denial; yet, since, it hath drawn many to consider with themselves and others of the consequence; and is now conceived a pressure on their liberties, and against law. I much fear, if now again it be offered, either in the same face, or by Privy-seal, that it will be refused wholly. Neither find I that the restraint of those recusants hath produced any other effect, than a stiff resolution in them and others to forbear. Besides, though it went at first with some assurance, yet, when we consider the commissions, and other forms incident to such like services; as also how long it

fter, Henry Lord Boughton, James Montague Bishop of Winchester, Sir John Dodderidge, Sir John Davis, David Powell, Hugh Holland, Arthur Agard Deputy Chamberlain

it hung in hand; and how many delays there were, we may easily see that such a sum, granted by Parliament, is far sooner and more easily gathered.

"If any will make the urgency of times an inevitable necessity for enforcing the levy, whether, in general, by excise or imposition; or, in particular, upon some select persons, which is the custom of some countries; and so conclude it, for the public State, *suprema Lege*, he must look for this to be told him: that if necessity must conclude always for gathering money in the most speedy way, (which cannot be fitter than by Parliament) the consequence may be, that the humours of the heedless multitude, who are full of jealousy and distrust, and so unlike to comply to any unusual course of levy, will not submit but by force; which if used, the effect is fearful, and hath been fatal to the State: whereas that by Parliament resteth principally on the regal person, who may, with ease and safety, mould them to fit his desire, by a gracious yielding to their just petitions.

"If a Parliament then be the most speedy, assured, and safe way, it is fit to conceive what is the best way to act and work it to the present need.

"First, if the time of the usual summons, reputed to be 40 days, be too large for the present necessity, it may be shortened, since it is against no positive law; so that care be had that there may be one county day, after the Sheriff hath received the writ, before the time of sitting.

"If then the sum to be levied be once agreed on, then, for the advance of time, there may be, in the body of the grant, an assignment made to the Knights of every county respectively; who, under such assurance, may safely give security proportionable to the receipts, to such as shall, in present, advance to the public service any sums of money.

"The last and weightiest consideration (if a Parliament be thought fit) is, how to remove or compose the differences between the King and subject in their mutual demands. What I have learned amongst the better sort of the multitude, I will freely declare, that your Lordships may be the more enabled to remove those distrusts, that either concern religion, public safety of the King and State, or the just liberties of the Common-Wealth.

"For religion, a matter that lies nearest to their conscience, they are led by this ground of jealousy to think some practise against it.

"First, for that the Spanish match, which was broken by the grateful industry of my Lord of Buckingham, out of his religious care, as he there declares, that the articles there demanded might lead in some such sufferance as might endanger the quiet, if not the state of the Reformed Religion here: yet there have (when he was a principal actor in the conditions with France) as hard, if not worse, (to the preservation of our religion) passed than those with Spain: and the suspicion is strengthened by the strict observance of this agreement, in that point, there concluded.

"It is no less an argument of doubt to them of his affections; in that his mother and others, and many of his servants of near employment about him, are so affected.

"They talk much of his advancing men papistically devoted; some placed in the camp, of nearest service and chief command; and that the Recusants have gotten, these late years, by his power, more courage and assurance than before. If, to clear these doubts, (which perhaps are worse in fancy than in truth) he took a good course, it might much advance the public service, against those squeamish humours that have more violent passion than settled judgment, and are not the least of the opposite number in the Common-Wealth.

"The next is, the late misfortunes and losses of men, munition, and honour in our late Undertakings abroad; which the more temperate spirits impute to want of counsel, and the more sublime wits to practice.

"They begin with the *Palatinate*, and by the fault of the loss there, or the improved credit of Gondomar;

distrusting him for the staying of supplies to Sir Horace Vere, when Colonel Cecil was cast on that employment; by which the King of Spain became master of the late King's childrens inheritance.

"And when Count Mansfield had a royal supply of forces, to assist the Princes of our part, for the recovery thereof, either plot or error defeated the enterprize from us, to Spain's great advantage.

"That Sir Robert Mansel's expedition to Algier's should purchase only the security and guard of the Spanish coasts: to spend so many hundred thousand pounds in the Cadiz voyage, against the advice of Parliaments, only to warn the King of Spain to be in a readiness, and so to weaken ourselves, is taken for a sign of ill-affection in him amongst the multitude.

"The spending of so much munition, victuals, and money, in the Lord Willoughby's journey, is conceived an unthrifty error in the director of it; to disarm ourselves in fruitless voyages; nay, to some over-curious, seems a plot of danger, to turn the quarrel of Spain, our antient enemy, that the Parliament petitioned and gave supply to support, upon our ally of France; and soon after, a new and happy tie gave much talk, that we were not so doubtful of Spain as many wish; since it was held, not long ago, a fundamental rule of their security and ours, by the old Lord Burleigh, that nothing can prevent an universal Spanish monarchy, but a fastness of those two Princes whose amity gave countenance and courage to the Netherlands and German Princes, to make head against his ambition. And we see, by this disunion, a fearful defeat hath happened to Denmark and that party, to the great advantage of the Austrian family.

"And thus far of the waste of public treasure in fruitless expeditions: an important cause to hinder any new supply in Parliament. Another fear that may disturb the smooth and speedy passage of the King's desires in Parliament, is the late waste of the King's livelihood; whereby is like, as in former times, to arise this jealousy and fear, that when he hath not of his own to support his ordinary charge, (for which the lands of the Crown were settled unalterably, and called *sacrum Patrimonium Principis*) that then he must of necessity rest upon those assistances of the people, which ever were collected and consigned, only, for the Common-Wealth. From hence it is like there will be no great labour or stiffness to induce his Majesty to an act of resumption; since such desires of the State have found an easy way in the will of all the Princes from Henry III. to the last. But that which is like to pass deeper into their disputes and care, is the late pressures they suppose to have been done upon the public liberty and freedom of the subject; in commanding their goods without assent of Parliament; confining their persons without special cause declared; and that made good against them by the judges lately; and pretending a writ to command their attendance in a foreign war: all which they are likely to enforce, as repugnant to many positive laws and customary immunities of this Common-Wealth.

"And these dangerous distrusts are not a little improved by this un-exampled course, as they conceive, of retaining an inland army in winter season; when former times of greatest fear, as that of 1588, produced no such; and makes them, in their distracted fears, to conjecture, idly, it was raised wholly to subject their fortunes to the will of power, more than of law; and so make good some further breaches upon their liberties and freedoms at home, rather than defend us from any force abroad.

"How far such jealousies, if they meet with an unusual disorder of lawless soldiers, or an apt distemper of the loose and giddy multitude, may easily turn them away, upon any occasion in the State that they can side withal, to a glorious pretence of religion and public safety; when their true intent will be only rapine of the rich, and ruin of all, is worthy your provident and preventing care!

"I have thus far delivered, with that freedom you pleased to admit, such difficulties as I have taken

up

COTTON (Sir ROBERT). COTTON (CHARLES). 305

lain of the Exchequer, Roger Doddefworth, Richard Carew, William Burton, Sir James Ware, &c. And in foreign parts, Janus Gruterus, Francis Sweertius, Andrew Duchefne, John Bourdelot, Peter Puteanus, Nicholas Fabricius Peireskius, &c. (b). Sir Robert Cotton having lived respected and esteemed both at home and abroad, died of a fever, in his house at Westminster, May 6, 1631, aged sixty years, three months, and fifteen days; and was buried in the south Chancel of Connington-Church. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Brocas of Thedingworth in the county of Leicester, Esq; by whom he left one only son, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart.

(b) Vita R. Cottoni, ut supra, p. xxvi, xxvii.

up amongst the multitude, as may arrest, if not remove, impediments to any speedy supply in Parliament at this time: how to facilitate which may better become the care of your Lordships judgments, than my ignorance. Onely I could wish, that, to remove away a personal distaste of my Lord of Buckingham amongst the people, he might be pleased, if there be a necessity of Parliament, to appear a first adviser thereunto; and what satisfaction it shall please his Majesty, of grace, to give at such time to his people, (which I wish to be grounded by precedent of his best and most fortunate progenitors, and which, I conceive, will largely satisfy the desires and hopes of all) if it may appear in some sort to be drawn down from him to the people, by the zealous care and industry that my Lord of Buckingham hath of the public unity and content; by which there is no doubt that he may remain, not only secure from any further quarrel with them, but merit an happy memory amongst them of a zealous patriot: for to expiate the passion of the people, at such a time, with sacrifice of any of his Majesty's servants, I have ever found it (as in Edward II. Richard II. and Henry VI.) no less fatal to the Master, than the Minister in the End (23)."

(23) Ibid. p. 330—338.

The consequence of this advice was, that the King and Council were induced to believe that the calling of a Parliament was the best method which could be adopted for promoting the general good of the nation.

In the collection of curious discourses written by eminent Antiquaries, are printed nine short Dissertations, by Sir Robert Cotton, on various subjects relative to English Antiquities.

It is scarcely necessary to inform our Readers, that in 1753 the Cottonian Library was removed to the British Museum, and now constitutes a most useful and important part of that noble repository. The merit of Sir Robert Cotton, in forming his collection, is well represented in the Preface to the Harleian Catalogue. "Bodley's great contemporary, Sir Robert Cotton, had been equally diligent in collect-

ing ancient Manuscripts. The study of Antiquities, particularly those of this kingdom, had engaged his attention, though he always shewed a high regard for every part of philological learning, in all which he was extremely conversant. He had observed with regret, that the history, laws, and constitution of Britain, were in general very insufficiently understood; and being fully convinced, that the preservation of such monuments of antiquity, and other documents, as were conducive to render the knowledge of them, and their deductions from their primary state, more accurate and universal, would necessarily redound to the advantage of the public, he had, in an expensive and indefatigable labour of upwards of forty years, accumulated those numerous and inestimable treasures which compose the Cottonian Library, and now remain an indisputable testimony of his benevolent disposition towards his native country. But, happily, these Patrons of Literature lived in an age peculiarly favourable to the completion of their respective purposes, and more especially to those of the latter. The late general dissolution of religious houses had dispersed an infinite number of curious manuscripts. Many of these were secured by the nobility and gentry; but no inconsiderable number falling into the hands of peasants, mechanics, and other persons ignorant of their importance, and totally inattentive to their preservation, were easily to be purchased. From this source Sir Robert Cotton had supplied his Library with a multitude of rare Manuscripts; and to them Mr. Camden, Mr. Lambard, Dr. Dee, and Sir Christopher Hatton had kindly contributed their Stores (24)."

That the name of Sir Robert Cotton must always be mentioned with honour; and that his memory cannot fail of exciting the warmest sentiments of gratitude, while the smallest regard for learning subsists among us, is the testimony of Dr. Samuel Johnson (25).]

(24) New general Biographical Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 155. note.

K. (25) Ibid. p. 148.

* * [COTTON (CHARLES), an ingenious Writer, and eminent for his talents in Burlesque Poetry, was the son of Charles Cotton, Esq; of Beresford [A], in Staffordshire, and was born on the 28th of April, 1630 (a). He was educated at the University of Cambridge [B]; and Mr. Granger says, that 'he was esteemed one of the ornaments of that University (b).' He is said afterwards to have travelled into France, and other foreign countries (c). But the place of his residence, during the greater part of his life,

(b) Biog. Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 50. 2d. edit. (c) Biog. Dram.

[A] Son of Charles Cotton, Esq; of Beresford.] Of this Gentleman, who was the son of Sir George Cotton, Knt. the following character is given by Lord Clarendon: 'Charles Cotton was a Gentleman born to a competent fortune, and so qualified in his person, and education, that for many years he continued the greatest ornament of the town, in the esteem of those who had been best bred. His natural parts were very great, his wit flowing in all the parts of conversation; the superstructure of learning not raised to a considerable height; but having passed some years in Cambridge, and then in France, and conversing always with learned men, his expressions were ever proper and significant, and gave great lustre to his discourse upon any argument; so that he was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with books than he was. He had all those qualities which in youth raise men to the reputation of being fine Gentlemen; such a pleasantness and gaiety of humour, such a sweetness and gentleness of nature, and such a civility and delightfulness in conversation, that no man in the court, or out of

it, appeared a more accomplished person; all these extraordinary qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a clearness of courage, and fearlessness of spirit, of which he gave too often manifestation. Some unhappy suits in law, and waste of his fortune in those suits, made some impression upon his mind; which being improved by domestic afflictions, and those indulgencies to himself, which naturally attend those afflictions, rendered his age less revered than his youth had been; and gave his best friends cause to have wished, that he had not lived so long (1)."

[B] Educated at the University of Cambridge.] Sir John Hawkins says, that 'he had for his Tutor Mr. Ralph Rawson, once a Fellow of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, but who had been ejected from his Fellowship by the Parliament visitors, in 1648. This person he has gratefully celebrated in a translation of an Ode of Johannes Secundus (2). The same writer also observes, that at 'the University he improved his knowledge of the Greek and Roman Classics, and became a perfect master of the French and Italian languages (3)."

(1) Continuation of the Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 32. edit. 8vo. 1759.

(2) Life, ut supra, p. 5.

(3) Ibid.

was at the family seat at Beresford. In 1656, he married Isabella, daughter of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, Knt. of Owthorp, in the county of Nottingham (d). This Lady was a distant relation; and at the time of his marriage he was twenty-six years of age. He had not engaged in any profession, and was wholly dependent upon his father. But by the death of his father, about two years after, he became possessed of the family estate; though this was probably much encumbered. In 1663, he published "the Moral Philosophy of the Stoics," translated from the French of Mons. de Vaix, President of the Parliament of Provence (e). He is said to have made this translation in compliance to the will of his father [C]. In the year 1665, he translated from the French the Horace of Corneille. The plot of the original piece is taken from the story of the Horatii and Curiatii. It is said by the author of the *Biographia Dramatica* (f) to be a very good translation of this Tragedy; but it was not at first intended for publication, being only written for the amusement of his sister. It was, however, printed at London, in 4to. in 1671, and dedicated to his sister, Mrs. Stanhope Hutchinson, the Lady for whose use it was originally written. The year before, he had published, in folio, and dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon, a translation of the "History of the Life of the Duke d'Espernon (g)." It was at this period of his life, when his affairs seem to have been much embarrassed, and he had received a Captain's commission in the army, that he went over into Ireland; and he has recorded some of his adventures in a Burlesque Poem, in three Cantos, called a "Voyage to Ireland [D]." In 1674, he published "the Fair one of Tunis," a Novel, translated from the French; and also a translation of "the Commentaries of Blaise de Montluc, Marshal of France." The following year he published, in 8vo. "the Planter's Manual, being Instructions for cultivating all sorts of fruit-trees (h)." In 1678, he published at London, in 8vo, his most celebrated performance, under the following title: "Scarronides, or Virgil Travestie; a Mock Poem, on the first and fourth Books of Virgil's *Æneis*, in English Burlesque." This has passed through many editions. The eighth was published in 1700, and the fifteenth in 1771. It has been remarked, that though the title of this piece seems to imply, that "his poem was in imitation of Scarron, who has translated eight books of Virgil in the same manner, yet they, who will compare both these pieces, will possibly find, that he has not only exceeded the French, but all those who have made any attempts in that kind of poetry, the incomparable author of *Hudibras* excepted (i)." There is, undoubtedly, a great degree of humour in the *Virgil Travestie* of Cotton; but it must at the same time be confessed, that there is too much indelicacy and indecency. He likewise published, in 12mo, "Burlesque upon Burlesque; or the Scoffer scoffed; being some of Lucian's Dialogues newly put into English Fustian." These dialogues have been much read, the eighth edition having been printed in 1771. In point of merit, they may be ranked with his *Virgil Travestie*; they have the same humour, and the same licentiousness.

At what time Mr. Cotton lost his first wife, we meet with no account; but it appears that his second marriage was with the Countess Dowager of Ardglass, who possessed a jointure of fifteen hundred pounds a year, and who survived him (k). One of his favourite recreations was angling [E], which occasioned a very intimate friendship between him and Mr. Isaac Walton, whom he called his father. His house, as he informs us himself, was situated "upon the margin of one of the finest rivers (l) for trouts and grayling in England (m)." Here he also built a little fishing-house dedicated to anglers, over the door of which the initial letters of his own name, and Isaac Walton's, were placed together in a cypher. This edifice is still standing, and has been lately thus described. "It is of stone, and the room on the inside a cube of about fifteen feet: it is paved with black and white marble. In the middle is a square black marble table, supported by two stone feet. The room is wainscotted, with curious mouldings that divide the panels up to the ceiling: in the larger panels are represented in painting some of the most pleasant of the adjacent scenes, with persons fishing; and in the smaller, the various sorts of tackle and implements used in angling. In the farther corner, on the left, is a fire-place, with a chimney; and on the right, a large beaufet, with folding-doors, whereon are the portraits of Mr. Cotton, with a boy-servant, and Walton, in the dress of the time: under-

(m) Complete Angler, P. iii. p. 7.

(4) Ibid. p. 6.

(5) Ibid. p. 9.

[C] In compliance to the will of his father.] Sir John Hawkins says, that "his father, being a man of bright parts, gave him themes and authors whereon to exercise his judgment and learning, even to the time of his entering into the state of matrimony; the first fruit of which exercises was, as it seems, his Elegy on the gallant Lord Derby (4)." [D] A Burlesque Poem, &c. called "a Voyage to Ireland." In this poem he relates, with singular pleasantry, that at Chester, coming out of church, he was taken notice of by the Mayor of the city for his rich garb, and particularly a gold belt that he then wore, and by him invited home to supper, and very hospitably entertained (5).

[E] One of his favourite recreations was angling.] In one of his poems are the following lines:

"O my beloved nymph! fair Dove,
"Princess of rivers, how I love
"Upon thy flow'ry banks to lie,
"And view thy silver stream,
"When gilded by a summer's beam!
"And in it all thy wanton fry
"Playing at liberty,
"And with my angle upon them,
"The All of Treachery
"I ever learn'd, to practise and to try (6)."

"neath

(d) Hawkins, *ut supra*.

(f) Vol. ii. p. 156.

(g) Hawkins, *ut supra*.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 302.

(k) Hawkins, *ut supra*, p. 15.

(l) The river Dove, which divides the counties of Derby and Stafford.

(6) Poems, p. 136.

(n) Notes to the
Compl. Angler,
21. edit. 1784.

neath is a cupboard, on the door whereof the figures of a trout, and also of a grayling, are well pourtrayed (n). When four editions had been published of Walton's Complete Angler, Mr. Cotton wrote "Instructions how to angle for a Trout or Grayling, in a clear stream." These have ever since been published as a second part of Walton's book [F], and have been observed to be "a judicious Supplement" to that work (o).

(o) Hawkins, *ut supra*.

(p) *Ibid.*

In 1681, Mr. Cotton published a poem, called, "the Wonders of the Peak;" which is a performance of little merit; but in 1685, he published, in three volumes, 8vo, an excellent translation of Montaigne's Essays [G], which has since passed through several editions. He is supposed to have died in the year 1687, in the parish of St. James's, Westminster. He appears to have died insolvent, as Elizabeth Bludworth, his principal creditor, administered to his effects, his widow and children having previously renounced the administration (p). After his death, in 1689, a collection of his "Poems on several occasions" was published in one volume, octavo. This collection consists of translations, imitations of Horace, songs [H], sonnets, and epigrams, some humorous and sarcastic pieces, and a few of a more serious nature [I]. A volume in 12mo. has been several times printed (q), entitled, "the Genuine Poetical Works of Charles Cotton, Esq;" but this does not contain half the poetical productions of Mr. Cotton; it including only his Virgil Travestie, his Burlesque of Lucian, and the Wonders of the Peak; and not comprehending any of the poems in the collection published in 1689. Besides the pieces already mentioned, he translated "Memoirs of the Sieur De Pontis," which were published by his son, Mr. Beresford Cotton, in 1694 (r).

(q) The sixth edit. was published in 1771.

(r) Hawkins, *ut supra*.

He was a man of considerable abilities, and appears to have been an elegant scholar, and much distinguished by his polite and engaging manners. But many of his productions are too licentious in their tendency, and the imprudence of his conduct brought him into a variety of difficulties. Mr. Granger says, that 'he was sociable, hospitable, and generous; but as he was far from being an oeconomist, he, in the latter part of his life, was much

[F] Published a second part of Walton's book.] Sir John Hawkins observes, that 'the second part of the Complete Angler is apparently an imitation of the first. It is a course of dialogues between the author, shadowed under the name of Piscator, and a traveller, the very person distinguished in the first part by the name of Venator, and whom Walton of a hunter has made an angler; in which, besides the instructions there given, and the beautiful scenery of a wild and romantic country therein displayed, the urbanity, courtesy, and hospitality of a well-bred country Gentleman, are represented to great advantage (7).'

(7) Life, *ut supra*, p. 10.

[G] An excellent translation of Montaigne's Essays.] This is so good a translation, that it has been thought to be fully equal to the original, and some have even supposed it to be superior (8). He dedicated it to George Saville, Marquis of Halifax; and that Nobleman expressed his esteem for the translator, and admiration of the performance, in the following letter:

(8) Life, *ut supra*, p. 12.

SIR,
'I have too long delayed my thanks to you for giving me such an obliging evidence of your remembrance: that alone would have been a welcome present, but when joined with the book in the world, I am the best entertained with, it raiseth a strong desire in me to be better known, where I am sure to be so much pleased. I have till now thought wit could not be translated, and do still retain so much of that opinion, that I believe it impossible, except by one whose genius cometh up to that of the author. You have so kept the original strength of his thought, that it almost tempts a man to believe the transmigration of souls; and that he being used to hills is come into the moorlands to reward us here in England, for doing him more right than his country will afford him. He hath by your means mended his first edition: to transplant and make him ours, is not only a valuable acquisition to us, but a just censure of the critical impertinence of those French scribblers, who have taken pains to make little cavils and exceptions, to lessen the reputation of this great man, whom nature hath made too big to confine himself to the exactness of a studied stile. He let his mind have its full flight, and sheweth, by a generous kind of negligence, that he did not write for praise, but to give to the world a true picture of himself and of mankind. He scorned affected periods, or to please the mista-

ken reader with an empty chime of words. He hath no affectation to set himself out, and dependeth wholly upon the natural force of what is his own, and the excellent application of what he borroweth.

'You see, Sir, that I have kindness enough for Monsieur de Montaigne to be your rival, but nobody can now pretend to be in equal competition with you. I do willingly yield, which is no small matter for a man to do to a more prosperous lover; and if you will repay this piece of justice with another, pray believe, that he, who can translate such an author without doing him wrong, must not only make me glad, but proud of being his

'Most humble servant,

HALIFAX (9).'

(9) Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 303, 304.

[H] Songs.] Among his bacchanalian Songs, is one that is well known, and of which the following is the first stanza:

'Come let's mind our drinking,
'Away with this thinking;
'It ne'er, that I heard of, did any one good;
'Prevents not disaster,
'But brings it on faster,
'Mischance is by mirth and by courage
'withstood (10).'

(10) Poems, p. 74.

[I] A few of a more serious nature.] From one of these, called *the Retirement*, written in irregular stanzas, and addressed to Mr. Isaac Walton, we shall select the following lines:

'O solitude, the soul's best friend,
'That man acquainted with himself doth make,
'And all his Maker's Wonders to intend;
'With thee I here converse at will,
'And would be glad to do so still;
'For it is thou alone that keep'st the soul awake.

'How calm and quiet a delight
'It is alone
'To read, and meditate, and write,
'By none offended, nor offending none;
'To walk, ride, sit, or sleep at one's own ease,
'And pleasing a man's self, none other to dis-

(11) *Ibid.* p. 135.

'involved

‘involved in debt, and perpetually harrassed with duns [K], attornies, and bailiffs (s).’ It is said, that a report is current in the neighbourhood in which he lived, that by some far-castic lines in his *Virgil Travestie*, wherein he had made mention of a singular ruff, worn by a grandmother, or, as some say, an aunt of his, who lived in the Peak, he so exceedingly offended the old Lady, that she revoked a clause in her will, whereby she had bequeathed to him an estate of four or five hundred pounds a year (t): but this story seems not to be well-grounded [L]. He had several children by his first Lady, but none by his second. His son, Beresford Cotton, had a company given him in a regiment of foot, raised by the Earl of Derby, for the Service of King William; and one of his daughters was married to Dr. George Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury (u).’]

(u) Hawkins, *ut supra*.

[K] *Involved in debt, and perpetually harrassed with duns, &c.* In the second Canto of his *Voyage to Ireland in Burlesque*, are the following lines, as a part of the account which he gave of himself to the Mayor of Chester:

‘I answer’d, my country was fam’d Staffordshire;
‘That in deeds, bills, and bonds, I was ever writ
‘squire;
‘That of land, I had both sorts, some good, and
‘some evil,
‘But that a great part on’t was pawn’d to the
‘Devil (12).’

(12) *Ibid.* p. 186.

In his *Epistle to Sir Clifford Clifton*, speaking of himself, are also the following lines:

‘He always wants money, which makes him
‘want ease,
‘And he’s always besieged, tho’ himself of the peace,

‘By an army of duns, who batter with scandals,
‘And are foemen more fierce than the Goths or
‘the Vandals (13).’

(13) *Ibid.* p. 329.

[L] *This story seems not to be well grounded.* The lines referred to must be the following:

‘And then there is a fair great ruff,
‘Made of a pure and costly stuff,
‘To wear about her highness’ neck,
‘Like Mrs. Cockaney’s in the Peak (14).’

(14) *Virgil Travestie*, p. 53. edit. 1700.

But we do not find that he had either aunt, or grandmother, whose name was Cockaney. In the collection of his Poems, published after his death, we meet with an Epitaph on “his dear aunt, Mrs. Anne Stanhope,” whom he speaks of as the best of kindred, and of friends, and the best of women (15).]

(15) *Poems*, p. 352.

(b) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(c) From the College-Register.

(d) From the University Reg.

(i) *Repertorium Eccles.* &c. by R. Newcourt, vol. ii. p. 394.

(k) *Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c.* by Br. Willis, Esq; vol. i. p. 81. See *ibid.* p. 59.

(l) J. Le Neve’s *Fasti*, edit. 1716, fol. p. 432.

(m) Br. Willis, *ibid.*

(n) J. Le Neve, *ubi supra*, p. 409.

(o) *Dedication to Account of the present Greek Church*, as above.

(p) *Hist. and Antiq. of Essex*, by N. Salmon, p. 134.

COVEL (JOHN), a very learned Divine, in the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth Century, was born at Horningshearth in Suffolk, in the Year 1638 (a) being the son of William Covell of that place (b). He was educated in Grammar-learning at St. Edmund’s Bury, under Mr. Stephens; and on the 31st of March 1654, in the sixteenth year of his age, admitted into Christ’s College in Cambridge, of which he was afterwards chosen Fellow (c). In the year 1657, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master in 1661 (d). Afterwards entering into Holy Orders, he had the advantage of going, in 1670, as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey (e), Ambassador from King Charles II. to the Ottoman Porte; where he served, in that quality, both him, and his successor, Sir John Finch, for the space of seven years (f). Some time after his return to England he was created Doctor in Divinity, namely in 1679 (g); and the same year was chosen Lady Margaret’s Preacher in the University of Cambridge (h). On the 5th of March 1680, he had institution to the Sine-cure-Rectory of Littlebury in Essex, to which he was presented by Dr. Gunning Bishop of Ely (i); and, on the 9th of November 1687, he was installed into the Chancellorship of York, conferred upon him by the King, during the vacancy of that See (k). On the 7th of July 1688 he was elected Master of Christ’s College (l), in which station he behaved as a good and prudent Governor. He was also Rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire (m). In the year 1708, he served the office of Vice-chancellor in the University of Cambridge (n). At length, after having led a kind of itinerant life, [as he himself informs us (o),] at York, in Holland, and elsewhere; he arrived at his long Journey’s end, on the 19th of December 1722, in the 85th year of his age; and was buried in the Chapel of Christ’s College, where there is an Epitaph to his memory [A]. He gave a Benefaction of Three pounds a year to the poor of the parish of Littlebury above-mentioned (p). Having, during his seven years residence at Constantinople, had an opportunity of informing himself well of the ancient and present state of the Greek Church, and collected several curious observations and notices relating thereto; he digested them, during the remainder of his Life, into a curious and useful Book, published not long before his decease. It is intituled, ‘Some Account of the present Greek Church, with Reflections on their present Doctrine and Discipline; particularly in the Eucharist, and the rest of their seven pretended Sacraments, compared with Jac. Goar’s Notes upon the

(a) This appears from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below.

(e) Sir Dan. Harvey was appointed Ambassador to Constantinople in Aug. 1668. The Historian’s Guide, 2^{vo.} edit. 1688, p. 72.

(f) See some Account of the present Greek Church, &c. by J. Covell, D.D. Camb. 1722, fol. in the Dedicat. p. 3; and Pref. p. 1.

(g) From the University Regist.

(h) See Catalogue of Preachers at Cambridge, prefixed to the Lady Margaret’s Funeral Sermon, republished by T. Baker, B.D. Lond. 1708, 8^{vo.}

[A] *Where there is an Epitaph to his memory* As follows.

Hic Sepultas habes, beatam Resurrectionem expectantis, Reliquias venerabilis & eruditissimi Viri Johannis Covell, S. T. P. nuper hujus Collegij Custodis sive Magistri, nec non Eccles. Cathedr. Eborac. Cancellarij.

Obiit Dec. XIX. A. D. MDCCXXII.
Ætat. LXXXV.

i. e. Here lye buried, in hopes of a blessed Resurrection, the remains of that venerable and most learned man John Covell, D.D. late Master of this College, and Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of York.

He died December 19, 1722, in the 85th Year of his Age.

Greek

'Greek Ritual, or ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ.' Cambridge MDCCXXII. fol. [B]. As for the Author's

[B] *Some account of the present Greek Church, &c.*

The chief occasion of that work, was the great Controversy which for several years was hotly debated in the last Century, by two of the most eminent Divines of France, Monsieur *Arnauld* Doctor of the Sorbonne, on the side of the Papists; and Mons. *Claude* Minister of Charenton, in behalf of the Protestants. The former, not being content to say, That the Church in all ages believed Transubstantiation, did also positively affirm, That all the Eastern Churches do at this very day believe it, in the same sense as it was defined by the Council of Trent. Mr. *Claude*, in his answer to him, brought most authentic proofs of the contrary. Whereupon *Arnauld* set all the Missionaries of the East on work to procure Testimonies for him: Which, by bribes and other indirect means, they obtained in such numbers, that there was, soon after, a large Quarto in French printed at Paris, full of the names of Patriarchs, Bishops, and Doctors of those Churches, who all approved the Roman Doctrine (1). But Mons. *Claude* having had most certain Information, by means of a French Gentleman at Colchis, that some of those Testimonies were mere Fictions; and others quite otherwise than they were told; he sent some Queries into the East, and desired the English Clergymen residing there, to enquire of the Greeks, and other Eastern Christians of the best note, who had no correspondence with the Romanists, nor were Emisseries of the Court of Rome, or retainers to them: 'Whether Transubstantiation (*μετεμοίωσις*) i. e. the real and natural change of the whole substance of the Bread into the same numerical substance as the body of Christ which is in heaven, be an article of Faith amongst them, and the contrary be accounted heretical and impious,' &c. (2). This set therefore Dr. *Covel* upon examining thoroughly into that point. But, after all, he declares, that the Greeks, and Easterlings, are so far from being learned and well versed in that Controversy, that he never met with one amongst them, who ever pretended fully to understand, much less ever offered to clear that matter. 'I have, says he, here and there met with an Easterling brought up in the College de propaganda fide at Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, who would sometimes venture at a Solution to some difficulties about transubstantiation; but it was ever done only by some scraps of the common evasions and jargon of the Schools, and never with any satisfactory or solid reason. But from a native Greek, or Easterling, who was never out of his country, (though he was there a man of some dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of the point. Many of my acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters. Some few who had picked up any scattered notions in the East, or elsewhere, from the Romish emisseries, would offer them very imperfectly, and as ill apply them. But as for the bulk of their Clergy (the far greatest part of their Prelates and topping Ministers) I do positively assert, that they are in general profoundly ignorant in these points; and not one of a thousand amongst the ordinary Priests knows any thing of the matter. They have no books to read, but their Hours of Prayer, and common Church-Offices, which are very numerous; and in Country-Churches you will rarely find any of these, except their common Euchologium, their ordinary Prayers and Liturgies: and these, like parrots, they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly with strange variety and confusion (3). Afterwards he observes, 'That we need not wonder at the want of Learning among the Greeks, and other Easterlings, since they have no Academies or Schools for instructing Students in any points of Philosophy, Divinity, Mathematics, or any other part of the polite Literature of Europe (4). Upon the whole therefore, we may easily judge, how incompetent Judges such ignorant persons are in that and other religious matters; and how little their testimonies are to be depended upon. Nor can it be really believed, that their Subscriptions contained in them the real Faith or Sentiments of the

whole Eastern Church, or the positive, firm, and clear belief of every particular Subscriber (5).

In order to trace this point to its fountain and original Head, and to place it in a true light, our Author wrote the *Account of the present Greek Church*, now before us. He divides the whole into two Books, whereof the First contains five chapters, and the Second but two. In the 1st Chapter, 'he gives his private thoughts concerning the Christian Communion in general;' And shews, how solemn, but withal how simple and plain, the celebration of the Eucharist was in the Primitive Church. In the 2d Chapter, he explains, 'How the familiar and primitive way, of breaking bread, and drinking wine together like brethren, joined with plain and known Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving, in a devout remembrance of Christ, hath been loaded and clogged with amusing Rites and empty Ceremonies.' And here he represents in figures the chief Ceremonies used by the Greeks at the administration of the Eucharist; and gives an English translation of their form of celebrating it, from St. Chrysostome's Liturgy, printed in their Euchologium, or Prayer-Book. The 3d Chapter contains 'some Notes upon that Liturgy, which is attributed to St. Chrysostome.' In the 4th he gives his conjecture, 'How the plain and familiar way of the first administration of the Eucharist came to be turned into the present Greeks practice of consecrating, and partaking of, only a few little bits and mites of bread, [*μερίδες* or portions] and of giving to the Laity only a little Spoonful of wine.' The 5th Chapter contains 'some Observations concerning the first rise of that new doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the endeavours used to propagate it over the whole Christian world.' Under which he shews, That it was not introduced into the Greek Church, till after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; that is, till after the Year of Christ 1453.——The 1st Chapter of the Second book treats of 'the Greeks seven Mysteries or Sacraments:' namely, 1. Confirmation; 2. Priesthood; 3. Orders; 4. Matrimony; 5. Penance; 6. Auricular Confession; and 7. Extreme Unction. The 2d and last Chapter, is, 'Concerning Images, and the worship of Saints.'——The author intermixes throughout curious accounts of the Jewish and Mahometan customs and Ceremonies. He tells us for instance, that 'all over Turkey where he happened to travel, the common bread is not much unlike our thicker sort of Pancakes, being very soft, and seldom above a day old; so as you may wind it round your finger. This flat loaf, or rather cake, is round, and about the breadth of one of our plates, and about an inch thick at most. When we eat at an ordinary man's house, (be it Turk, Greek, Armenian, Jew, &c.) the master, or chief of the family, or some friend by his appointment, takes as many of these loaves, or cakes, as he thinks sufficient for the present company, and with his hands breaks, or rather pulls them into pieces of moderate bigness, and strews them all upon the table, or whatever else they eat upon.'——'Moreover, the common food in Turkey, be it boiled or roasted, is never cooked in whole joints, but in small morsels; so that there is no use of knives at the table, but every one takes a bit of the bread, and dipping it in the dish, he takes up with it a morsel of meat between his thumb and his two fore fingers, and so puts all into his mouth together. If these morsels be boiled (as they often are with their *Churbaw*, or Potage) they first eat the potage with a wooden spoon, or sop it up with bits of the bread, and then take up the more solid morsels remaining, and eat them (6). The conclusion of the whole work is written with such an excellent Spirit, that we cannot forbear laying it before the Reader—'I have sincerely and impartially, and I hope candidly, set down only my own private thoughts, and I would not willingly be judged an absolute slave to any party, but as I really am, a compassionate lover of every good Christian who heartily desires to serve our God in Spirit and in truth. I must verily think with myself that those great Churches, which perfectly differ from us, have in

(5) *Ibid.* p. 20.

(1) Preface to some Account of the Greek Ch. p. 11.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 2. 5, &c.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 6, 7.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(6) Account of the present Greek Church, &c. p. 1.

Author's Character; we are informed, that he was 'a person noted for polite and curious Learning, singular humanity, and knowledge of the World (q).'

(q) T. Baker, *ubi supra*.

'many things, left their first Love, and have becom out unto themselves many broken cisterns that can hold no water. But God forbid that I should rashly return upon them their extravagant anathemas, or peremptorily damn them, that is, deliver them unto Satan and adjudge them all to Hell-fire, as they serve us; who am I (poor, private, obscure creature) that I should judge another's servant? For my part I will leave

them to the righteous Judge of all the world, before whose Judgment-Seat we shall all one day stand.'

The Author having made use of several curious (and before, unknown) Manuscripts, he took care, for the Reader's satisfaction, to deposite them in the late Earl of Oxford's Library, at Wimpole near Cambridge. M.

(c) Godwin, *ubi infra*, says the 20th.

(f) Rymer's *Fœdera*, &c. vol. xv. p. 283.

(g) Godwin, *de Præsul. Angl. inter episc. Exon.* an. 1551.

(*) Adultery.

COVERDALE (MILES), Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI. and author of several Tracts [A], was born in Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry VII. [B], and, being educated in the Romish religion, became an Augustin Monk. Afterwards, embracing the Reformation, he entered into Holy Orders (a) [C]. He assisted William Tindal in the English Version of the Bible, published in 1537, and afterwards revised and corrected the edition of it in a larger volume, with notes, in 1540 (b). On the 14th of Aug. (c) 1551, he succeeded Dr. John Harman in the See of Exeter, being promoted *propter singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos* (d), i. e. 'on account of his extraordinary knowledge in Divinity, and his unblemished character (e).' The Patent for conferring this bishoprick on him, though a married man, is dated August 14, 1551, at Westminster (f). Upon the change of religion in Queen Mary's reign, Bishop Coverdale was ejected from his See, and thrown into prison; out of which he was released at the earnest request of the King of Denmark, and, as a very great favour, permitted to go into banishment. Soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, he returned from his exile, but refused to be restored to his bishoprick. He died, in a good old age, at London, and lies buried in the Church of St. Bartholomew-Exchange (g) [D].

[A] He was author of several Tracts.] He wrote I. *The Christian Rule or state of all the worlde from the highest to the lowest: and how every man shoulde lyve to please god in his callinge.* II. *The Christen state of Matrymonye, wherein husbandes and wyfes maye lerne to keepe house together with loue. The Originall of holy wedloke: whan, where, how, and of whom it was instituted and ordeyned: what it is: how it ought to proceede: what be the occasions, frute, and commodities thereof: contrarywyse how shamefull and horrible a thinge whoredome and adoutry * is: how one ought also to chose hym a mete and convenient spouse to keepe and increace the mutual loue, trouthe and dewtye of wedloke: and how married folkes shoulde bring up theyer chyldren in the feare of god.* III. *A Christen Exhortation to customable Swearers. What a ryghte and lawfull othe is: whan, and before whome it ought to be.* IV. *The maner of sayenge grace, or geyng thanks to god, after the doctrine of holy scripture.* IV. *The old Fayth: an evident probacion out of the holy scripture, that the Christen Faith (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted fayth) hath endured sens the beginnyng of the worlde. Herein hast thou also a short summe of the whole Byble, and a probacion, that al vertuous men have pleased god, and ever saved throughe the Christen fayth. These four pieces are printed together in a small duodecimo, and a black letter, an. 1547.* V. *A saythfull and true Pronostication upon the year M.CCCC. xlix. and perpetually after to the worldes ende, gathered out of the prophecies and scriptures of god, by the experience and practise of his workes, very comfortable for all Christen hertes; divided into seven chapters.* VI. *A Spirituall Almanacke, wherein every Christen man and woman may see what they ought daylye to do, or leaue undone. Not after the doctrine of the Papistes, not after the lernynge of Ptolomy, or other beythen Astronomers, but out of the very true and wholsome doctrine of god our almighty heavenly father, shewed unto us in his worde by his prophetes, apostles, but specyally by his dere sonne Jesus Christ: and is to be kept not onely this newe yeare, but continually unto the daye of the lorde's comyng agayne. These two were printed in a thin duodecimo, and a black letter, at London by Richard Kele, 'dwellynge at the longe shoppe in the Poultrey' under saynt Myldreds church, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.' Bale ascribes some other pieces to our author; particularly, *A Consutation of John Standish*, a tract on the Lord's Supper, *A Concordance to the New Testament*, *A Christian Catechism*; and some*

translations from Bullinger, Luther, Osiander, Johannes Campensis, and Erasmus (1).

[B] Born in the reign of Henry VII.] This I infer from his dying an old man in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. For, supposing him to have died about the seventieth year of his age, and not many years (as is most probable) after Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558, the year of his birth will fall somewhere between 1490 and 1500. But Henry VII. began his reign in 1485, and died in 1509.

[C] Went into holy Orders.] Bale tells us (2), he was one of the first, who, upon the revival of the Church of England, together with Dr. Robert Barnes, taught the purity of the Gospel, and dedicated himself wholly to the service of the reformed religion. *Ex primis unus erat, qui renascente Anglorum ecclesia, cum Roberto Barnso, sue professionis doctore, Christum pure docuit. Alii partim, hic se totum dedit ad propagandam evangelii regni Dei Gloriam.*

[D] Lyes buried in the Church of St. Bartholomew-Exchange.] Upon his Grave-stone is the following Inscription (3):

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum
Offa Coverdali mortua tumbus habet:
Exoniæ qui præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic tandem variis jactatus casibus iste
Excipitur gremio, terra benigna, tuo.

I have been obliged to make some alterations in this Epitaph, which seems to have been faultily transcribed in my author: for in the third line he has put *Oxonie* for *Exoniæ*; in the sixth, *indigni* for *indignum*; in the seventh, *jactabam* for *jactatus*, and *ista* for *iste*; and in the last line *exceptitur* for *excipitur*, and *suo* for *tuo*. B.

* [The following farther particulars relative to Bishop Coverdale, have obligingly been communicated by Mr. Brooke, Somerset Herald, from a manuscript in his possession.

"He (Coverdale) was Almoner to Queen Catherine Parr, the last wife of King Henry the Eighth, a Lady who much favoured the reformed religion; and as such, officiated at her funeral in September 1548, in the Chapel at Sundeley-Castle in Gloucestershire, the seat of her third husband, Thomas, Lord

(a) Baleus, *de Script. Brit.* Cent. 9. n. 61.

(b) Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 183.

(d) 1 Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 1.

(e) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 680.

(1) Baleus, *de Script. Brit.* Cent. 9. n. 61.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Maitland's *History of London*, p. 377.

" Lord Seymour of Sudley; and took that opportunity of declaring his sentiments on religion in the sermon he preached, which, my author says, was very good and godlie, and in one place thereof he took occasion to declare unto the people howe that there shulde none there thinke, seye nor spread abroad, that the offeringe which was there don, was don anye thing to proffytt the deade, but for the poore onely; and also the lights which were caried and stode abowte the corps, were for the honnour of the parson, and for none other entente nor purpose; and so wente thorowghe with his Sermonde, and made a godlye Prayer, &c."

Our Predecessor ought to have mentioned the reason of Dr. Coverdale's refusing to be restored to his Bishopric, which was his attachment to the principles of the Puritans. He had assisted at the consecration of Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury; but, because he could not comply with the ceremonies and habits, he was neglected, and for a time had no preferment of any kind. However,

when he was become both old and poor, Grindal, Bishop of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, at the Bridge foot. Here he preached quietly about two years; but not coming up to the terms of conformity then required, he was obliged to relinquish his parish a little before his death. He was very much admired by the Puritans, who flocked to him in great numbers, while he officiated at St. Magnus's Church, which he did without the habits. When he was deprived of his living, his followers were obliged to send to his house on Saturdays, to know where they might hear him the next day. At this the Government took umbrage; so that the good old man was under the necessity of telling his friends, that he durst not inform them any more of his preaching, for fear of offending his superiors (4).

Dr. Richardson, in his noble edition of Godwin de Præfulibus Angliæ, says that Coverdale died on the 20th of May, 1565 (5); but Mr. Neal asserts, that his death happened on the 20th of May, 1567, when he was eighty one years of age (6).]

(4) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 185. 229, 230, 8vo. edit.

(5) P. 417, note p.

(6) Neal, *ubi supra*, p. 185.

** [COURAYER (PETER FRANCIS), a learned Divine of the Church of Rome, who was long resident in England, was born at Vernon, in Normandy, in the year 1681 (a). Being brought up and educated for the Church, he became Canon regular and Librarian of the Abbey of St. Genevieve. This must have been a situation extremely favourable to the prosecution of his studies, as the Library of which he had the care is a very considerable one [A]. Among other theological inquiries, he engaged in one, which was productive of very important consequences respecting his future life. Having been employed in reading Abbé Renaudot's *Memoire sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois*, inserted in Abbé Gould's *La véritable Croyance de l'Eglise Catholique*, he was induced to enter into a farther examination of that subject (b). Accordingly he drew up a memoir upon it, for his own satisfaction only, but which grew insensibly into a treatise; and at the instance of some friends to whom it was communicated, he was at length prevailed with to consent to its publication [B]. He, therefore, made the usual application for permission to print it; and obtained the approbation of Mons. Arnaudin [C], the Royal Licenser of the Press. Some persons, however, afterwards found means to prevail on the Chancellor to refuse to affix the Seal to the approbation of the Licenser. Terms were proposed to Father Courayer, to which he could not accede, and he gave up all thoughts of publishing (c). Some of his friends, however, being in possession of a copy, resolved to print it; and this obliged him to acquiesce in the publication. When he first wrote his Treatise, all his materials were taken from printed authorities, and he had no acquaintance or correspondence in England. But sundry difficulties, which occurred to him in the course of

(a) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 84.

(b) Observations in a Journey to Paris, by Way of Flanders, in 1776, vol. ii. p. 154.

(c) *Ibid*, p. 156, 157.

[A] *The Library of which he had the care is a very considerable one.* It is represented as large and curious; and a late traveller, speaking of the building, says, 'This Library is a grand room in the form of a cross, about three hundred feet in length and breadth, with a dome finely painted in the center. Toward the end of one of the arms of the cross, a door opens into a range of apartments, which are furnished with antiquities and natural curiosities. The collection of minerals and fossils is very considerable (1).'

(1) Observations in a Journey to Paris by Way of Flanders, in 1776, vol. ii. p. 19.

[B] *Prevailed with to consent to its publication.* In the Preface to his *Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations*, he says, 'If the writings of the English, in favour of their Ministry, were better known, I should not have troubled the public with a book, which it would have then but little need of; yet I hope that I shall be indulged in some measure in favour of a question so important, and so little examined among us, as this I now propose to treat of. The thing in question is no less, than to know if the Church of England formerly so illustrious, and even now also so recommendable for the brightness of her Prelates, and the erudition of her Clergy, be without a succession, without an hierarchy, without a ministry. A great many of our divines maintain this, and the English divines deny it (2).'

(2) P. 334.

[C] *Obtained the approbation of Mons. Arnaudin.* It is published in the second volume of the *Relation Historique et Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite du P. le Courayer*; and the following is a translation of it. 'I have read, by order of my Lord Chancellor, a Manuscript which has for its title *Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois et sur la Succession des Eveques de l'Eglise Anglicane*. This

Dissertation, of which the matter is as curious as it is interesting, is written with regularity and with precision. The arguments, made use of by the learned author, are so persuasive, and so convincing, that they may justly be considered as amounting to full demonstration. Such is the force of these arguments, that I am persuaded the Abbé Renaudot would himself have been convinced by them, if death had not taken him from us. That great man, who was so conversant in every branch of literature, always did himself the honour to be overcome by the truth, and that he would have found in this performance. I have subscribed it so much the more willingly, because the opinion which is maintained in it, respecting the ordination of the Bishops of England, is the same with that of the illustrious Mons. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, whose just taste in good theology, profound science, and extensive erudition, are known throughout the whole Christian world. There is nothing in this Dissertation contrary to the faith of the Church; and I am even convinced, that the doctrine contained in this learned and solid work, may greatly contribute to promote a re-union between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, which would be a most happy event. It would be a just subject of extreme joy to see re-entered into its bosom a Church, which hath been the mother of so many considerable saints, and which yet possesses so many learned Bishops, and so great a number of fine geniusses, who cultivate polite literature and the sciences with diligence and with success.

Paris, Oct. 1, 1721.

D'ARNAUDIN.

his

his inquiries, suggested to him the propriety of writing to England, in order to obtain clearer information on some points; and knowing that a correspondence had been carried on between Dr. Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Dupin, on the project of re-uniting the Churches of England and France, he took the liberty, although entirely unknown to that prelate, to desire his information respecting some particulars. The Archbishop answered his inquiries with great readiness, candour [D], and politeness; and many letters passed between them on this occasion. His application to the Archbishop appears to have been made upon the very first apprehension of any difficulty respecting his publication: for his Grace's first letter to him was dated September 16, 1721. Father Courayer's book was at length published in 1723, in two volumes, small 8vo, under the following title: "Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois, et sur la Succession des Evêques de l'Eglise Anglicane: avec les preuves justificatives des faits avancés dans cet ouvrage." It was printed at Nancy [E], though it was stated in the title to have been printed at Brussels. It was afterwards translated into English, by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Williams, and published at London, in one volume, 8vo. under the following title: "A Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations [F], and of the Succession of the Bishops in the Church of England: together with proofs justifying the facts advanced in this treatise." Father Courayer's work was immediately attacked by several Popish writers, particularly by Father Le Quien, and Father Hardouin. But in 1726, he published, in four volumes, 12mo. "Défense de la Dissertation sur la Validité des Ordinations des Anglois, contre les différentes Réponses qui y ont été faites. Avec les Preuves justificatives des faits avancés dans cet Ouvrage. Par l'Auteur de la Dissertation." An English translation of this also was afterwards published at London, in two volumes, 8vo. under the following title: "A Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations, against the several Answers made to it [G], with proper Vouchers for the Facts advanced in that Work."

But

[D] *The Archbishop answered his Inquiries with great readiness, candour, &c.* Father Courayer thus expressed himself concerning the manner in which Archbishop Wake answered his Inquiries: 'I owe especially to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury this honourable testimony, that he has spared no pains, nor no applications, in order to procure for me the means of elucidating these facts; and that which is infinitely more estimable, of having manifested in his own researches so great a love of truth, and shewn himself so destitute of all prejudices in favour of his own party, that I cannot too much applaud his impartiality, his knowledge, and his humanity (3).'

(3) Observations, &c. *ubi supra*, p. 159.

[E] *Was printed at Nancy.* Of this we are informed by himself. He says, *Quoi qu'imprimée à Nancy sur l'approbation du Sieur D'Arnaud et la permission tacite du magistrat, le libraire crut devoir déguiser le lieu de l'impression, et la fit paroître sous le nom de Bruxelles* (4).

(4) Relation historique et apologetique, tom. i. p. 9.

[F] *A Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations* In the Preface to the Translation of this Work, Mr. Williams says, 'What the Reader is here to expect is, a just and rational vindication of our Church, from the ridiculous story of a ludicrous consecration of our Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's time, at the Nag's-Head in Cheapside: a calumny, first invented to support a weak cause, and continued by persons as weak and injudicious as the first inventors of it. The succession of our Bishops in general is demonstrated, and the validity of our ordinal is also vindicated, with a great deal of learning, as well as judgment. The powers of a national Church are asserted; and it is fully proved, that in the alterations made by our Church, she did not act in the business of ordinations inconsistently with those powers (5).'

(5) Pref. p. 9.

In a letter to Mr. Williams, Father Courayer expressed his acknowledgments to that Gentleman for the fidelity of his translation of his work; and he added, 'If my work be relished in England, I doubt not, but that I shall be partly indebted for it to the goodness of your translation. In making me speak your language, you procure me the approbation of a knowing and a learned nation; and you in a manner naturalize me among a people esteemed by all the learned men in Europe. This is an obligation which I shall be scarcely able sufficiently to acknowledge, and which I can only repay by a desire so see an end put to the schism and division. I wish the seeds of peace and re-union, which I have

sown in this treatise, may in time grow up to the advantage of your Church, and the joy of ours. The return of the Church of England to Catholic unity, would quickly draw after it that of all the Protestant Churches, who seem to be more sensible than ever, of the deficiency of their Government, and the excesses of their first reformers (6).'

It appears, however, that when Father Courayer wrote the above letter, he had seen only some sheets of the translation in manuscript; and he afterwards complained, that in the impression the manuscript was castrated; though this is stated to have been contrary to the intention of the Translator (7).

Of the method in which Father Courayer executed his work, some idea may be formed from the following extract from his Preface: 'In order to treat this subject more methodically, I shall first set forth the changes that happened in the Church of England, with regard to the succession of their Bishops, and their ordination. I shall afterwards prove, that notwithstanding the changes introduced by Edward the VIth. in the Ordinal, there was nothing essential omitted in Parker's consecration, who is the source and origin of the English Ministry, as it subsists at this day. I shall in the chapters that follow prove the truth of Barlow's consecration, upon which that of Parker depends: and I shall endeavour to refute all the arguments brought against it. In fine, in discussing some general difficulties proposed against the validity of the new ordinations, I shall lay down principles and maxims which may serve, not only to establish the English ordinations, but also to examine other facts that might happen of the same kind. I shall moreover carefully examine, what authority a national Church can challenge, in what concerns the administration of Sacraments: and I hope to make it very evident, that the Church of England has not exceeded the bounds of her power in those alterations she thought fit to make in her rites (8).'

(6) Letter from Father Courayer to Mr. Williams, prefixed to the second edition of the Defence of the English Ordinations, p. 18, 20.

(7) Pref. to the Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations, p. 14.

(8) P. 6, 7.

In another part of this Preface, Courayer likewise makes an observation respecting the Church of England, which the generality of Protestants will hardly consider as a compliment to it, though the good Father certainly intended it for such. 'Of all the Churches which have broken the unity,' says he, 'the Church of England has kept nearest to us. She has retained most of our customs and ceremonies (9).'

(9) Ibid. p. 4.

[G] *A Defence of the Dissertation on the Validity of the English Ordinations, &c.* Besides what he had said

But Father Courayer was not only attacked by those writers who published books against him. He was likewise censured both by the mandates and by the assemblies of several Bishops, and particularly by Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris [H], and the

said in general in defence of the English ordinations, Father Courayer had given great offence to many zealous Catholics by what he had said respecting Transubstantiation, and the sentiments of the Clergy of the Church of England concerning the doctrine of the real presence. It was maintained by Courayer's opponents, that the English Clergy did not acknowledge the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice, as the Catholics did; that the offering of sacrifice was the chief function of the Christian priesthood; that the ritual of King Edward VI. made no mention of the sacrifice, nor of the power given to the Priest to offer it; and that, of consequence, all ordinations made conformably to that ritual were null and void. Father Courayer, on the contrary, contended, that particular churches were in possession of a right to draw up their own form for the administration of the Sacraments; and though this form should not agree with others, except only as to the substance, yet no body ought, for that reason, to conclude either this or that form to be invalid. He affirmed, that this was an avowed and established principle of the Gallican Church. 'It is a known maxim in France,' said he, 'and a fundamental principle of our laws and liberties, that every Church is mistress of her own discipline, and even that the authority of a general Council cannot oblige her to give them up; and that notwithstanding such decrees, she ought to maintain her own usages. It is upon this principle that we have ever opposed, in France, the reception of the decrees of the Council of Trent upon the subject of discipline, though as to the matter of doctrine, this Council is received as a general council (10).' It followed, he said, 'that the Church of England, as well as any other, might compose her own prayers, regulate her own liturgy, and direct the manner of the administration of her own Sacraments according to her own mind; and, in a word, make what changes she thought fit, provided they were compatible with the essential parts of the institutions, which are common to all Churches, and practised in all ages (11).' He maintained farther, that the omission of the form, in the English ordinal, relative to the "power to sacrifice," could not prejudice the English priesthood, 'because they made no difficulty to own the sacrifice in the same sense with most of the antient Fathers, and of our most judicious controversial writers; that is to say, a *Representative and Commemorative Sacrifice*, which is not different from that of the cross, and which bears the name, because it is the image and memorial of it, and because the same victim is offered (12).' He also affirmed, that "Jesus Christ became present by the consecration of the English, as really as by that of the Catholics (13)." In this last position there are many, who have but little faith in priestly claims, who will very readily concur in sentiment with the learned Father.

Courayer likewise endeavoured to prove, that it was never required, that the forms of Sacraments should distinctly express their principal function or chief effect; that the antient forms of sacerdotal ordination frequently omit mentioning the sacrifice; that nothing essential was omitted in the ritual of King Edward the Sixth; that though Jesus Christ be really present under the symbols of the Eucharist, the Fathers and Divines draw the idea of the sacrifice in the Eucharist, not from that presence, but from the representation and remembrance of his death; and that even though the presence be supposed necessary, that which the English Church admits would be sufficient for a Spiritual Sacrifice, as is that of the Catholic Church; that the story of Archbishop Parker being ordained at a Tavern is fabulous in all its circumstances; that there was no want of consecrated Bishops at that time for the consecration of Parker; that there is as much certainty of his being ordained at Lambeth as there can be of any historical fact; Vol. IV.

and that there has been no interruption in the succession of the Bishops of the Church of England, nor of their ordination.

[H] *Particularly by Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris.* In a mandate issued by the Cardinal, and dated at Paris, Aug. 18, 1727, his eminence observes, that sickness having prevented him from examining Father Courayer's books himself, he had enjoined several able Theologians to peruse them with all possible attention; and upon their report it was found, that 'in many places they contained doctrine, or expressions, contrary to what the Church taught, as to the sacrifice of the mass, the real presence, the priesthood, the form of the Sacraments, and the notions they instil as to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, its authority, the Pope's supremacy, and other important points.' The Cardinal adds, 'We do not pronounce upon the ground of the question about the validity of the ordinations of the English, and the succession of their Bishops, which is the Author's scope in his works; but we will only tell him, that a Catholic Theologian ought to speak with more respect of the common practice of the Church, to propose to her with modesty his doubts and reflections, to wait her decision with a submissive disposition, and not to prescribe laws to her in a presumptuous manner, nor to call ignorance and prejudice whatever is contrary to his opinion.'

'We are willing to believe, as he has assured us, that he proposed to himself no other view, than to facilitate the re-union of the English to the Catholic Church and its head; but his desire to favour those whom he had a mind to reclaim, ought not to carry him so far as to justify errors, expressions, and abuses, which every Catholic ought to reject, and the Church will never approve.'

'What would we not do for bringing back to the faith of their ancestors, and to the Catholic unity, a people so considerable, and a nation formerly so submissive to the Holy See, that has brought forth so many great men, and Holy Bishops, and for whose salvation we could wish, in the sense of St. Paul, to become an *anathema*? But God forbid, that for so great a good we should suffer the sentiments of the Church to be disguised, or errors, which she condemns, to be approved (*).'

The Cardinal added farther, that having heard the report, and the advice of the Theologians, appointed by him to examine Father Courayer's books, 'after a mature consideration, and the invocation of God's holy name, we condemn the said writings, as containing a doctrine false, erroneous, scandalous, injurious to the Church and the Holy See, favouring schism and heresy, and even contrary in many points to the Catholic Doctrine.' And he prohibited, 'under the known penalties, all the people of his diocese from reading the said books.'

The French Court having also referred Courayer's books to the examination of several Bishops and Divines, they declared, that he had 'advanced a great many propositions equally contrary to the points of the doctrine, in relation to several essential articles of religion and discipline, as well as to the authority of the Church and the Pope's supremacy, which had induced them to condemn them as respectively false, rash, captious, ill-sounding, scandalous, injurious to the Church and the Holy See, favouring schism and heresy, erroneous, already condemned by the holy Council of Trent, and heretical.' This censure having been presented to the French King, an Arret of the Council of State was issued three days after, by which it was declared, that Father Courayer's books should be suppressed; and it was required, that 'all persons, who had the same books, should deliver them to the Register-Office of the Lieutenant-General of the Police, upon severe penalties (+).'

(*) Historical Register, vol. xiv. p. 37, 38.

(+) Historical Register, vol. xiv. p. 37, 38, 39, 40.

(10) Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations, p. 174.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 182.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 247.

(13) Defence of the Dissertation, vol. ii. p. 133.

(d) *Relation Historique et Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite du P. le Courayer*, tom. i. p. 86, 147, &c.
(*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 83.

the Bishop of Marseilles (d). During the time that he underwent this species of persecution, he retired from Paris into the country, but was recalled by his superior to reside at the Priory of Hennemonte, four leagues from Paris. Here he received a diploma for the degree (*) of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Oxford, which was dated Aug. 28, 1727; and from hence he returned his thanks to the University, in an elegant Latin letter, dated Dec. 1, the same year; both of which he afterwards printed (e). But though his book had procured this honourable testimonial of his merit from an English University [I], the animosity which it had excited against him in France did not abate. The enemies of Father Courayer were not satisfied with publishing censures, and issuing episcopal mandates against him, but proceeded to measures for compelling him to recant what he had written, and to sign such submissions as were inconsistent with the dictates of his conscience. In this critical state of things, he resolved to quit his native country, and to seek an asylum in England. He was the more inclined to embrace this resolution, in consequence of the warm and friendly invitations which he had received from Archbishop Wake, who had conceived a great regard for him. After having spent four months very disagreeably at Hennemonte, he obtained leave to remove to Senlis; but, instead of going thither, he took the road to Calais in the common stage-coach, and from thence got safely over to Dover. "I arrived peaceably," says he, "in England, without any other inconveniencies, than those which are naturally attendant on a long journey in winter, and which were somewhat encreased by my being detained three days at Calais by contrary winds (f)." This stay at Calais, he observes, would have been a very unfavourable circumstance for him, if any suspicion had been formed of his design to quit France; but he had conducted the measures for his departure with so much secrecy and prudence, that his enemies were wholly ignorant of his intentions; and had, therefore, taken no steps to prevent his securing a retreat in England. He arrived in London on the 24th of January, 1728 (g).

(f) *Relation Historique et Apologetique*, ubi supra, p. 312.

(g) Observations in a Journey to Paris, ubi supra, p. 31.
(h) *Id. ibid.*

He was well received in England: the Marquis of Blandford made him a present of fifty pounds (h); and he obtained a pension of one hundred pounds a year from the Court. In 1729, he published, at Amsterdam, in two volumes, 12mo, "*Relation Historique et Apologetique des Sentimens et de la Conduite du P. le Courayer, Chanoine Regulier de Ste. Geneviève: avec les Preuves Justificatives des Faits avancez dans l'Ouvrage [K].*" In this work he entered into a farther justification of his sentiments and of his conduct,

(e) In the second vol. of his *Relation Historique et Apologetique*, &c.

The enemies of Father Courayer having given out that he had been converted by Cardinal de Noailles, and that he had, in consequence, made a recantation of his errors, he wrote a letter to his eminence upon that subject before he quitted France, in which he says, "I ought, my Lord, for my own sake, and for the sake of the public, to disown a pretended submission, more disgraceful to me than all the imaginary heresies, which they seek out in my writings without finding them." In the same letter, speaking of his determination to leave his native country, Father Courayer says, "By adherence to the Catholic Church in a foreign land, I will convince all Europe, that nothing but the reason of a just defence, and the necessity of freeing myself from an unjust vexation, could force me to take a step so contrary to my inclinations. Being always ready to resume my former condition, as soon as I have a reasonable assurance, that there is no longer any design of undoing me, and that I shall be at full liberty to go about my justification, I shall be the first in longing for a State which I leave with the greatest uneasiness. I shall carry every where a love of unity, a fondness for my profession, and a respect for those very persons who condemn me unjustly."

"Being free enough to own the abuses that prevail in the Church, and not to submit to that multitude of opinions with which our Creed is enlarged, by a continual creation of new articles of faith, I shall never depart from a due submission to those Catholic truths which have been transmitted to us by our fathers, and to the usages consecrated by the practice of the Church. But I shall neither be so superstitious as to place a vain confidence in them, nor so fond of our observances and ceremonies, as to believe that a Church cannot change them, without renouncing religion, and the glorious title of Church of Jesus Christ."

"It is with such dispositions, my Lord, that I leave France, and that a foreign kingdom shall see the spectacle of a man calumniated and persecuted, for being so bold as to assert the falsity of a romance, transformed into a history by our prejudices; and

because, notwithstanding his adherence to the Catholic doctrines, he cannot submit to the unintelligible jargon of our schools (*)."

Though this letter was written by Father Courayer before he quitted France, it was probably not delivered to the Cardinal till after he had left the kingdom.

[I] *Honourable testimonial of his merit from an English University.*] Voltaire was of opinion, that the English nation paid no regard to the subject of Father Courayer's book. Speaking of one of his opponents, Father Le Quien, he says, "He was a Dominican, and a man of great learning. He applied himself greatly to the study of the Eastern Churches, and that of England. He in particular wrote against Courayer upon the validity of the ordinations of the English Bishops. But the English pay no more regard to these disputes than the Turks do to dissertations upon the Greek Church (14)." With respect to a great part of the English nation, Voltaire was certainly right. They regarded the subject of the controversy as a matter of not the least consequence. But that there were many of the English Clergy, as well as others, who considered Father Courayer as having rendered an essential service to the Church of England by his publication, is manifest from the degree that was conferred on him by the University of Oxford, the pension that was granted him, and the favourable reception that he met with in England. The number of those who would think highly of the importance of the subject of Courayer's book, are, however, probably much lessened, since the time that his work first made its appearance.

[K] *Relation Historique et Apologetique des sentimens, &c.*] In this work Father Courayer makes some general observations relative to his religious sentiments: "Born," says he, "a Christian and a Catholic, I have always endeavoured to instruct myself in religion, with the same zeal and the same freedom, that I should have believed myself under an obligation to do, if I had taken a part in any other affair which I had conceived to be of the utmost import-

(*) *Ibid.* p. 42, 48, 49.

(14) Age of Lewis XIV. vol. ii. ps. 371, 372. Eng. Transla. ed. 8vo. 1752.

conduct, and shewed the necessity that he was under of quitting France, from the virulence and power of his enemies. In 1733, he was at Oxford, and was present in the Theatre at the Public Act that year, and made a speech there upon the occasion, which was afterwards printed both in Latin and English⁽ⁱ⁾. In 1736, he published at London, in two volumes, folio, a Translation, in French, of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent; with notes critical, historical, and theological. He dedicated this work to Queen Caroline, and speaks of it as having been undertaken by her command; and he expresses, in the strongest terms, his gratitude to her Majesty for her patronage, and for the liberality which she had manifested towards him [L]. A list of subscribers is prefixed, in which are found the names of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cumberland, the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Robert Walpole, and many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction. By the sale of this work he is said to have gained fifteen hundred pounds; and the Queen also raised his pension to two hundred pounds *per Annum* (k). He gave sixteen hundred pounds to Lord Feverham, for an annuity of one hundred pounds *per Annum*, which he enjoyed forty years (l). By these means he came into very easy circumstances, which were rendered still more so by the reception which his agreeable and instructive conversation procured him, among persons of rank and fortune, with many of whom it was his custom to live for several months at a time. He wrote some other works in French, besides those that have been mentioned (m); and, in particular, he translated into that language Sleidan's History of the Reformation. His exile from his own country was probably no diminution of his happiness upon the whole; for he appears to have passed his time in England very agreeably, and he lived to an uncommon age. Even in his latter years, he was distinguished for the cheerfulness of his temper, and the sprightliness of his conversation. He died in Downing-street, Westminster, after two days illness, on the 17th of October, 1776, at the age of ninety-five. Agreeably to his own desire, he was buried in the Cloister of Westminster-Abbey, by Dr. Bell, Chaplain to the Princess Amelia (n). In his Will, which was dated Feb. 3, 1774, he declared, "That he died a Member of the Catholic Church, but without approving of many of the opinions and superstitions which have been introduced into the Romish Church, and taught in their schools and seminaries, and which they have insisted on as articles of faith, though to him they appeared to be not only not founded in truth, but also to be highly improbable (o)." It is said, that soon after he came to England, he went to a Priest, of the Romish Church, for confession, and acquainted him who he was. The Priest would not

(i) Nichols's
Anecdotes of
Bowyer, p. 83.

(k) Observations,
ubi supra, p. 31.

(l) *Id. ibid.*

(m) *Id. ibid.*

(n) *Ib. p. 34, 36.*

(o) Nichols, *ut
supra.*

importance. Convinced of the existence of a God, to whom we are indebted for our being, and who merits on that account our adoration and our gratitude; and persuaded that we are created for another life; I have never regarded but with horror that indifference, with which the greater part of mankind live respecting a point, the decision of which is of so much consequence to our tranquility. From the worship of God, and the hope of another life, it was easy to pass to the approbation of Christianity, which more than any other religion hath illustrated these truths, and furnished us with the means of employing them for our sanctification. The more I have studied the Gospel, the more worthy it has appeared to me of approbation, and the more worthy of being adhered to. Nothing is so pure as the worship that it proposes, nothing so exact as the rules that it prescribes, nothing so holy as the life that it enjoins, nothing so noble as the recompense that it leads us to hope for, nothing is so proper to render men and societies happy; since that in subduing the passions to reason and to religion, it takes away even the source of our miseries in taking away that of our disorders. It supposes all natural truths, and destroys none. It reforms all vices, and conducts us to the practice of all virtues. It re-establishes in the minds of men those ideas of justice, of charity, of temperance, of modesty, and of piety, which the author of nature had formed in us, and which sin had destroyed. Nothing is so true as that which is said by St. Paul, that Jesus Christ hath made all things new, and, by a kind of second creation, hath rendered us again capable of righteousness and true holiness. The Gospel is a new mission, in which religion is no more confined within the limits of a people or of a province; and in which all men, having the same Creator, are recalled, without distinction, to the same laws, and to the same hopes. It is a new

worship, in which we are taught, that there is no other which is agreeable to him, but that which is in spirit and in truth. It is a new morality, which does not confine itself to the repressing those outward actions which are sinful; but which teaches us to dry up the source of evil actions, in condemning even evil thoughts and desires. It operates upon us by new hopes, and new fears; and it is no more the expectation of temporal good, or the fear of temporal evil, by which we are excited to practice virtue, and to avoid vice. Whatever is confined to the present life only appears unworthy of us: and man, better instructed in the grandeur of his origin, and of his end, cherishes no thoughts but those which relate to eternity, for which he perceives that his soul was destined (15).

[L] *His gratitude to her Majesty for her patronage, and for the liberality, &c.* He says in this dedication, "Exiled into your Majesty's dominions by those enemies which the love of truth alone procured me, and the defence of a Church which you have ever honoured with your esteem and protection, your goodness has been my asylum in disgrace, sustained me under my afflictions, relieved my necessities, and supplied all my wants; oft-times preventing and exceeding my occasions; while, to crown the grandeur of your beneficence, you have scarcely suffered me to thank you for those favours, which you deemed inconsiderable, though the weight of them overwhelmed me. Delighted with the consciousness of well-doing, more than with all the eulogies that naturally attend your benevolence, you refuse to admit even the justest acknowledgments; and to save those you succour, as far as possible, the publishing their misfortunes, by the recital of your grace and clemency, you seek only the divine satisfaction of solacing the unhappy, without bartering your liberality for applause (16)."

(15) *Relation
Historique et
Apologétique,
tom. i. p. 431,
432, 433.*

(16) Nichols,
ubi supra, p. 84.

venture

(p) Observations, &c. ubi supra, p. 35.

venture to take his confession, because he was excommunicated; but advised him to consult his superior of St. Genevieve. Whether he made any such application, or what was the result, we are not informed: but it is certain, that, when in London, he made it his practice to go to mass; and, when in the country at Ealing, he constantly attended the service of the parish Church, declaring, at all times, that he had great satisfaction in the prayers of the Church of England (p). In discoursing on religious subjects he was reserved and cautious, avoiding controversy as much as possible. He left 500*l.* to the parish of St. Martin, and gave, in his life-time, his books to the library there, which was founded by Archbishop Tenison, and of which they make even at this day a considerable part. He bequeathed 200*l.* to the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and a handsome sum of money to the poor of Vernon, in Normandy; and, after many legacies to his friends in England [M], the remainder to two nephews of his name at Vernon (q). During his life-time, he was occasionally generous to some of his relations in France; and in England, was very liberal to the poor [N]. He had two sisters who were nuns; and lately had a brother living at Paris, in the profession of the law, to whom he gave a handsome gold snuff-box, which had been presented to him by Queen Caroline (r).

(q) Nichols, ut supra.

(r) Observations, &c. ubi supra, p. 32, 33.

In 1787 was published, in 8*vo.* by the Rev. William Bell, D.D. Prebendary of Westminster, "Declaration de mes derniers sentimens sur les differens dogmes de la Religion. Par feu Pierre François le Courayer, Docteur en Theologie, &c." An English translation of this has been since published. The original manuscript, which was given by Father Courayer to the Princess Amelia, who had a great esteem for him, was written in 1767, which was about nine years before his death. The Princess Amelia left this manuscript by Will to Dr. Bell; who published it, as being of opinion, that the last sentiments of a writer of Dr. Courayer's reputation, and whose situation was so peculiar, were calculated to excite the attention of the learned, and of those who were zealously attached to the interests of religion: and, indeed, it appears to have been the wish of the Author himself that it should be published, though not till after his death. The whole of this piece of Father Courayer's is too long to be here inserted; but we shall make some extracts from it, that our readers may be enabled to form the more accurate judgment of his theological opinions.

His *Declaration* begins in the following manner: "On the point of appearing before God, both to fulfil the duty of sincerity, and to furnish all, into whose hands this writing may fall, with a testimony which every person living owes to truth; urged moreover by my conscience, to declare my thoughts on the doctrines of Christianity, and the differences which divide Christian societies; I proceed to do it with that simplicity which becomes integrity, and from which the near approach of death will not suffer me to deviate."

It is observable, that Dr. Courayer's sentiments, respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, were not conformable to those which are generally reputed orthodox. "I believe," says he, "not only that there is a God; but, moreover, that there is but one. I detest the error of two principles, maintained by so many antient heretics; and while I ascribe to God the glory of all good, I believe that I can only have recourse to the will of man, for the discovery of the original of moral evil."—"The doctrine of the Unity of God, so true, and so evident, has served for a pretext to many, to try to inspire an aversion to Christianity, as if it affected this truth by the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarna-

[M] *After many legacies to his friends in England.* He seemed solicitous to bequeath something to all by whom he had at any time been benefited; and, among others, he left legacies even to his washerwoman, and his barber. This appears from his will, as preserved in the Prerogative Office, Doctor's Commons. There are several codicils to his will; and the Gentleman first appointed his executor, John Palairer, Esq; died before himself.

[N] *In England, was very liberal to the poor.* In an "Account of Dr. Courayer," prefixed to the English translation of his "Declaration of his last sentiments on the different doctrines of Religion," it is observed, that, by degrees, "he got into very affluent circumstances, and was in the receipt of very much more money yearly, than his frugal mode of living required. He did not, however, hoard up the overplus of his annual income, or suffer his studious savings to accumulate. His dress, though always remarkably neat, was not costly, not even when he appeared in the habit of a layman, and wore a sword, which he sometimes did, it is said, very awkwardly. He kept no house, he was in no one article of living expensive, and the indigent partook very freely in his good fortune. Poor prisoners were favourite objects of his charitable disposition, and shared very liberally in

his bounty. From the first payment of his pension, it was certainly his custom, and the writer is well assured, that it was not unusual for him, to pay from fifty to eighty pounds a year, at a time, for their benefit. It is well known, and well attested, that he was wont to restrict his expenditure on himself, to a very moderate weekly sum; and all that he could possibly save out of his own allotment, with the remainder of his income, never forgetting his charities, he religiously appropriated, to supply the necessities, and to add to the comforts, of two nun-sisters, and an elder brother, whom he left behind him in France (17)."

(17) Account of Dr. Courayer, p. 29, 30, 31.

In the same account, some particulars are mentioned of his reception when he first arrived in England. "On his landing at Greenwich, Lord Viscount Percival, afterwards Earl of Egmont, sent his coach with six horses to convey him to his house, which he desired the Doctor to consider, and to use, as his own; after dinner his Lordship made him a handsome present. Next day, Dr. Wake, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had him to dine at his Palace at Lambeth, and made him a like present. Bishop Hare, Bishop Sherlock, and several other prelates, treated him with similar generosity (18)."

(18) *Ibid.* p. 24.

"tion.

“ tion. The writings of some of the Fathers, and the wretched philosophy of the schools,
 “ may, in fact, have given ground to some people to draw such a consequence : but there is
 “ nothing in the gospel which does not tend, on the contrary, to confirm us more and
 “ more in the knowledge and worship of One God ; and nothing is less opposite to this
 “ truth, than the doctrines which are thought to destroy it effectually.”

“ Of all the modes of explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, I know of none more
 “ contrary to the true doctrine of Christianity, than that which supposes in the Deity the
 “ existence of three distinct natures, or substances, whether collateral, or subordinate.
 “ This is, according to my apprehension, to re-establish Polytheism, under the pretence of
 “ explaining a mystery. The Unity of God is the foundation of the gospel ; and every
 “ thing that may in any way affect this truth is dangerous. As Jesus Christ and his
 “ apostles have laboured, on the one hand, to reclaim the Gentiles from the belief and
 “ from the worship of many Gods, and have supposed, on the other hand, that the Jews
 “ thought soundly in the article of the Deity, in which they never distinguished different
 “ substances ; it seems to me a departure from the simplicity of the gospel, and a volun-
 “ tary inclination to corrupt the idea of a clear truth, by singular explications, which it
 “ becomes necessary to abuse at least, in order to combat.

“ I believe, therefore, that there is but only one God ; that his Spirit is not a substance
 “ distinct from him ; and that Jesus Christ, to whom divinity was very intimately united,
 “ is his Son in virtue of that union. This is all the Trinity that I find in the Gospel ;
 “ and I cannot conceive that any other Trinity can accord with the Unity of God. I
 “ know that many ancient writers have had recourse to the multiplications of substances,
 “ to give us an idea of this mystery ; and others have imagined other systems, more philo-
 “ sophical than evangelical, that have less served to clear up this matter than to obscure it.
 “ But I distinguish these systems from that of the Gospel : and, in as much as I find this
 “ last worthy of respect, it therefore appears to me little essential to adopt notions which
 “ often have much obscurity, and sometimes are even involved in contradiction.

“ The Incarnation has nothing any more contrary to the doctrine of the Unity of God,
 “ than the Trinity. Accordingly, it is extremely remarkable, that neither Jesus Christ
 “ nor his apostles have ever represented to us these mysteries as including incomprehen-
 “ sible things, and which it was impossible to reconcile to reason. God, willing to draw
 “ men from their errors, and to purify them from their sins, filled Jesus Christ with his
 “ wisdom, invested him with his power, communicated to him his authority, and gave him
 “ his Spirit (t), not by measure, as to the prophets, but united himself so intimately with him,
 “ that Jesus Christ appeared in the form of God (u) ; that he was made Lord and Christ (v) ;
 “ Prince and Saviour (w) ; that he was filled with wisdom and with grace (x) ; that all the fullness
 “ of the Godhead resided corporeally in him (y) ; and that he received the glory, the honour,
 “ the virtue, the strength, and the blessing, of his Father (z) ; who, by the participation
 “ which he gave him of his power and authority, made him enter, at the same time, into
 “ a participation of his glory, in such a manner, that he who honours the Son honours
 “ the Father who sent him (a). Thus God, referring always every thing to himself, and
 “ not terminating in Jesus Christ, who is no otherwise regarded than as the organ and the
 “ instrument of the mercy of his Father, is always God *alone*, who is the object of our
 “ adorations ; and there is nothing that shocks us in conceiving, that he can communicate
 “ himself to a man as fully, and as intimately, as he judges it necessary for his own glory,
 “ and for the salvation of mankind (b).”

“ When one has once acknowledged the truth and the holiness of the Gospel, all this
 “ doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ appears to me so simple, that I cannot
 “ conceive how it was possible to corrupt it by so many explications, which are good for
 “ nothing, but to make Christianity appear less reasonable, and full of contradictions. In
 “ consequence of a continual desire to find new mysteries, an infinitude of imaginations
 “ have been consecrated ; and it is still more lamentable, that these imaginations are be-
 “ come a part of religion, by the authority of some, and by the acquiescence of others ;
 “ so that a man passes for an unbeliever, or an irreligious person, if he does not subscribe
 “ to the predominant system, and if he happens to have too much understanding to submit
 “ to received prejudices, or too much fortitude to be overawed by violence.

“ It is not so much the person of Jesus Christ, as his doctrine, that is the object of
 “ the Christian religion ; and though we ought to honour the Son as we honour the
 “ Father, because he had his mission, and was clothed with his authority, it is, however,
 “ to God *only* that Jesus Christ reclaims our attention ; and he assumes no other conse-
 “ quence to recommend himself to the Jews, than as having been sanctified by his Father,
 “ to come and announce his doctrine, and to instruct us in truths unknown to the Gentiles,
 “ and very much altered by the Jews.”

Dr. Courayer also makes some observations relative to the apocryphal books, and to
 inspiration ; and he disapproves of the decision of the Council of Trent, concerning the
 apocryphal writings. “ It is,” says he, “ incumbent upon us, to endeavour to discriminate
 “ the true Scriptures, from those which are falsely given as genuine. Now we have no
 “ other rule for this discrimination, but tradition. If it be uniform, and come to us from
 Vol. IV.

(t) Joel iii. 34.

(w) Acts v. 31.

(a) Jo. v. 23.

(b) French Orig.
p. 1—7. Eng.
Transl. p. 9—20.

(u) Phil. ii. 6.

(v) Acts ii. 36.

(x) Luke ii. 40.

(y) Coloss. ii. 9.

(z) Apoc. v. 12.

“ the fountain-head, there would be irreligion and temerity in rejecting it; but if it be
 “ divided, there is little reason in a disposition to obtrude books, as divine, upon an autho-
 “ rity which, in every other case, would not be sufficient to warrant our receiving as certain,
 “ facts, concerning which there was similar diversity. The Council of Trent ought not,
 “ therefore, to have run the hazard of declaring the deuterocanonical or apocryphal
 “ books, of the same authority as the canonical, since there was not for them the same
 “ concurrence, or the same uniformity of testimonies. For this Council had not received
 “ new light concerning these *apocryphal* writings; and since the Jews, who transmitted
 “ them to us, on transmitting them, had apprized us of the discrimination to be made; it
 “ was sinning against all the canons of criticism, to give to these books an authority which
 “ was not granted to them by those from whom we had them, and from whom only we
 “ have received our intelligence.

“ With regard to those *books* which a constant tradition has transmitted to us, from
 “ hand to hand, as containing truly ‘ The word of God,’ it is our duty to respect, and
 “ receive them, as the rule of our faith, and of our manners, because we ought to regard
 “ the Doctrines and the Precepts which are contained in them, as coming from the in-
 “ spiration of God himself; for it is properly to these two points only, that the inspiration
 “ extends. There is no need of inspiration, to report what is seen or heard, or even what
 “ is taken from records and from authentic monuments, on which all public faith is found-
 “ ed; and it would be just as unreasonable to refuse our assent to such information, as it
 “ would be to reject what we learn from revelation. The most incredulous have no more
 “ doubt about the existence of Alexander and Cæsar, than Christians have concerning
 “ that of Jesus Christ; although it is not supposed that there was any inspiration in the
 “ historians who have given us the history of these two conquerors. Inspiration adds
 “ nothing to the certainty of facts, and does not appear any way necessary to establish
 “ them. I even fear whether the having recourse to it in order to procure credit, has
 “ not been a motive that has forced the incredulous upon their attempts to shew, with a
 “ view of discrediting the contents of Scripture, that we have had recourse to inspiration,
 “ only because all other evidence is wanting to give credibility to what is recorded there.
 “ Farther, to suppose inspiration for things to which it is not requisite, is to admit of mira-
 “ cles without necessity, and thus to multiply difficulties, and to furnish objections to unbe-
 “ lievers, who reject even necessary miracles. The prophets were certainly inspired,
 “ because they could not have predicted future things but by inspiration. The Evange-
 “ lical Doctrine must likewise have been inspired, because the Apostles have received it
 “ from Jesus Christ, who had it from his Father himself. But St. John, without having
 “ recourse to inspiration, gives us as true the facts which he reports to us, only because he
 “ saw and heard them. ‘ That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, &c. (b).’
 “ and St. Luke does not exact belief to the things which he relates, but because he had
 “ taken them from the mouths of those who had seen all from the beginning, ‘ Even as
 “ they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers
 “ of the word (c).’ If they had believed that inspiration had been necessary to conciliate
 “ belief to the facts which they recorded, they would not have hesitated to tell us, that
 “ they had derived their information and knowledge from God himself. But as they
 “ appeal to no other vouchers for their truth besides their own testimony, and that of those
 “ who had followed and heard Jesus Christ from the beginning, it is evident, that they
 “ did not extend inspiration to those kinds of facts, and that they reserved it for the
 “ Doctrine (d).”

(c) Luke i. 2.

(d) Eng. Transf.
p. 43—49.

(b) 1st Epist. of
John, chap. i,
ver. 3.

Father Courayer considered episcopal government as appointed by Christ himself; and
 he thought that the decisions of the Church, or of general Councils, should be submitted
 to in matters of discipline. But he did not admit the infallibility of the Church in points
 of doctrine. “ We cannot wander,” says he, “ by submitting to faith when it is found-
 “ ed on the word of God, which is infallible. But the infallibility that is ascribed to the
 “ Church, is not established on a foundation so solid as that on which it is acknowledged
 “ that Scripture rests. Inasmuch as the Church in her decisions conforms herself to the
 “ word of God, and to apostolic doctrines, she can only pretend to her infallibility, not
 “ in virtue of her judgment, but in consequence of this conformity. But if the decisions
 “ of the Church go beyond this rule, they cannot have the same certainty, because they
 “ are no longer regulated by the same authority, which only can assure them of the same
 “ infallibility. Although in the Christian society there be no authority superior to her
 “ own to reform her judgments, this is not a reason for believing her to be absolutely
 “ infallible, since a superior tribunal has nothing in respect of fallibility to distinguish it
 “ from inferior tribunals, but the impossibility of having its decisions superseded, because
 “ there is not any *paramount* authority that has the right to reform them, whatever need
 “ they may stand in of reformation. It is, therefore, rather an indefectibility than an in-
 “ fallibility that ought to be recognized in the church, where, although errors may some-
 “ times insinuate themselves, it is sufficient that she preserves always the fundamental
 “ truths, which are the essence of Christianity, and the practice of the duties of morality,
 “ to assure the salvation of those who persevere in being her members.

“ The

" The Pope is still less infallible than the Church. There is nothing that distinguishes him from other bishops but the pre-eminence of his see, and a more extensive jurisdiction, which has nothing in common with infallibility. It is in him an abusive pretension, to affect absolutely to subject to himself all the particular churches, and to believe that he can, at his pleasure, prescribe to them other doctrines than those which were taught by Jesus Christ and the apostles, and to impose upon them arbitrary laws, so far as in cases of their non-observance of them, to assume an authority to himself of cutting them off, without any ceremony, from the communion of the rest of the Church. He may, in truth, refuse to communicate with those whom he believes to be in error, or to want the submission due to lawful rules. But this suspension of communion does not exclude them from the body of the Church itself; and, if it be he who separates from them without reason, then it is he who is guilty of the schism, and not they; for, though he be the head of the Christian Churches, we are not obliged to obey him, but so far as he abides by truth and righteousness, and does not, for things indifferent, break the bonds of unity and peace (e)."

(e) *Ibid.* p. 54
—58.

Of *Baptism*, Father Courayer expresses himself in the following manner: " By Baptism," says he, " we engage ourselves to a profession of following the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and God is engaged on his part, to hold us justified from our sins, provided that, faithful to the engagement we have contracted with him, we regulate afterwards our conduct by the laws which he has prescribed to us, and which all tend to render us happy, by the right regulation of our passions, and the practice of virtue. To believe, that, without observing these conditions, Baptism, or any other external observance can sanctify us, is to be a Jew under the name of a Christian; and by changing the ceremony, we have not made our condition more advantageous, nor our hopes more solid, or less presumptuous. That efficacy which Christian divines ascribe to their observances, in preference to those of the Mosaic law, is without foundation; if we suppose that it is in their nature, and independent of our own internal dispositions, which ought to accompany the practice. Neither the one, nor the other, have any virtue, but what they derive from the institution, and always in a dependency on the dispositions of those who embrace the practice. Under this view, all is equal, and if there be any difference, it is not in the nature of the observances that we are to look for it, but in the favour of Jesus Christ, who manifests himself more abundantly under the Gospel, than under the Law. The Baptism of Infants is of great antiquity in the Church. It is even, perhaps, the antiquity of this practice, that gave rise to the idea of original sin, taken in the sense of the Theologians, for a guilt that drags all mankind who die without baptism, to damnation. This belief once established, has contributed indirectly to make the Baptism of Infants be judged necessary to their salvation; for if they had been considered as entirely pure and innocent, why, as Tertullian says, should we be so anxious to apply baptism for the remission of their sins? *Ut quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum.* I do not see, however, that Jesus Christ, or his apostles, have prescribed for them this baptism, which he seems only to have established to reclaim adults to repentance, and to the reception of the Gospel, and in order to purify them thereby, from the sins of which they had been guilty before. I do not in fact find any thing in Scripture, that obliges us to extend to infants the necessity of Baptism. It does not even appear, after the practice was introduced, that it was judged as it is now, of this necessity, since it was very common then, to defer the reception of this sacrament to an advanced age, and even till death. By speaking in this manner, it is not my intention, to censure a practice so ancient, and so general, as that of baptising infants; but I would not for all this, consider it as an error in those, who believe Baptism to be necessary to Adults only: for though I believe, as St. Paul teaches, that it was 'by the first man that sin entered into the world, and death by sin (f),' I can hardly conceive, that by this sin we must understand a personal guilt in every infant, in consequence of which, before he can use his will and his liberty, he deserves to be punished as a voluntary criminal, so as to be rendered not only subject to miseries and infirmities, but moreover liable to eternal damnation."

(f) Rom. v. 12.

Dr. Courayer afterwards states his sentiments respecting the *Eucharist*, *Confession*, *Images*, and *Relicks*: " Every part of the Christian doctrine," says he, " has had its alterations, and that part of it which respects the Eucharist has undergone as many at least as what relates to other observances. Jesus Christ, in giving us bread and wine as the memorials of his passion and death, has declared to us that he gave us his body, and his blood. On this subject it has been imagined, not only that Jesus Christ was *in reality* corporeally present in the Eucharist, with all his physical properties, but moreover, that the substance of the bread and wine was annihilated, and remained only in appearances, and this is what was called *Transubstantiation*. Had they been contented with saying, that this change was such to the eyes of faith, which see nothing in the Eucharist after consecration, but the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and without supposing any real and physical change of substance, there would have been nothing in this contrary to reason, or which needed to have occasioned the least dispute. But in matters of faith

" there

“ there was a constant inclination to the marvellous; and often even the marvellous, was
 “ not to the taste of the multitude, but in so far as it shocked common ideas, and the
 “ ordinary light of reason. Accordingly this opinion did not spring up, but in the ages
 “ of ignorance and of darkness. Till then they were contented to believe, that in receiv-
 “ ing the Eucharist, they received the body and the blood of Jesus Christ, but without
 “ determining in what manner they received it; or rather, persuaded that grace does not
 “ destroy nature, they received the bread and wine, not doubting, but that in receiving
 “ them, they received Jesus Christ himself, because he communicated himself under these
 “ symbols, in a manner ineffable, and perfectly spiritual, with so much the more efficacy,
 “ as by the institution of Jesus Christ the said symbols are a lively representation of his
 “ passion and death, by which he merited for us the expiation of our sins and salvation.
 “ We receive therefore Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, but with the bread and wine; and
 “ if we admit another *Transubstantiation* than that which is made in the eyes of faith, we
 “ admit an absurd opinion, which it is impossible to maintain without contradicting the
 “ most evident maxims of reason, the constant impressions of our senses, and the princi-
 “ ples of our natural light.

“ The sacrifice of Jesus Christ is so great a benefit, that we cannot too much preserve
 “ the memory of it. It was to perpetuate its remembrance that he instituted the Eucharist,
 “ in which we recollect his death, and offer ourselves to God. This is the sense of all
 “ Christian liturgies, ancient and modern, Catholic and Heretical. Nothing therefore is
 “ worse founded, than extravagant declamations against the Mass; since, with some variation
 “ only in the prayers and ceremonies, there is still the same object in the Romish service,
 “ as in all other liturgies. Whether we believe that Jesus Christ is corporeally present in
 “ the Eucharist, or, as others maintain, that this presence is only spiritual, this does not
 “ add any thing to, or take any thing from the idea of sacrifice, an idea which ought not to
 “ be separated from the remembrance and offering of the death of Jesus Christ, in the
 “ celebration of the Eucharist. And as this sacrifice can only be representative and com-
 “ memorative of that of the cross, all objections made against the Mass, fall to the ground
 “ of themselves, because they go to attack in it, a real sacrifice, which subsists only in the
 “ imaginations of those who combat it, or in the false explications of those who defend it.

“ Communion under both kinds never ought to have excited disputes in the
 “ Church. I see no more difficulty in this matter than in the difference of administering
 “ Baptism by immersion, or by sprinkling. But I know not by what misfortune it happens
 “ so often, that the smallest disputes excite the greatest troubles, as we may judge from
 “ the ancient contest about the day of Easter. The most rational way of thinking on the
 “ dispute in question is, that as, on the one part, an usage occasioned by some inconve-
 “ niences ought not to have been erected into a law, against the terms of the institution;
 “ and, on the other, as Christians believe that Jesus Christ is only spiritually received in
 “ the Eucharist, it seems that it ought to have been *left* indifferent, to receive him either
 “ under one kind, or under both the two kinds, forasmuch as a spiritual presence is abso-
 “ lutely indivisible, and it is impossible to receive Jesus Christ, in receiving either the bread,
 “ or the wine, without receiving him entirely. It appears to me, that on this point, as
 “ on many others, we ought to leave to each Church the liberty of regulating its usages,
 “ as it thinks proper. But the best are those who depart least from the words of the
 “ institution, and the views of the institutor.

“ *Confession* is an useful practice, and of great antiquity in the Church; but the man-
 “ ner in which it is practised at this day, in the Romish Church, is an usage much more
 “ modern. Formerly people made confessions of great crimes, and especially of those
 “ which were of a public nature. There are proofs of this in the writings of the fathers,
 “ and in the penitential canons, which regulated the times of penitence ordained for each
 “ of these *flagrant* crimes. But we see nothing in the ancientest monuments of these con-
 “ fessions so often reiterated, of the smallest faults, nor of the laws made for the ordination
 “ of confession at certain times. Nor is it clear besides, whether this sort of confession
 “ was instituted by Jesus Christ, or whether it was only prescribed by the Church. It
 “ appears much more probable, on the contrary, that the kind of confession practised at
 “ this day, can only have been of the institution last mentioned, since we find no example
 “ of it in primitive times.

“ The article of *Images* has excited great divisions in the Church. Some, for honour-
 “ ing them have been taxed with idolatry, and those who have destroyed them have been
 “ accused of irreligion. This is carrying things too far, both on the one side, and on the
 “ other. Images have nothing bad in themselves; it cannot, however, be denied, but
 “ that they have occasioned great abuse, and great superstitions. It is not, therefore, so
 “ much on a religious, as on a prudential account, that we ought to be cautious in regu-
 “ lating our conduct with respect to them. If abuse and superstition are inseparable from
 “ the use of them, piety and religion oblige us to suppress them. If we can, on the con-
 “ trary, separate the use of them from superstitious worship, we may preserve them with
 “ utility, for the instruction of the people, and the ornament of Churches. This was the
 “ temperate step which the Churches of France took formerly, and almost all those of the

“ West

“ West, to the tenth century; and they had then no conception, that by so doing, they did
 “ any thing contrary to the second precept of the decalogue. This, even now, might be
 “ considered as the most reasonable way, especially if it were only confined to historical
 “ paintings, and went to the exclusion of the Images or the statues of particular saints.
 “ But if the fear of abuse prevails over the mind, I see not why we should impute it
 “ as a crime to those, who, influenced by an apprehension so religious and so well found-
 “ ed, actually suppress what they consider as an occasion of so much abuse, and a source of
 “ superstition.”

“ What I have said of Images, may likewise be applied to *Relicks*. The honour that
 “ has been paid to them in the Greek and Latin Churches, is almost as ancient as the
 “ Church itself. There has been a great deal of indecency, and a kind of fury, in the
 “ manner in which protestants treated them at the beginning of the Reformation. They
 “ might have reason for censuring, as they did, the excess to which superstition had been
 “ carried on this point, either by giving false relics for true ones, or by rendering undue
 “ worship to such as were not suspected of falsehood. The evil was extreme, and too much
 “ of the remains of it are still preserved, not to make us feel, that their reproaches on this
 “ head were too just and well founded. But still they might have carried themselves with
 “ more moderation in the reform of these abuses; and there was a middle way that might
 “ have been taken, between the superstition of the one party, and the violence of the other.
 “ Religion forbids us not, but on the contrary excites us, to honour the ashes of those
 “ whom their sanctity has rendered respectable to us; and even the honour that we render
 “ to their memory, is a powerful motive to excite us to imitate their virtues. But to enter-
 “ tain an imagination, that there is any virtue, or any efficacy, inherent in their ashes, or
 “ their tombs, which can work the miracles that God may sometimes grant to the faith of
 “ those who solicit their succours, and supplicate Him to hear the prayers, which there is
 “ some reason to believe the saints offer up to him for us, is to place efficacy and virtue
 “ where there is none. To found a confidence upon this, is to entertain a vain and un-
 “ reasonable confidence, and to confound the honour due to their virtue with the confi-
 “ dence that we ought to put in God only, and which ought not to be participated with any
 “ of his creatures (g).”

(g) Eng. Transf.
 p. 71—90.

The practice of praying in an unknown tongue is afterwards censured by Father Courayer; and he also condemns persecution on account of religion as irrational, indefensible, and repugnant to the spirit of Christianity. He concludes his Declaration in the following manner: “ Moderate sentiments in religion are seldom adapted to the taste of
 “ different parties; and, instead of serving to conciliate differences, they commonly pro-
 “ duce no other effect, but that of drawing down censures upon those by whom they are
 “ advanced. But as, in making this Declaration, I proposed to myself no other appro-
 “ bation, but that of God, and of my own conscience, it is sufficient for me, that I have
 “ delivered, with sincerity, that which appears to me the most conformable to truth, and
 “ best calculated for the promotion of peace. If I am deceived, it has not been my own
 “ fault; and I hope that God, in his mercy, will pardon my involuntary errors, and will
 “ grant to me in another life, that light and knowledge which have been refused me
 “ in this.”

In the South Cloister of Westminster-Abbey, directly over the effigies of Abbot Vitalis, is a monument erected to the memory of Father Courayer, on which is an inscription, written by Mr. Kynaston, Fellow of Brazen Nose College. But it being put up too hastily to obtain the author's last revival, the following is a more accurate copy of it than that upon the monument, being corrected by Mr. Kynaston himself:

H. S. E.

Annis morumque integritate juxta reverendus

PETRUS FRANCISCUS COURAYER,

Cœnobii de *Sanctâ Genovevâ* dicti

Apud Urbem *Lutetiam Parisiorum*

Regularis olim Canonicus.

Vir, si quis alius,

De Ecclesiâ atque Politia Anglicanâ

Animo pariter ac scriptis,

Optimè meritis.

Quippe qui Episcopatum jus Administrationum

Jamdiu a Pontificiis acerrime impugnatum

Huic eidem Ecclesiæ

Et Gallus ipse, & Pontificius

Invictâ argumentorum vi, asseruit & vindicavit:

Quique adeò, ob id vindicandum

Pulsus jam patria, profugus,

Omnibusque demum exutus fortunis,

Hâc in urbe quærebat asylum, & inveniebat;

VOL. IV.

4 N

Ibique

Ibique per annos propè quinquaginta
 Honestæ mentis otio egregius fruebatur exul,
 Bonorum omnium deliciæ vivus,
 Moriens commune desiderium.
 Obiit quintâ decimâ die *Octobris*
 Anno post natum Christum MDCCLXXVI;
 Post se natum xcv.
 Huic tali tantoque Viro,
 Marmor hoc, amoris sui monumentum,
 Posuere Amici,
 Cui famam marmore perenniore peperit,
 Defensa veritas, refutatus error (b).

(b) Nichols's
 Anecdotes of
 Bowyer, p. 543.

To what has been already said respecting Dr. Courayer's Works, it may not be improper here to add, that he wrote *Traite de Poem Epique*; and that his French Translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent was printed at London in 1736, in two volumes, folio; and at Amsterdam, the same year, in two volumes, quarto; and that his Translation of Sleidan's History of the Reformation, to which he added copious notes, was printed in three volumes, quarto, in 1767 (i).

(i) Account of
 Dr. Courayer,
 prefixed to the
 English Trans-
 lation of his De-
 claration of his
 last Sentiments,
 &c. p. 75, 76.

From the fourth volume of Bishop Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, which has fallen into our hands since this article was printed, we learn that the Bishop was exposed to some trouble on account of Father Courayer's escape from France, which he was supposed to have facilitated. The French King and Cardinal Fleury sent him a message on the subject by the Lieutenant de Police. "I did not mince the matter to the Magistrate," says the Bishop, "nor am I at all ashamed of what has happened, or concerned for it. I owned my friendship for Pere Courayer; told them frankly a great deal more than they knew of that matter, as far as I was concerned; and thought there was no reason to wonder at, or blame my conduct. I convinced them of that point, and I believe there is an end of it. I shewed the Lieutenant the picture of Pere Courayer hanging up in my room; told him I had visited him in his retreat at Hanment, while he was in disgrace there; and that he came to take his leave of me the night before he left Paris; and that in all this I thought I had done nothing that misbecame me." The Lieutenant, who behaved with great politeness, was perfectly satisfied with our Prelate's explanation; but this was not the case with the Cardinal, who was persuaded that Father Courayer's escape was entirely owing to Atterbury, and displayed much resentment on that account. The picture of Courayer, in the Bishop's possession, was left by him to the University of Oxford (k).]

(k) Atterbury's
 Epistolary Corre-
 spondence, vol.
 iv. p. 102-104,
 133.

* * [COURTEN, a name certainly used, with a variety of spelling, for more than two hundred years, to discriminate a family of English extraction [A], which after being settled, upwards of a century, in the Netherlands, returned into England, intermarried with its gentry and nobility, and gave birth to several men, well entitled to notice in the *Biographia Britannica*. The last of the name, having been an ornament, and a benefactor to this kingdom, in a way, and to an extent not commonly known, is a proper subject for a separate article. Others of his ancestors were likewise memorable, for contributing considerably to the increase and enlargement of our national wealth and dominion, by carrying, at a very early period, the trade, navigation, and colonies of this country, into parts of the East and West Indies then little known. It is fit, therefore, in the first place, that some account should be given of them, in a work appropriated to the celebration of our countrymen in whatever way meritorious, and intended to rescue from oblivion the memories of all such eminent persons as have at any time lived, or resided occasionally in Britain.

Every thing relative to the Courtens in their state of emigration, before their return to the land of their nativity, is in a great measure foreign from the plan and purpose of this work. The only memoirs of the family which can be recorded here with propriety, lie within a narrow compass, clear of the suspicions adherent to late researches into remote antiquity. They go no farther back than to the great-grandfather, who, by persecution,

[A] *English extraction.* The pedigree of this family, the name of which is most commonly spelt *Courten*, though sometimes *Courtin*, and *Courteens*, &c. is preserved in the British Museum (1). It begins on the paternal line from a Roger de Curtis, said there to have been a native of Devonshire. He passed, it seems, from the service of a Duchess of Gloster, into that of an Earl of Brabant, married at Hainault, and fixed at Menin, where he died in 1423. But as this paper is not easily legible, and is moreover in the Dutch or Flemish language, with which the present writer is totally unacquainted, the curious are referred for more particular and more certain information to the original, which contains a circumstantial account of the genealogy of the family, and

gives its coat of arms as follows. A Talbot passant, quartered with a chevron between three swans; no colours depicted; crest, on a wreath, a demy Talbot issuant.

There is, in the same repository, a Talbot passant, on the silver-top of a walking-stick made of a curious piece of vine, the arms most probably of William Courten, Esq; the subject of the subsequent article, whose property it certainly was, and from whom it passed, with his rich museum, to Sir Hans Sloane in 1702.

"Courtin, London; Or, A Talbot passant Sa.
 "Courteen, Aldington, or Aunton in com. Wor-
 "cester, the same crest, a demy Talbot Sa. (2)"

(2) Edmondson's
 Complete Body
 of Heraldry, vol.
 ii. Edit. 1780. f.

(1) MSS. Sloan.
 3515.

was repelled from Flanders into the kingdom from which he sprang, where he and his immediate descendants, by their indefatigable industry, and great skill in mercantile business, suddenly rose to an unusual height of opulence and splendour. After flourishing here for almost a century, this family, by means of a viper of its own generation, by a variety of accidents unforeseen or unforeseeable, but chiefly by the depredations and villainy of a jealous nation of mere merchants, experienced a sad reverse of fortune, and being blasted to the root, its male-line and discriminating surname became extinct in 1702. The rise and downfall of this house being equally remarkable, the following account of its complicated story, given here with all the conciseness consistent with perspicuity, was studiously collected from scattered papers and broken memorials in the British Museum, where curiosity may satisfy itself, and probably discover collateral evidence, and additional information, omitted or unobserved by the present writer.

Olivares Duke of Alva, being appointed by Philip II. Governor of the Seventeen Provinces, endeavoured, with execrable policy, to establish over all the Netherlands, an irreligious and horrible Court of Judicature, on the model of the Spanish Inquisition. By consequence, in 1567, great numbers of industrious, thriving and worthy people, were imprisoned by the rigorous orders of this petty tyrant, and treated with great injustice and cruelty. WILLIAM COURTEN, son of a Taylor at Menin, was one of many who experienced this oppression; but had the good fortune to effectuate his escape from prison. In the year following, 1568, he arrived safe at London, with his wife Margaret Casiere, a daughter named Margaret, her husband, son of a *macklaer* (*) at Antwerp of the name of Boudean, and as much property as they could hastily collect under such disadvantages.

(*) The Flemish name for brick-layer, or potter.

Soon after their arrival, they took a house in Ab-Church-Lane, where they lived all together, following for some time the business of making what were commonly called *French Hoods*, much used in those days and long after, which they vended in wholesale, to the shop-keepers who sold them by retail. Encouraged by great success in this employment, they soon removed to a larger house in Pudding-Lane, or Love-Lane, in the parish of St. Mary Hill, where they entered on a partnership trade, in silks, fine linen, and such articles as they had dealt in before, when in Flanders.

Michael Boudean, the daughter Margaret's husband, died first, leaving behind him, unfortunately for the family, a son, and only child, named Peter, after an uncle certainly not much older than himself. The widow married John Moncy a Merchant in London, who instantly became an inmate with the family, which was moreover increased by the parents themselves, with two sons, William, born in 1572, and Peter, born in 1581. The young men, being instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, were early initiated in business, and soon after sent abroad as factors for the family; William to Haerlem, Peter to Cologne, and Peter Boudean the grand-child, to Middleburgh. The writer of this article is not at present sufficiently instructed, to date with precision the times at which William Courten and Margaret Casiere died. Most probably their deaths happened about the end of Queen Elizabeth's, or in the beginning of King James's reign; but it is said expressly, and it seems undeniable, that they left their descendants not only in easy, but even in affluent circumstances.

At the following æra of this little history, it does not appear with certainty, whether the old people were actually dead, or had only declined all farther active, responsible concern in business: but most certainly in 1606 William and Peter Courtens entered into partnership with John Moncy, their sister Margaret's second husband, to trade in silks and fine linen. Two parts, or the moiety of the joint-stock, belonged to William Courten; and to each of the others, Peter Courten and John Moncy, a fourth share. As for Peter Boudean, the son of Margaret Courten by her first husband, he seems to have been employed to negotiate for the partnership at Middleburgh, on some stipulated or discretionary salary; for it does not appear that he had any certain or determinate share in the trade, which was carried on prosperously till 1631, with a return, it is said, *communibus annis*, of 150,000*l.* During the course of this co-partnership, there is nothing upon record unfavourable to the character of John Moncy. The characters too of William and Peter Courtens appear unexceptionable, fair, and illustrious. They prospered, it seems, remarkably in all their undertakings, for twenty years and more, in the course of which time they were both dignified with the honours of knighthood [B].

The elder brother, Sir William Courten, besides his capital concern in the original partnership above-mentioned, traded very extensively on his own bottom, to Guinea, Portugal, Spain, and the West Indies. He married first a Dutch-woman of the name of Cromling, the daughter of Mr. Peter Cromling, an opulent Merchant in Haerlem, who was, though both deaf and dumb, book-keeper to her father. By this marriage he got, it is said, 60,000*l.* of which he was enjoined to lay out 50,000*l.* in the purchase of lands in England, to be settled upon his son by this Lady, of whom she was delivered in

[B] Dignified with the honours of knighthood.] Sir 31, 1622; and Sir Peter was knighted at Whitehall, (3) Claudius, William Courten was knighted at Greenwich, May Feb. 22, 1623 (3). c. iii.

London, and whose name was Peter. This son, who was all the offspring from this marriage, King James I. made one of the first rank of his Baronets [C]. "He was afterwards married to Lord Stanhope's daughter, but died without issue, leaving the estate in lands to his father Sir William, who settled that estate, and 3000*l.* more, *per annum*, upon his only son and heir, by a second wife, the daughter of Mr. Moses Tryon (*)." *Vox Veritatis*, &c. p. 50.

Sir Peter, the uncle to Peter just mentioned, and brother to Sir William Courten, kept the books of the family partnership, and died unmarried in 1630, at Middleburgh. It is affirmed, that he was worth at his death 100,000*l.* and that he left his nephew Peter Boudean, the son of his sister by her first husband, his sole heir and executor, who seems at this time to have taken the name of Courten which he annexed to his own. This crafty man took immediate possession, not only of his uncle Sir Peter's property, which could not have been ascertained without balancing the accounts of the co-partnership, but seized likewise the shipping and goods that belonged unquestionably to his other uncle, Sir William, and Mr. Moncy, amounting, as it is stated, to 100,000*l.* more [D]; nor could he, to the very end of his life, which lasted above thirty years longer, be brought, by argument or law, to settle the accounts of the company.

Sir William Courten, after the death of his Dutch Lady, married a second wife, of the name of Tryon, by whom he had one son, named William, and three daughters, whose names and marriages are but just mentioned here, the curious being referred for farther information about them, to the memoirs of the family in the British Museum. Hester the eldest was married to Sir Edward Littleton; Mary the second was wedded to the Earl of Kent [E]; Anna the youngest to Essex Devereux, Esq; of Leight-Court, in the county of Worcester, and after his death, to Richard Knightly, Esq; of Fawseley, in Northamptonshire. She was born in 1614, as we learn from the certificate below [F], and lived to a great age, as appears from an official paper transcribed into the following article.

Sir William seems to have been possessed of a comprehensive mind, an enterprising spirit, abundance of wealth, and credit sufficient to enable him to launch out into any promising branch of trade and merchandize whatsoever. It is stated, with apparent fairness, that he actually lent to King James I. and his son, Charles I. at different times, of his own money, or from the company-trade, 27,000*l.* and in another partnership, wherein he was likewise concerned with Sir Paul Pyndar [G], their joint claims on the Crown amounted,

[C] *One of the first rank of his Baronets.* The following entry in SALMON, most probably refers to Peter Courten, *jun.* for the description does not seem to point to the uncle, who generally lived, and died in Holland, where he was naturalized. If May was mentioned by mistake for February, the date of the year would then correspond to that of the uncle's knighthood, by writing it thus, Feb. — 1622-3; but still there would be an error in the day of the month. "May 18, 1622, Peter Courtene of Aldington, alias Aunton, Esq; was [by James I.] created a Bart. Wigorn, extinct."

[D] *£.100,000 more.* Sir Peter Courten, *sen.* at the time of his death, stood indebted to the company, by the balance of the books kept in London, for money due to the general stock, 129,426*l.* os. 10*d.* which remained in the hands of his nephew Peter Boudean.

[E] *Earl of Kent.* Henry Grey, the eleventh Earl of Kent of that family, and eldest son to Anthony Grey the famous Rector of Burbach in Leicestershire (4). He was born Nov. 24, 1643; and by his first wife, the daughter of Sir William Courten, had issue Henry, Lord Grey, who was buried in Westminster Abbey, June 29, 1644, near his mother, who was buried there March 20, 1643. This Earl's second Lady was Amabella, daughter of Sir Anthony Ben, Recorder of London. He died in 1651; and his Countess survived till 1698.

[F] *Certificate below.* "Baptized in the Dutch Church, London, Anna Filia Guiliame Courten, anno 1614, the 17 of January. Testes Moses Tryon and Margaretha de Moncy, which stood in the place of Lucretia Pelicorne the widow of Mr. Gualterus del Prato." [Signed] Philipp. op de Beech. "Minister of the Dutch Church in London (5)." The original certificate passed on a blank leaf.

[G] *Sir Paul Pyndar.* "He was born at Wellingborough in the county of Northampton, where he was at school till sixteen. He was then put apprentice to Mr. Parvish an Italian Merchant, who sent him, at eighteen, as his Factor to Venice, where,

and in parts adjacent, he resided for fifteen years, or thereabouts, trading upon his own account, and on commissions both from his old master, and divers others of the most trading kingdoms, by which he got a very plentiful estate. At his return to England, where he traded five years longer, the Turkey Company, knowing him well skilled in the Italian and Turkish languages, and having received many kind offices from him in his transactions abroad, applied to King James I. in 1611, to send him as Ambassador to the Grand Signior at Constantinople, which employment, after much solicitation, he embraced to the great satisfaction of the King, and the Turkey Company, in whose service he continued nine years, during which time he much improved the Levant trade, and manufactures of England, which had been greatly injured by the arts of the French and Dutch. Three years after his return in 1623, King James having knighted him, offered as a reward of his services, to make him his Lieutenant of the Tower; but this honour Sir Paul humbly refused, and the rather, in regard his Majesty desired to purchase Sir Paul's Diamond-Jewel of 30,000*l.* value, upon credit. Sir Paul brought home this Diamond-Jewel from Turkey, and lent it to King James to wear at divers times on days of great solemnity, on opening parliaments, and when audiences were given to foreign Ambassadors. It was afterwards sold to King Charles I (6)."

There is most probably a particular account of this Diamond-Jewel, in the MS. which the Honourable H. Walpole purchased at the sale of Thoresby's Museum, promised to the public with some other curious papers. This MS. it is said, contained among other things, an account of the monies received upon the pawning of the King's, and his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Jewels, &c. Thirty-one pages being wanting at the beginning relating to the plate and jewels, in the "Catalogue of King Charles the first's goods, &c. with the several prices at which they were valued and sold," discovered lately in Moorfields, &c. it is not likely that there will be any mention of this Diamond-Jewel there. It is said on the autho-

(4) History of Burbach, by Nichols, p. 278. Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 514.

(5) MSS. Sloan. 5961, fol.

(6) Ibid. 3515.f. & Vox Veritatis, &c. p. 51.

amounted, it seems, to 200,000*l.* for no objection appears to have been made to this statement. We are told that one way or other Sir William employed, and with a constancy

(7) Anecdotes of Painting in England, &c. vol. ii. p. 112, and 114, 8vo. 1782.

authority of the *Catalogue*, that the total of the contracts amounted to 118,080*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* (7).

This *Diamond-Jewel* of Sir Paul Pyndar seems, by the general account of it given above, to have surpassed in value the celebrated diamond brought afterwards into this country by Governor Thomas Pitt, of which the curious reader may see a circumstantial account in the late edition of the *TAFELER* with notes, Vol. V. Additional notes, p. 385, & seqq.

"On Sir Paul's refusal of the Lieutenancy of the Tower, by the over-persuasion of Sir William Cockayne and Sir Arthur Ingram, this Knight was brought to accept of being one of the Farmers of the Customs; to advance monies for supply of the late King's necessary occasions, and to furnish the Crown with Jewels, to his infinite loss and prejudice. Nevertheless, he manifested his loyalty to that degree, towards the preservation of the Royal Family, that he sent several considerable sums of money, in gold, to the late King Charles at Oxford, by Madam Jane Whorewood, in the years 1643 and 1644, for transportation of the Queen and her children.

"In 1639, his cashiers and accomptants, William Toomes and Richard Lane, by the orders of their master, cast up Sir Paul Pyndar's estate, which consisted in ready money, allome, and good debts upon tallies, and obligations from Noblemen, and others at Court, amounting in all to the sum of 215,600*l.* sterling; a great part of which was employed in the sole manufacture of allome, for which allome-farm, Sir Paul Pyndar paid annually 12,000*l.* sterling to the crown, for twenty eight years successively."—"This farm was within the Manor of Mulgrave belonging to the Earl of that title; and it is said, that all the soil of the land, on which the allome-works were erected, with all the mines and rocks employed, were not before worth 40*l.* per annum (*).

(*) "Brief narrative, &c. p. 11.

"This branch of the public revenue has been lately extinguished under the notion of a monopoly; and thus, a staple commodity, of the growth and manufacture of England, has suffered great injury for want of a due regulation in trade. Sir P. Pyndar was obliged, by the grant from the King, to furnish London, and all parts of England, with allome at twenty pounds per ton, and to transport the overplus, which he did in great quantities, into Holland, France, Hamburgh, and other parts, to the advantage and benefit of the King, and his kingdom.

"This manufacture of allome, was first brought out of Italy, in those parts, under the Pope's temporal jurisdiction, and set on work by an Italian, a friend of Sir P. Pyndar's in King James's time; who much encouraged the making thereof, and set up the first pans, coppers, and materials in Yorkshire, at the charge of the crown. Before that time, all allome was imported into England, from the Pope's territories, at the rate of sixty pounds sterling per ton, under the name of *roach allome*, which raised a very considerable yearly revenue to his holiness (†).

(†) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. 4to. 1683, p. 51, &c.

In a record in the British Museum, the estimate of Sir P. Pyndar's estate, at the very time here specified, viz. in the year 1639, is not rated so high as it is stated above. Exclusively indeed of desperate and bad debts, it is only fixed at 236,000*l.* or to speak in the modern cant phrase, at two plums and 36,000*l.* more; and it is affirmed [*ibidem*] that two thirds of the sum total were embarked with the King.

There is in the same repository, and if the writer does not mis-remember, in the same volume, a printed abstract of the last will of Sir P. Pyndar, dated June 24, 1646, to which the curious are referred for farther information (‡).

(‡) MSS. Sloan. 3545, f.

"There remains nothing visible at this time, [viz. 1683] says Mr. Browne in the continuation of his account, to the family of Sir P. Pyndar, out of all his great acquisitions, but his memory en-

VOL. IV.

graven in a modest stile, upon a stone of black marble, over his grave in St. Buttolph's church, without Bishop's-gate, London, in those sorrowful days when he died. The epitaph is as follows:

"Sir Paul Pyndar, Ambassador to the Turkish Emperour, anno 1611, and resident there nine years, faithful in negotiations, foreign and domestic, eminent for piety, charity, loyalty and prudence. An inhabitant twenty-six years in this parish. A bountiful benefactor, deceased the 22d of Aug. aged 84 years.

"William Toomes, who was appointed executor, administered and made probat of Sir Paul Pyndar's last Will and Testament, wherein, amongst other legacies, he bequeathed 7,000*l.* to the Hospitals in London and Southwark. The said Toomes exhibited an inventory, but could not get in the estate, most part thereof being upon tallies, and many of the Noblemen being insolvent, he discharged the workmen a remainder of 10,000*l.* expended by Sir P. Pyndar in his life-time, upon the porch of St. Paul's Church, on the south side. But Mr. Toomes finding such a vast estate so entangled, and his expectations so frustrated, had not a spirit to bear his afflictions, therefore laid violent hands on himself in the year 1655, and was found a *felo de se*."

On the death of Toomes, it seems, "Sir William Powell took out Letters of Administration, with the Will of Sir Paul Pyndar annexed; and during his time, it is said, he employed in Holland, the writer of the tract here quoted, a Mr. Browne, Gent. to look after the interest of Sir Paul Pyndar's estate and his administrator, depending in the Netherlands, on suits in Courts there for the recovery of damages, by the destruction, seizure, and appropriation of the two ships, *Bona Esperanza*, and *Henry Bona Adventura*, the first taken in the freights of Malacca, the second near the island Mauritius by men of war belonging to the East-India Company of the Netherlands, under a pretence that they traded with the *Portugalls* their enemies.

"This Browne was moreover employed by Sir William Powell to get in some debts due to the estate and heirs of Sir Paul Pyndar, upon the allome account, from Jonas Abeel; but, he says, he returned into England *re infecta* in the year 1661. In the same year, or much about the same time, Mr. Browne says, he importuned Mr. Carew, who had Sir Edward Littleton's interest in the two ships above-mentioned, and a very considerable debt of his own, incumbent on Sir P. Pyndar's estate, to satisfy Sir William Powell, and so take upon himself the sole administration of Sir Paul Pyndar's goods and testament.

"By the advice of Mr. Browne, it is said, that after some enquiries, and encouragements at White Hall, from his friends that he had then there, on the conclusion of the Treaty between the King and the States-general, in the year 1662, Mr. Carew sold his land in Worcester to Mr. Thomas Foley for 3800*l.* whereby he satisfied and paid Sir William Powell and others, and so took upon himself the administration of Sir Paul Pyndar's estate."

It is added here, "And this being the truth of the case see help me God (§)."

Sir Paul Pyndar, on his return from Turkey, expended 2000*l.* in repairing the entry, porches, and front of St. Paul's Cathedral, enriching them with marble sculpture, and the figures of the Apostles. Afterwards being appointed by King James, for his skill in commerce, one of the farmers of the Custom-House, he laid out 17,000*l.* on the repairs of the side aisle of the said Church, and at different times supplied Charles I. with money to the amount of 12,000*l.*

(§) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. ut supra, p. 52, and p. 53.

stancy for many years, between four and five thousand seamen; that he built above twenty ships of burthen; was a great insurer, and besides that, a very considerable goldsmith, or banker, for so a banker was then called. It appears likewise, that he was very deeply engaged in a Herring Fishery, which was carried on at one time, with great spirit, and at great expence; but soon after, much to his cost, it came to nothing, in consequence of the supervening dissensions, confusion, and misery that in a soon-succeeding period, extended over all the British dominions.

Before the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph, about the year 1624, two of Sir William Courten's ships, in their return from Fernambuc, happened to discover an uninhabited island, now of considerable importance to Great Britain, to which Sir William first gave the name of Barbadoes. The writer follows here the account given in a capital French work, entitled, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. p. 595. *A Paris*, 1759. 19 tom. 4to. The discovery of this island is represented by the French compiler, as merely accidental; but in several papers in the British Museum, and particularly in the MS. there, mentioned below [H], it is said expressly, that the discovery was the result of a deliberate well-laid scheme, formed on hints from Sir William's correspondents in Zealand, and concerted, no doubt, between him and his brother Sir Peter, probably the intelligencer, for he lived and died in Holland. But be this as it may, Sir William Courten was certainly the first who took possession of this island, the first who gave it the name of Barbadoes which it still retains, and the first who began to settle it, (according to the MS. mentioned above, and quoted below,) in 1625.

On the 25th of Feb. 1627, Sir William Courten obtained the King's Letters Patent, for the colonization of this island, sheltering himself, for whatever reasons, under the Earl of Pembroke: for the deed grants, "The Government of Barbadoes to the Earl of Pembroke, in trust for Sir William Courten, with power to settle a Colony there, according to the laws of England, &c." On the faith of this grant, afterwards superseded by the influence of James, then Earl of Carlisle, though its validity was acknowledged by the first, and generally indeed by all the Lawyers, Sir William sent two ships, with men, arms, ammunition, &c. which soon stored the island with inhabitants, English, Indians, &c. to the number of one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, when one Captain Powel received from Sir William, a commission to remain in the island as Governor, in behalf of Sir William, and the Earl of Pembroke (a). After Sir William had expended 40,000*l.* on this business (*), and been in peaceable possession of the island about three years, James, Earl of Carlisle, claiming on grants said to be prior, though dated July 2, 1627, and April 7, 1628; affirming too, that he was Lord of all the Caribbee islands, lying between 10 and 20 degrees of latitude, under the name of Carliola, gave his commission to Colonel Royden, Henry Hawley, and others, to act in his behalf. The Commissioners of Lord Carlisle arrived at Barbadoes with two ships, in 1629, and having invited the Governor Captain Powel on board, they kept him prisoner, and proceeded to invade and plunder the island. They carried off the factors and servants of Sir William Courten and the Earl of Pembroke, and established the Earl of Carlisle's authority in Barbadoes, which continued there under several Governours, till 1646, when the government of it was vested by lease and contract, in Lord Willoughby of Parham.

Sir William Courten, it is said, had likewise sustained a considerable loss several years before this blow in the West Indies, by the seizure of his merchandize, after the cruel massacre of his factors at Amboyna, in the East Indies. But after all the losses above-mentioned, he was still possessed, in the year 1633, of lands in various parts of this kingdom, to the value, it is affirmed, of 6,500*l. per annum*, besides personal estate rated at 128,000*l.* and very extensive credit. Such were his circumstances; we are told, when he opened a trade to China, and as if he had grown young again, embarked still more deeply, in mercantile expeditions to the East Indies, where he established sundry new forts and factories. In the course of this new trade he lost unfortunately two of his ships richly laden, the Dragon and the Katharine, which were never heard of more; and he himself did not long survive

The Communion plate at Wellingborough, consisting of a pair of silver flaggons, a chalice and cover, gilt, weighing two hundred and fifty-seven ounces, was given 1634 by Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. In the parish register is recorded a thankful acknowledgment of this benefaction under the hands of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants. On every piece of plate is this inscription, *The gift of Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. to the Town Church of Wellingborough, 1674.* On the sides of the flaggons, and on the bottom and cover of the chalice, are engraved his arms. In 1640 he gave the first bell (8).

Thomas Pyndar, Esq; son to the famous Merchant Sir Paul, had for a short time possession of Nerquis-house in Flintshire, by marriage with Miss Wynne, heiress of the place. Their son Paul was created a Baronet about 1666, and dying single the estate devolved by maternal right to Paul Williams, Esq; of Pont y

Gwyddel. On the death of Edward Williams, Esq; 1737, it fell to his sister, now relict of Robert Hyde, Esq; who enjoys it in great hospitality (9).

[H] *The MS. mentioned below.* It (10) is a MS. history of Barbadoes, well written and not ill-penned, by some person who does not seem to have been connected, or acquainted with the Courten-family. The substance of what is mentioned in it relative to this article being given above, nothing more remains to be said of the MS. than that it contains a clear and circumstantial account of the condition, government, productions, and importance of the island at the time it was written, probably a century ago; and that it states Barbadoes, it may be not very exactly, as situated between 13 and 14 degrees of latitude, distant from England about 3430 miles, thirty miles in length, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-five leagues in circumference (11).

this

(a) MSS. Sloan. 2441.
(*) Sir W. expended 28,600*l.* on fortifications, &c. before he had a Patent under the Great Seal of England, in the 3d year of Cha. I. which subjected the Island to the Dominion of the King. *A Brief Narrative, &c.* p. 1.

(8) Bridges's Northamptonshire, II. 153.

(9) Pennant's Wales, 2d Edit. i. 392.
(10) MSS. Sloan. 2441, fol.

(11) See also Ligon's History of Barbadoes.

this loss, which involved him in great debt; for he died in the end of May, or beginning of June 1636, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Church or Church-yard of St. Andrew Hubbard, the ground of both which was, after the fire in 1666, disposed of by the city for public uses, and partly laid into the street, the parish being annexed to St. Mary-Hill. There is an abstract of Sir William Courten's Will in the British Museum (b), dated May 22, 1636, from which some extracts are given in a note below [I].

(b) Ibid. 3515.

He left all his manors, Wingham Barton in Kent excepted, to his son William and his heirs, and him he appointed his executor and residuary legatee. Among many other charitable legacies, some of which are mentioned below, he bequeathed sixty-four gowns, to sixty-four poor men, according to the number of the years of his life. A Latin paper in the British Museum (c) seems to have been intended for his Epitaph, though it censures as folly, the over-ardent spirit of mercantile adventure, for which both Sir William and his son were very remarkable. It is endorsed "May 1636" in the hand-writing of William Courten, Esq; the subject of the following article, and may contain perhaps the genuine opinion and sentiments of the endorser, expressed in his own words at some early period of his life. His care in preserving it, induces at least a suspicion, that it was not very different from his own way of thinking concerning the conduct both of his father and grandfather. This may be mere conjecture: the curious reader may see below a faithful transcript of the paper [K].

(c) MSS. Sloan. 3515.

The accounts of the original partnership, in which a very considerable part of Sir William Courten's estate consisted, remained unsettled at his death; though on the decease of his brother, Sir Peter, their brother-in-law, John Moncy, repaired to Middleburgh, to settle with Peter Boudean-Courten. Before this settlement could be accomplished, Mr. Moncy died at Boudean's house, where he made his Will, as was pretended, leaving Sir William Courten and Peter Boudean-Courten his joint executors.

The validity of this Will was litigated for many years by an Esther White, *alias de Wyer*, who claimed as heiress at law to Mr. John Moncy, and obtained letters of administration to his estate. After a tedious legal process at Middleburgh, and the Hague, this gentlewoman obtained a sentence in 1657, to compel Peter Boudean to produce the books, papers, &c. but the validity of Moncy's will was still left in question, and it does not now appear, in what manner this law-suit terminated.

William Courten, Esq; the son of Sir William, was very early initiated, and very extensively concerned in commercial business. He married Lady Katharine Egerton, tenth

[I] *Extracts are given in a note below.* It appears from the abstract above-mentioned, that Sir William Courten's manor of Wingham Barton in Kent, had been settled before the date of his will, on his daughter Mary and her heirs; and *for her better preferment*, [it seems she was not then married] he left her 2000*l.* To his daughter Anne Devereux, wife of Essex Devereux, Esq; 1000*l.* to his daughter Dame Hester Littleton, wife of Sir Edward Littleton 4000*l.* and to each of her children living at his decease 100*l.* To his sons-in-law Littleton and Devereux, each a diamond ring sealed up, and their names on the boxes. To his daughter-in-law Lady Katharine Courten, a jewel of diamonds sealed up with his seal at arms, and her name thereon. To his nephew Peter Boudean, and to his wife, a ring and a jewel. To Mr. James Pergeus, a ring. To Mr. James Casiere, Merchant, and to his sister Mrs. Andrews, to each of them 50*l.* Ditto to Mr. Casteel, Merchant. Ditto *Flemish* to Mr. Joos. Ditto to John De Batts. To Mr. James Tryon, 100 merks. To Mary Casiere daughter to Mr. John Casiere, 20*l.* To his Book-keeper and Accomptant David Goubard, 100*l.* and 50*l.* *per annum* so long as he continued in the service of his son William Courten. To his servant Samuel Bonnel, on the same condition, 50*l.* *per ann.* To Mr. John Moone, 10*l.* To seventeen men-servants and five women-servants of himself, and to all his son's servants, different small sums. To the reparation of St. Paul's, over and above what he had given before for that use, 500 merks. To Christ's Church Hospital and St. Thomas's ditto, 100*l.* a-piece. To the Ministers of St. Gabriel Fan-Church, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Saxby, 20*l.* each; and to the poor of the said parish, 30*l.* To the poor of the Dutch Congregations in London, 50*l.* and to the young Students maintained abroad, at Universities, by the said Congregations, 20*l.* To the poor of St. Mary-Hill, 15*l.* To the Minister of St. Andrew-Hubbard, 5*l.* and to the poor of the parish, 10*l.* To Monf. Marmot, preacher to the French Congregation

in London, 20*l.* and to the poor of that Congregation, 20*l.* To the poor of the Dutch and French Congregations in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, and Yarmouth, 10*l.* each. To the poor of the several parishes of Laxton, and Kneefal, *in com.* Nottingham, of St. Nicholas at Wade in the isle of Thanet, and of Westham in Essex, 10*l.* each. To John, Earl of Bridgewater, a ring, &c. &c. It is said in a note at the close of the abstract, that the rings and jewels, Sir William having the diamonds ready by him in his house [*inter alia*] at the time of his death, amounted in value to 7500*l.*

[K] *A faithful transcript of the paper.*

May, 1636.

GULIELMUS COURTEN, *verè liberali mercaturæ deditus, et in contrahendis averse periculi assiduus; post summæ amplificatam diuturno fortunæ afflatu, rem familiarem; post opes insignitas equestris ordinis honore; post liberos utriusque sexus illustrissimis comitum familiis per conjugia innexos; in præcipiti horum omnium perdendi ac contaminandi discrimine, excessit vitâ 27 Maij, 1636. Filio non multo post cedente foro; distractis tot villis, agrisque paternis ære alieno absumptis in classem Indicam privatam; immerfis opibus, depressâ et absorptâ oceano classe, non sine errore patris, filijque. Illius, quod spes longas inchoare non dubitasset, moriendi præ ætate jam ferè certus; quodque annis gravis levem illam lubricamque Deam tentare denuò voluisset; quasi illam filicerniorum, bustorum, cinerumque curam gereret, quam tot procantur venusti juvenes, et quibus auscultare, solennius multo est æquisque. Nec filius, ephorive, suâ vacabant culpâ; quod fugientem illam persequi studuerint, et in ordinem cogere. Fortunam fortunæ copijs aggressi sunt, non immerito offensam horum omnium temeritati, qui totius ex alto in parium, ex partu in agros et possessiones opimas deducti, salum rursus solo retrogradi protulerint; quasi priora beneficia repudiarent, nisi plura suggererentur; vel nulla satis magna esset pecunia, qua impotentis senis, juvenisve vota, non adimplerentur.*

daughter

stancy for many years, between four and five thousand seamen; that he built above twenty ships of burthen; was a great insurer, and besides that, a very considerable goldsmith, or banker, for so a banker was then called. It appears likewise, that he was very deeply engaged in a Herring Fishery, which was carried on at one time, with great spirit, and at great expence; but soon after, much to his cost, it came to nothing, in consequence of the supervening dissentions, confusion, and misery that in a soon-succeeding period, extended over all the British dominions.

Before the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph, about the year 1624, two of Sir William Courten's ships, in their return from Fernambuc, happened to discover an uninhabited island, now of considerable importance to Great Britain, to which Sir William first gave the name of Barbadoes. The writer follows here the account given in a capital French work, entitled, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. p. 595. *A Paris*, 1759. 19 tom. 4to. The discovery of this island is represented by the French compiler, as merely accidental; but in several papers in the British Museum, and particularly in the MS. there, mentioned below [H], it is said expressly, that the discovery was the result of a deliberate well-laid scheme, formed on hints from Sir William's correspondents in Zealand, and concerted, no doubt, between him and his brother Sir Peter, probably the intelligencer, for he lived and died in Holland. But be this as it may, Sir William Courten was certainly the first who took possession of this island; the first who gave it the name of Barbadoes which it still retains, and the first who began to settle it, (according to the MS. mentioned above, and quoted below,) in 1625.

On the 25th of Feb. 1627, Sir William Courten obtained the King's Letters Patent, for the colonization of this island, sheltering himself, for whatever reasons, under the Earl of Pembroke: for the deed grants, "The Government of Barbadoes to the Earl of Pembroke, in trust for Sir William Courten, with power to settle a Colony there, according to the laws of England, &c." On the faith of this grant, afterwards superseded by the influence of James, then Earl of Carlisle, though its validity was acknowledged by the first, and generally indeed by all the Lawyers, Sir William sent two ships, with men, arms, ammunition, &c. which soon stored the island with inhabitants, English, Indians, &c. to the number of one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, when one Captain Powel received from Sir William, a commission to remain in the island as Governor, in behalf of Sir William, and the Earl of Pembroke (a). After Sir William had expended 40,000*l.* on this business (*), and been in peaceable possession of the island about three years, James, Earl of Carlisle, claiming on grants said to be prior, though dated July 2, 1627, and April 7, 1628; affirming too, that he was Lord of all the Caribbee islands, lying between 10 and 20 degrees of latitude, under the name of Carlola, gave his commission to Colonel Royden, Henry Hawley, and others, to act in his behalf. The Commissioners of Lord Carlisle arrived at Barbadoes with two ships, in 1629, and having invited the Governor Captain Powel on board, they kept him prisoner, and proceeded to invade and plunder the island. They carried off the factors and servants of Sir William Courten and the Earl of Pembroke, and established the Earl of Carlisle's authority in Barbadoes, which continued there under several Governours, till 1646, when the government of it was vested by lease and contract, in Lord Willoughby of Parham.

Sir William Courten, it is said, had likewise sustained a considerable loss several years before this blow in the West Indies, by the seizure of his merchandize, after the cruel massacre of his factors at Amboyna, in the East Indies. But after all the losses above-mentioned, he was still possessed, in the year 1633, of lands in various parts of this kingdom, to the value, it is affirmed, of 6,500*l. per annum*, besides personal estate rated at 128,000*l.* and very extensive credit. Such were his circumstances; we are told, when he opened a trade to China, and as if he had grown young again, embarked still more deeply, in mercantile expeditions to the East Indies, where he established sundry new forts and factories. In the course of this new trade he lost unfortunately two of his ships richly laden, the Dragon and the Katharine, which were never heard of more; and he himself did not long survive

The Communion plate at Wellingborough, consisting of a pair of silver flaggons, a chalice and cover, gilt, weighing two hundred and fifty-seven ounces, was given 1634 by Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. In the parish register is recorded a thankful acknowledgment of this benefaction under the hands of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants. On every piece of plate is this inscription, *The gift of Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. to the Town Church of Wellingborough, 1674.* On the sides of the flaggons, and on the bottom and cover of the chalice, are engraved his arms. In 1640 he gave the first bell (8).

Thomas Pyndar, Esq; son to the famous Merchant Sir Paul, had for a short time possession of Nerquis-house in Flintshire, by marriage with Miss Wynne, heiress of the place. Their son Paul was created a Baronet about 1666, and dying single the estate devolved by maternal right to Paul Williams, Esq; of Pont y

Gwyddel. On the death of Edward Williams, Esq; 1737, it fell to his sister, now relict of Robert Hyde, Esq; who enjoys it in great hospitality (9).

[H] *The MS. mentioned below.* It (10) is a MS. history of Barbadoes, well written and not ill-penned, by some person who does not seem to have been connected, or acquainted with the Courten-family. The substance of what is mentioned in it relative to this article being given above, nothing more remains to be said of the MS. than that it contains a clear and circumstantial account of the condition, government, productions, and importance of the island at the time it was written, probably a century ago; and that it states Barbadoes, it may be not very exactly, as situated between 13 and 14 degrees of latitude, distant from England about 3430 miles, thirty miles in length, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-five leagues in circumference (11).

this

(a) MSS. Sloan. 2441.
(*) Sir W. expended 28,600*l.* on fortifications, &c. before he had a Patent under the Great Seal of England, in the 3d year of Cha. I. which subjected the Island to the Dominion of the King. *A Brief Narrative*, &c. p. 1.

(8) Bridges's Northamptonshire, 11. 153.

(9) Pennant's Wales, 2d Edit. i. 392.
(10) MSS. Sloan. 2441, fol.

(11) See also Ligon's History of Barbadoes.

this loss, which involved him in great debt; for he died in the end of May, or beginning of June 1636, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Church or Church-yard of St. Andrew Hubbard, the ground of both which was, after the fire in 1666, disposed of by the city for public uses, and partly laid into the street, the parish being annexed to St. Mary-Hill. There is an abstract of Sir William Courten's Will in the British Museum (b), dated May 22, 1636, from which some extracts are given in a note below [I].

(b) *Ibid.* 3515. He left all his manors, Wingham Barton in Kent excepted, to his son William and his heirs, and him he appointed his executor and residuary legatee. Among many other charitable legacies, some of which are mentioned below, he bequeathed sixty-four gowns, to sixty-four poor men, according to the number of the years of his life. A Latin paper in the British Museum (c) seems to have been intended for his Epitaph, though it censures as folly, the over-ardent spirit of mercantile adventure, for which both Sir William and his son were very remarkable. It is endorsed "May 1636" in the hand-writing of William Courten, Esq; the subject of the following article, and may contain perhaps the genuine opinion and sentiments of the endorser, expressed in his own words at some early period of his life. His care in preserving it, induces at least a suspicion, that it was not very different from his own way of thinking concerning the conduct both of his father and grandfather. This may be mere conjecture: the curious reader may see below a faithful transcript of the paper [K].

(c) MSS. Sloan. 3515.

The accounts of the original partnership, in which a very considerable part of Sir William Courten's estate consisted, remained unsettled at his death; though on the decease of his brother, Sir Peter, their brother-in-law, John Moncy, repaired to Middleburgh, to settle with Peter Boudean-Courten. Before this settlement could be accomplished, Mr. Moncy died at Boudean's house, where he made his Will, as was pretended, leaving Sir William Courten and Peter Boudean-Courten his joint executors.

The validity of this Will was litigated for many years by an Esther White, *alias de Wyer*, who claimed as heiress at law to Mr. John Moncy, and obtained letters of administration to his estate. After a tedious legal process at Middleburgh, and the Hague, this gentlewoman obtained a sentence in 1657, to compel Peter Boudean to produce the books, papers, &c. but the validity of Moncy's will was still left in question, and it does not now appear, in what manner this law-suit terminated.

William Courten, Esq; the son of Sir William, was very early initiated, and very extensively concerned in commercial business. He married Lady Katharine Egerton, tenth

[I] *Extracts are given in a note below.* It appears from the abstract above-mentioned, that Sir William Courten's manor of Wingham Barton in Kent, had been settled before the date of his will, on his daughter Mary and her heirs; and for her better preferment, [it seems she was not then married] he left her 2000*l.* To his daughter Anne Devereux, wife of Essex Devereux, Esq; 1000*l.* to his daughter Dame Hester Littleton, wife of Sir Edward Littleton 4000*l.* and to each of her children living at his decease 100*l.* To his sons-in-law Littleton and Devereux, each a diamond ring sealed up, and their names on the boxes. To his daughter-in-law Lady Katharine Courten, a jewel of diamonds sealed up with his seal at arms, and her name thereon. To his nephew Peter Boudean, and to his wife, a ring and a jewel. To Mr. James Pergeus, a ring. To Mr. James Casiere, Merchant, and to his sister Mrs. Andrews, to each of them 50*l.* Ditto to Mr. Casteel, Merchant. Ditto *Flemish* to Mr. Joos. Ditto to John De Batts. To Mr. James Tryon, 100 merks. To Mary Casiere daughter to Mr. John Casiere, 20*l.* To his Book-keeper and Accomptant David Goubard, 100*l.* and 50*l.* per annum so long as he continued in the service of his son William Courten. To his servant Samuel Bonnel, on the same condition, 50*l.* per ann. To Mr. John Moone, 10*l.* To seventeen men-servants and five women-servants of himself, and to all his son's servants, different small sums. To the reparation of St. Paul's, over and above what he had given before for that use, 500 merks. To Christ's Church Hospital and St. Thomas's ditto, 100*l.* a-piece. To the Ministers of St. Gabriel Fan-Church, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Saxby, 20*l.* each; and to the poor of the said parish, 30*l.* To the poor of the Dutch Congregations in London, 50*l.* and to the young Students maintained abroad, at Universities, by the said Congregations, 20*l.* To the poor of St. Mary-Hill, 15*l.* To the Minister of St. Andrew-Hubbard, 5*l.* and to the poor of the parish, 10*l.* To Mons. Marmot, preacher to the French Congregation

in London, 20*l.* and to the poor of that Congregation, 20*l.* To the poor of the Dutch and French Congregations in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, and Yarmouth, 10*l.* each. To the poor of the several parishes of Laxton, and Kneefal in com. Nottingham, of St. Nicholas at Wade in the isle of Thanet, and of Westham in Essex, 10*l.* each. To John, Earl of Bridgewater, a ring, &c. &c. It is said in a note at the close of the abstract, that the rings and jewels, Sir William having the diamonds ready by him in his house [*inter alia*] at the time of his death, amounted in value to 7500*l.*

[K] *A faithful transcript of the paper.*

May, 1636.

GULIELMUS COURTEN, *verè liberali mercaturæ deditus, et in contractibus averſi periculi affidus; post summæ amplificatam diuturno fortunæ afflatu, rem familiarem; post opes insignitas equeſtris ordinis honore; post liberos utriusque ſexus illuſtriſſimis comitum familiis per conjugia innexos; in præcipiti horum omnium perdendi ac contaminandi discrimine, exceſſit vitâ 27 Maij, 1636. Filio non multo poſt cedente foro; diſtractis tot villis, agrisque paternis ære alieno abuſumptis in claſſem Indicam privatam; immerſis opibus, depreſſâ et abſorptâ oceano claſſe, non ſine errore patris, filijque. Illius, quod ſpēs longas inchoare non dubitaſſet, moriendi præ ætate jam ſermè certus; quodque annis gravis levem illam lubricamque Deam tentare denuò voluiſſet; quaſi illam ſilicerniorum, buſtorum, cinerumque curam gereret, quam tot procantur venuſti juvenes, et quibus auſcultare, ſolennius multo eſt æqui-uſque. Nec filius, ephorive, ſuâ vacabant culpâ; quod fugientem illam perſequi ſtuderint, et in ordinem cogere. Fortunam fortunæ copijs agreſſi ſunt, non immerito offenſam horum omnium temeritati, qui tōtius ex alto in partum, ex partu in agros et poſſeſſiones opimas deduſti, ſalum ruruſus ſolo retrogradi protulerint; quaſi priora beneficia repudiarent, niſi plura ſuggerentur; vel nulla ſatis magna eſſet pecunia, qua impotentis ſenis, juveniſve vota, non adimplerentur.*

daughter

stancy for many years, between four and five thousand seamen; that he built above twenty ships of burthen; was a great insurer, and besides that, a very considerable goldsmith, or banker, for so a banker was then called. It appears likewise, that he was very deeply engaged in a Herring Fishery, which was carried on at one time, with great spirit, and at great expence; but soon after, much to his cost, it came to nothing, in consequence of the supervening dissensions, confusion, and misery that in a soon-succeeding period, extended over all the British dominions.

Before the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph, about the year 1624, two of Sir William Courten's ships, in their return from Fernambuc, happened to discover an uninhabited island, now of considerable importance to Great Britain, to which Sir William first gave the name of Barbadoes. The writer follows here the account given in a capital French work, entitled, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. p. 595. *A Paris*, 1759. 19 tom. 4to. The discovery of this island is represented by the French compiler, as merely accidental; but in several papers in the British Museum, and particularly in the MS. there, mentioned below [H], it is said expressly, that the discovery was the result of a deliberate well-laid scheme, formed on hints from Sir William's correspondents in Zealand, and concerted, no doubt, between him and his brother Sir Peter, probably the intelligencer, for he lived and died in Holland. But be this as it may, Sir William Courten was certainly the first who took possession of this island; the first who gave it the name of Barbadoes which it still retains, and the first who began to settle it, (according to the MS. mentioned above, and quoted below,) in 1625.

On the 25th of Feb. 1627, Sir William Courten obtained the King's Letters Patent, for the colonization of this island, sheltering himself, for whatever reasons, under the Earl of Pembroke: for the deed grants, "The Government of Barbadoes to the Earl of Pembroke, in trust for Sir William Courten, with power to settle a Colony there, according to the laws of England, &c." On the faith of this grant, afterwards superseded by the influence of James, then Earl of Carlisle, though its validity was acknowledged by the first, and generally indeed by all the Lawyers, Sir William sent two ships, with men, arms, ammunition, &c. which soon stored the island with inhabitants, English, Indians, &c. to the number of one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, when one Captain Powel received from Sir William, a commission to remain in the island as Governor, in behalf of Sir William, and the Earl of Pembroke (a). After Sir William had expended 40,000*l.* on this business (*), and been in peaceable possession of the island about three years, James, Earl of Carlisle, claiming on grants said to be prior, though dated July 2, 1627, and April 7, 1628; affirming too, that he was Lord of all the Caribbee islands, lying between 10 and 20 degrees of latitude, under the name of Carlola, gave his commission to Colonel Royden, Henry Hawley, and others, to act in his behalf. The Commissioners of Lord Carlisle arrived at Barbadoes with two ships, in 1629, and having invited the Governor Captain Powel on board, they kept him prisoner, and proceeded to invade and plunder the island. They carried off the factors and servants of Sir William Courten and the Earl of Pembroke, and established the Earl of Carlisle's authority in Barbadoes, which continued there under several Governours, till 1646, when the government of it was vested by lease and contract, in Lord Willoughby of Parham.

Sir William Courten, it is said, had likewise sustained a considerable loss several years before this blow in the West Indies, by the seizure of his merchandize, after the cruel massacre of his factors at Amboyna, in the East Indies. But after all the losses above-mentioned, he was still possessed, in the year 1633, of lands in various parts of this kingdom, to the value, it is affirmed, of 6,500*l. per annum*, besides personal estate rated at 128,000*l.* and very extensive credit. Such were his circumstances; we are told, when he opened a trade to China, and as if he had grown young again, embarked still more deeply, in mercantile expeditions to the East Indies, where he established sundry new forts and factories. In the course of this new trade he lost unfortunately two of his ships richly laden, the Dragon and the Katharine, which were never heard of more; and he himself did not long survive

The Communion plate at Wellingborough, consisting of a pair of silver flaggons, a chalice and cover, gilt, weighing two hundred and fifty-seven ounces, was given 1634 by Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. In the parish register is recorded a thankful acknowledgment of this benefaction under the hands of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants. On every piece of plate is this inscription, *The gift of Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. to the Town Church of Wellingborough, 1674*. On the sides of the flaggons, and on the bottom and cover of the chalice, are engraved his arms. In 1640 he gave the first bell (8).

Thomas Pyndar, Esq; son to the famous Merchant Sir Paul, had for a short time possession of Nerquis-house in Flintshire, by marriage with Miss Wynne, heiress of the place. Their son Paul was created a Baronet about 1666, and dying single the estate devolved by maternal right to Paul Williams, Esq; of Pont y

Gwyddel. On the death of Edward Williams, Esq; 1737, it fell to his sister, now relict of Robert Hyde, Esq; who enjoys it in great hospitality (9).

[H] *The MS. mentioned below.* It (10) is a MS. history of Barbadoes, well written and not ill-penned, by some person who does not seem to have been connected, or acquainted with the Courten-family. The substance of what is mentioned in it relative to this article being given above, nothing more remains to be said of the MS. than that it contains a clear and circumstantial account of the condition, government, productions, and importance of the island at the time it was written, probably a century ago; and that it states Barbadoes, it may be not very exactly, as situated between 13 and 14 degrees of latitude, distant from England about 3430 miles, thirty miles in length, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-five leagues in circumference (11).

this

(a) MSS. Sloan. 2441.
(*) Sir W. expended 28,600*l.* on fortifications, &c. before he had a Patent under the Great Seal of England, in the 3d year of Cha. I. which subjected the Island to the Dominion of the King. *A Brief Narrative*, &c. p. 1.

(8) Bridges's Northamptonshire, II. 153.

(9) Pennant's Wales, 2d Edit. i. 392.
(10) MSS. Sloan. 2441, fol.

(11) See also Ligon's History of Barbadoes.

this loss, which involved him in great debt; for he died in the end of May, or beginning of June 1636, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Church or Church-yard of St. Andrew Hubbard, the ground of both which was, after the fire in 1666, disposed of by the city for public uses, and partly laid into the street, the parish being annexed to St. Mary-Hill. There is an abstract of Sir William Courten's Will in the British Museum (*b*), dated May 22, 1636, from which some extracts are given in a note below [*I*].

(*b*) *Ibid.* 3515. He left all his manors, Wingham Barton in Kent excepted, to his son William and his heirs, and him he appointed his executor and residuary legatee. Among many other charitable legacies, some of which are mentioned below, he bequeathed sixty-four gowns, to sixty-four poor men, according to the number of the years of his life. A Latin paper in the British Museum (*c*) seems to have been intended for his Epitaph, though it censures as folly, the over-ardent spirit of mercantile adventure, for which both Sir William and his son were very remarkable. It is endorsed "May 1636" in the hand-writing of William Courten, Esq; the subject of the following article, and may contain perhaps the genuine opinion and sentiments of the endorser, expressed in his own words at some early period of his life. His care in preserving it, induces at least a suspicion, that it was not very different from his own way of thinking concerning the conduct both of his father and grandfather. This may be mere conjecture: the curious reader may see below a faithful transcript of the paper [*K*].

The accounts of the original partnership, in which a very considerable part of Sir William Courten's estate consisted, remained unsettled at his death; though on the decease of his brother, Sir Peter, their brother-in-law, John Moncy, repaired to Middleburgh, to settle with Peter Boudean-Courten. Before this settlement could be accomplished, Mr. Moncy died at Boudean's house, where he made his Will, as was pretended, leaving Sir William Courten and Peter Boudean-Courten his joint executors.

The validity of this Will was litigated for many years by an Esther White, *alias de Wyer*, who claimed as heiress at law to Mr. John Moncy, and obtained letters of administration to his estate. After a tedious legal process at Middleburgh, and the Hague, this gentlewoman obtained a sentence in 1657, to compel Peter Boudean to produce the books, papers, &c. but the validity of Moncy's will was still left in question, and it does not now appear, in what manner this law-suit terminated.

William Courten, Esq; the son of Sir William, was very early initiated, and very extensively concerned in commercial business. He married Lady Katharine Egerton, tenth

[*I*] *Extracts are given in a note below.* It appears from the abstract above-mentioned, that Sir William Courten's manor of Wingham Barton in Kent, had been settled before the date of his will, on his daughter Mary and her heirs; and for her better preferment, [it seems she was not then married] he left her 2000*l.* To his daughter Anne Devereux, wife of Essex Devereux, Esq; 1000*l.* to his daughter Dame Hester Littleton, wife of Sir Edward Littleton 4000*l.* and to each of her children living at his decease 100*l.* To his sons-in-law Littleton and Devereux, each a diamond ring sealed up, and their names on the boxes. To his daughter-in-law Lady Katharine Courten, a jewel of diamonds sealed up with his seal at arms, and her name thereon. To his nephew Peter Boudean, and to his wife, a ring and a jewel. To Mr. James Pergeus, a ring. To Mr. James Casiere, Merchant, and to his sister Mrs. Andrews, to each of them 50*l.* Ditto to Mr. Casteel, Merchant. Ditto *Flemish* to Mr. Joos. Ditto to John De Batts. To Mr. James Tryon, 100 merks. To Mary Casiere daughter to Mr. John Casiere, 20*l.* To his Book-keeper and Accomptant David Goubard, 100*l.* and 50*l.* per annum so long as he continued in the service of his son William Courten. To his servant Samuel Bonnel, on the same condition, 50*l.* per ann. To Mr. John Moone, 10*l.* To seventeen men-servants and five women-servants of himself, and to all his son's servants, different small sums. To the reparation of St. Paul's, over and above what he had given before for that use, 500 merks. To Christ's Church Hospital and St. Thomas's ditto, 100*l.* a-piece. To the Ministers of St. Gabriel Fan-Church, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Saxby, 20*l.* each; and to the poor of the said parish, 30*l.* To the poor of the Dutch Congregations in London, 50*l.* and to the young Students maintained abroad, at Universities, by the said Congregations, 20*l.* To the poor of St. Mary-Hill, 15*l.* To the Minister of St. Andrew-Hubbard, 5*l.* and to the poor of the parish, 10*l.* To Monf. Marmot, preacher to the French Congregation

in London, 20*l.* and to the poor of that Congregation, 20*l.* To the poor of the Dutch and French Congregations in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, and Yarmouth, 10*l.* each. To the poor of the several parishes of Laxton, and Kneefal in com. Nottingham, of St. Nicholas at Wade in the isle of Thanet, and of Westham in Essex, 10*l.* each. To John, Earl of Bridgewater, a ring, &c. &c. It is said in a note at the close of the abstract, that the rings and jewels, Sir William having the diamonds ready by him in his house [*inter alia*] at the time of his death, amounted in value to 7500*l.*

[*K*] *A faithful transcript of the paper.*

May, 1636.

GULIELMUS COURTEN, verè liberali mercaturæ deditus, et in contrahendis averſi periculi affiduus; poſt ſummæ ampliatam diuturno fortunæ afflatu, rem familiarem; poſt opes inſignitas equeſtris ordinis honore; poſt liberos utriusque ſexus illuſtriſſimis comitum familiis per conjugia innexos; in præcipiti horum omnium perdendi ac contaminandi discrimine, exceſſit vitâ 27 Maij, 1636. Filio non multo poſt cedente foro, diſtractis tot villis, agrisque paternis ære alieno abſumptis in claſſem Indicam privatam; immerſis opibus, depreſſâ et abſorptâ oceano claſſe, non ſine errore patris, filijque. Illius, quod ſpes longas inchoare non dubitaſſet, moriendi præ ætate jam ſermè certus; quodque annis gravis levem illam lubricamque Deam tentare denudè voluiſſet; quaſi illam ſilicerniorum, buſtorum, cinerumque curam gereret, quam tot procantur venuſti juvenes, et quibus auſcultare, ſolennius multo eſt æqui-uſque. Nec filius, ephorive, ſuâ vacabant culpâ; quod fugientem illam perſequi ſtuderint, et in ordinem cogere. Fortunam fortunæ copijs agreſſi ſunt, non immerito offenſam horum omnium temeritati, qui totius ex alto in partum, ex partu in agros et poſſeſſiones opimas deduſti, ſalum rursus ſolo retrogradi protulerint; quaſi priora beneficia repudiarent, niſi plura ſuggerentur; vel nulli ſatis magna eſſet pecunia, qua impotentis ſenis, juveniſve vota, non adimplerentur.

daughter

stancy for many years, between four and five thousand seamen; that he built above twenty ships of burthen; was a great insurer, and besides that, a very considerable goldsmith, or banker, for so a banker was then called. It appears likewise, that he was very deeply engaged in a Herring Fishery, which was carried on at one time, with great spirit, and at great expence; but soon after, much to his cost, it came to nothing, in consequence of the supervening dissensions, confusion, and misery that in a soon-succeeding period, extended over all the British dominions.

Before the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph, about the year 1624, two of Sir William Courten's ships, in their return from Fernambuc, happened to discover an uninhabited island, now of considerable importance to Great Britain, to which Sir William first gave the name of Barbadoes. The writer follows here the account given in a capital French work, entitled, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xv. p. 595. A Paris, 1759. 19 tom. 4to.* The discovery of this island is represented by the French compiler, as merely accidental; but in several papers in the British Museum, and particularly in the MS. there, mentioned below [H], it is said expressly, that the discovery was the result of a deliberate well-laid scheme, formed on hints from Sir William's correspondents in Zealand, and concerted, no doubt, between him and his brother Sir Peter, probably the intelligencer, for he lived and died in Holland. But be this as it may, Sir William Courten was certainly the first who took possession of this island, the first who gave it the name of Barbadoes which it still retains, and the first who began to settle it, (according to the MS. mentioned above, and quoted below,) in 1625.

On the 25th of Feb. 1627, Sir William Courten obtained the King's Letters Patent, for the colonization of this island, sheltering himself, for whatever reasons, under the Earl of Pembroke: for the deed grants, "The Government of Barbadoes to the Earl of Pembroke, in trust for Sir William Courten, with power to settle a Colony there, according to the laws of England, &c." On the faith of this grant, afterwards superseded by the influence of James, then Earl of Carlisle, though its validity was acknowledged by the first, and generally indeed by all the Lawyers, Sir William sent two ships, with men, arms, ammunition, &c. which soon stored the island with inhabitants, English, Indians, &c. to the number of one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, when one Captain Powel received from Sir William, a commission to remain in the island as Governor, in behalf of Sir William, and the Earl of Pembroke (a). After Sir William had expended 40,000*l.* on this business (*), and been in peaceable possession of the island about three years, James, Earl of Carlisle, claiming on grants said to be prior, though dated July 2, 1627, and April 7, 1628; affirming too, that he was Lord of all the Caribbee islands, lying between 10 and 20 degrees of latitude, under the name of Carliola, gave his commission to Colonel Royden, Henry Hawley, and others, to act in his behalf. The Commissioners of Lord Carlisle arrived at Barbadoes with two ships, in 1629, and having invited the Governor Captain Powel on board, they kept him prisoner, and proceeded to invade and plunder the island. They carried off the factors and servants of Sir William Courten and the Earl of Pembroke, and established the Earl of Carlisle's authority in Barbadoes, which continued there under several Governours, till 1646, when the government of it was vested by lease and contract, in Lord Willoughby of Parham.

Sir William Courten, it is said, had likewise sustained a considerable loss several years before this blow in the West Indies, by the seizure of his merchandize, after the cruel massacre of his factors at Amboyna, in the East Indies. But after all the losses above-mentioned, he was still possessed, in the year 1633, of lands in various parts of this kingdom, to the value, it is affirmed, of 6,500*l. per annum*, besides personal estate rated at 128,000*l.* and very extensive credit. Such were his circumstances, we are told, when he opened a trade to China, and as if he had grown young again, embarked still more deeply, in mercantile expeditions to the East Indies, where he established sundry new forts and factories. In the course of this new trade he lost unfortunately two of his ships richly laden, the Dragon and the Katharine, which were never heard of more; and he himself did not long survive

The Communion plate at Wellingborough, consisting of a pair of silver flaggons, a chalice and cover, gilt, weighing two hundred and fifty-seven ounces, was given 1634 by Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. In the parish register is recorded a thankful acknowledgment of this benefaction under the hands of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants. On every piece of plate is this inscription, *The gift of Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. to the Town Church of Wellingborough, 1674.* On the sides of the flaggons, and on the bottom and cover of the chalice, are engraved his arms. In 1640 he gave the first bell (8).

Thomas Pyndar, Esq; son to the famous Merchant Sir Paul, had for a short time possession of Nerquis-house in Flintshire, by marriage with Miss Wynne, heiress of the place. Their son Paul was created a Baronet about 1666, and dying single the estate devolved by maternal right to Paul Williams, Esq; of Pont y

Gwyddel. On the death of Edward Williams, Esq; 1737, it fell to his sister, now relict of Robert Hyde, Esq; who enjoys it in great hospitality (9).

[H] *The MS. mentioned below.* It (10) is a MS. history of Barbadoes, well written and not ill-penned, by some person who does not seem to have been connected, or acquainted with the Courten-family. The substance of what is mentioned in it relative to this article being given above, nothing more remains to be said of the MS. than that it contains a clear and circumstantial account of the condition, government, productions, and importance of the island at the time it was written, probably a century ago; and that it states Barbadoes, it may be not very exactly, as situated between 13 and 14 degrees of latitude, distant from England about 3430 miles, thirty miles in length, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-five leagues in circumference (11).

(9) Pennant's Wales, 2d Edit. i. 392.
(10) MSS. Sloan, 2441, fol.

(11) See also Ligon's History of Barbadoes.

this

(a) MSS. Sloan, 2441.
(*) Sir W. expended 28,600*l.* on fortifications, &c. before he had a Patent under the Great Seal of England, in the 3d year of Cha. I. which subjected the Island to the Dominion of the King. A Brief Narrative, &c. p. 1.

(8) Bridges's Northamptonshire, II. 153.

this loss, which involved him in great debt; for he died in the end of May, or beginning of June 1636, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Church or Church-yard of St. Andrew Hubbard, the ground of both which was, after the fire in 1666, disposed of by the city for public uses, and partly laid into the street, the parish being annexed to St. Mary-Hill. There is an abstract of Sir William Courten's Will in the British Museum (*b*), dated May 22, 1636, from which some extracts are given in a note below [*I*].

(*b*) *Ibid.* 3515. He left all his manors, Wingham Barton in Kent excepted, to his son William and his heirs, and him he appointed his executor and residuary legatee. Among many other charitable legacies, some of which are mentioned below, he bequeathed sixty-four gowns, to sixty-four poor men, according to the number of the years of his life. A Latin paper in the British Museum (*c*) seems to have been intended for his Epitaph, though it censures as folly, the over-ardent spirit of mercantile adventure, for which both Sir William and his son were very remarkable. It is endorsed "May 1636" in the hand-writing of William Courten, Esq; the subject of the following article, and may contain perhaps the genuine opinion and sentiments of the endorser, expressed in his own words at some early period of his life. His care in preserving it, induces at least a suspicion, that it was not very different from his own way of thinking concerning the conduct both of his father and grandfather. This may be mere conjecture: the curious reader may see below a faithful transcript of the paper [*K*].

(*c*) MSS. Sloan.
3515.

The accounts of the original partnership, in which a very considerable part of Sir William Courten's estate consisted, remained unsettled at his death; though on the decease of his brother, Sir Peter, their brother-in-law, John Moncy, repaired to Middleburgh, to settle with Peter Boudean-Courten. Before this settlement could be accomplished, Mr. Moncy died at Boudean's house, where he made his Will, as was pretended, leaving Sir William Courten and Peter Boudean-Courten his joint executors.

The validity of this Will was litigated for many years by an Esther White, *alias de Wyer*, who claimed as heiress at law to Mr. John Moncy, and obtained letters of administration to his estate. After a tedious legal process at Middleburgh, and the Hague, this gentlewoman obtained a sentence in 1657, to compel Peter Boudean to produce the books, papers, &c. but the validity of Moncy's will was still left in question, and it does not now appear, in what manner this law-suit terminated.

William Courten, Esq; the son of Sir William, was very early initiated, and very extensively concerned in commercial business. He married Lady Katharine Egerton, tenth

[*I*] *Extracts are given in a note below.* It appears from the abstract above-mentioned, that Sir William Courten's manor of Wingham Barton in Kent, had been settled before the date of his will, on his daughter Mary and her heirs; and for her better preferment, [it seems she was not then married] he left her 2000*l.* To his daughter Anne Devereux, wife of Essex Devereux, Esq; 1000*l.* to his daughter Dame Hester Littleton, wife of Sir Edward Littleton 4000*l.* and to each of her children living at his decease 100*l.* To his sons-in-law Littleton and Devereux, each a diamond ring sealed up, and their names on the boxes. To his daughter-in-law Lady Katharine Courten, a jewel of diamonds sealed up with his seal at arms, and her name thereon. To his nephew Peter Boudean, and to his wife, a ring and a jewel. To Mr. James Pergehs, a ring. To Mr. James Casiere, Merchant, and to his sister Mrs. Andrews, to each of them 50*l.* Ditto to Mr. Casteel, Merchant. Ditto *Flemish* to Mr. Joos. Ditto to John De Batts. To Mr. James Tryon, 100 merks. To Mary Casiere daughter to Mr. John Casiere, 20*l.* To his Book-keeper and Accomptant David Goubard, 100*l.* and 50*l.* per annum so long as he continued in the service of his son William Courten. To his servant Samuel Bonnel, on the same condition, 50*l.* per ann. To Mr. John Moone, 10*l.* To seventeen men-servants and five women-servants of himself, and to all his son's servants, different small sums. To the reparation of St. Paul's, over and above what he had given before for that use, 500 merks. To Christ's Church Hospital and St. Thomas's ditto, 100*l.* a-piece. To the Ministers of St. Gabriel Fan-Church, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Saxby, 20*l.* each; and to the poor of the said parish, 30*l.* To the poor of the Dutch Congregations in London, 50*l.* and to the young Students maintained abroad, at Universities, by the said Congregations, 20*l.* To the poor of St. Mary-Hill, 15*l.* To the Minister of St. Andrew-Hubbard, 5*l.* and to the poor of the parish, 10*l.* To Monf. Marmot, preacher to the French Congregation

in London, 20*l.* and to the poor of that Congregation, 20*l.* To the poor of the Dutch and French Congregations in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, and Yarmouth, 10*l.* each. To the poor of the several parishes of Laxton, and Kneefal in com. Nottingham, of St. Nicholas at Wade in the isle of Thanet, and of Westham in Essex, 10*l.* each. To John, Earl of Bridgewater, a ring, &c. &c. It is said in a note at the close of the abstract, that the rings and jewels, Sir William having the diamonds ready by him in his house [*inter alia*] at the time of his death, amounted in value to 7500*l.*

[*K*] *A faithful transcript of the paper.*

May, 1636.

GULIELMUS COURTEN, verè liberali mercaturæ deditus, et in contractibus averse periculi assiduus; post summè amplificatam diuturno fortunæ afflatu, rem familiarem; post opes insignitas equestri ordinis honore; post liberos utriusque sexus illustrissimis comitum familiis per conjugia innexos; in præcipiti horum omnium perdendi ac contaminandi discrimine, excessit vitâ 27 Maij, 1636. Filio non multo post cedente foro; distractis tot villis, agrisque paternis ære alieno absumptis in classem Indicam privatam; immerfis opibus, depressâ et absorptâ oceano classe, non sine errore patris, filijque. Illius, quod spes longas inchoare non dubitasset, moriendi præ ætate jam fermè certus; quodque annis gravis levem illam lubricamque Deam tentare denuò voluisset; quasi illam silicerniorum, bustorum, cinerumque curam gereret, quam tot procantur venusti juvenes, et quibus auscultare, solennius multo est æquusque. Nec filius, ephorive, suâ vacabant culpâ; quod fugientem illam persequi studuerint, et in ordinem cogere. Fortunam fortunæ copijs aggressi sunt, non immerito offensam horum omnium temeritati, qui totius ex alto in partum, ex partu in agros et possessiones opimas deducti, salum rursus solo retrogradi protulerint; quasi priora beneficia repudiarent, nisi plura suggererentur; vel nulla satis magna esset pecunia, qua impotentis senis, juvenisve vota, non adimplerentur.

daughter

stancy for many years, between four and five thousand seamen; that he built above twenty ships of burthen; was a great insurer, and besides that, a very considerable goldsmith, or banker, for so a banker was then called. It appears likewise, that he was very deeply engaged in a Herring Fishery, which was carried on at one time, with great spirit, and at great expence; but soon after, much to his cost, it came to nothing, in consequence of the supervening dissensions, confusion, and misery that in a soon-succeeding period, extended over all the British dominions.

Before the time alluded to in the preceding paragraph, about the year 1624, two of Sir William Courten's ships, in their return from Fernambuc, happened to discover an uninhabited island, now of considerable importance to Great Britain, to which Sir William first gave the name of Barbadoes. The writer follows here the account given in a capital French work, entitled, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. xv. p. 595. *A Paris*, 1759. 19 tom. 4to. The discovery of this island is represented by the French compiler, as merely accidental; but in several papers in the British Museum, and particularly in the MS. there, mentioned below [H], it is said expressly, that the discovery was the result of a deliberate well-laid scheme, formed on hints from Sir William's correspondents in Zealand, and concerted, no doubt, between him and his brother Sir Peter, probably the intelligencer, for he lived and died in Holland. But be this as it may, Sir William Courten was certainly the first who took possession of this island, the first who gave it the name of Barbadoes which it still retains, and the first who began to settle it, (according to the MS. mentioned above, and quoted below,) in 1625.

On the 25th of Feb. 1627, Sir William Courten obtained the King's Letters Patent, for the colonization of this island, sheltering himself, for whatever reasons, under the Earl of Pembroke: for the deed grants, "The Government of Barbadoes to the Earl of Pembroke, in trust for Sir William Courten, with power to settle a Colony there, according to the laws of England, &c." On the faith of this grant, afterwards superseded by the influence of James, then Earl of Carlisle, though its validity was acknowledged by the first, and generally indeed by all the Lawyers, Sir William sent two ships, with men, arms, ammunition, &c. which soon stored the island with inhabitants, English, Indians, &c. to the number of one thousand, eight hundred and fifty, when one Captain Powel received from Sir William, a commission to remain in the island as Governor, in behalf of Sir William, and the Earl of Pembroke (a). After Sir William had expended 40,000*l.* on this business (*), and been in peaceable possession of the island about three years, James, Earl of Carlisle, claiming on grants said to be prior, though dated July 2, 1627, and April 7, 1628; affirming too, that he was Lord of all the Caribbee islands, lying between 10 and 20 degrees of latitude, under the name of Carliola, gave his commission to Colonel Royden, Henry Hawley, and others, to act in his behalf. The Commissioners of Lord Carlisle arrived at Barbadoes with two ships, in 1629, and having invited the Governor Captain Powel on board, they kept him prisoner, and proceeded to invade and plunder the island. They carried off the factors and servants of Sir William Courten and the Earl of Pembroke, and established the Earl of Carlisle's authority in Barbadoes, which continued there under several Governours, till 1646, when the government of it was vested by lease and contract, in Lord Willoughby of Parham.

Sir William Courten, it is said, had likewise sustained a considerable loss several years before this blow in the West Indies, by the seizure of his merchandize, after the cruel massacre of his factors at Amboyna, in the East Indies. But after all the losses above-mentioned, he was still possessed, in the year 1633, of lands in various parts of this kingdom, to the value, it is affirmed, of 6,500*l. per annum*, besides personal estate rated at 128,000*l.* and very extensive credit. Such were his circumstances, we are told, when he opened a trade to China, and as if he had grown young again, embarked still more deeply, in mercantile expeditions to the East Indies, where he established sundry new forts and factories. In the course of this new trade he lost unfortunately two of his ships richly laden, the Dragon and the Katharine, which were never heard of more; and he himself did not long survive

The Communion plate at Wellingborough, consisting of a pair of silver flaggons, a chalice and cover, gilt, weighing two hundred and fifty-seven ounces, was given 1634 by Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. In the parish register is recorded a thankful acknowledgment of this benefaction under the hands of the Vicar, Churchwardens, and principal inhabitants. On every piece of plate is this inscription, *The gift of Sir Paul Pyndar, Knt. to the Town Church of Wellingborough, 1674*. On the sides of the flaggons, and on the bottom and cover of the chalice, are engraved his arms. In 1640 he gave the first bell (8).

Thomas Pyndar, Esq; son to the famous Merchant Sir Paul, had for a short time possession of Nerquis-house in Flintshire, by marriage with Miss Wynne, heiress of the place. Their son Paul was created a Baronet about 1666, and dying single the estate devolved by maternal right to Paul Williams, Esq; of Pont y

Gwyddel. On the death of Edward Williams, Esq; 1737, it fell to his sister, now relict of Robert Hyde, Esq; who enjoys it in great hospitality (9).

[H] *The MS. mentioned below.* It (10) is a MS. history of Barbadoes, well written and not ill-penned, by some person who does not seem to have been connected, or acquainted with the Courten-family. The substance of what is mentioned in it relative to this article being given above, nothing more remains to be said of the MS. than that it contains a clear and circumstantial account of the condition, government, productions, and importance of the island at the time it was written, probably a century ago; and that it states Barbadoes, it may be not very exactly, as situated between 13 and 14 degrees of latitude, distant from England about 3430 miles, thirty miles in length, fourteen in breadth, and twenty-five leagues in circumference (11).

this

(a) MSS. Sloan. 2441.
(*) Sir W. expended 28,600*l.* on fortifications, &c. before he had a Patent under the Great Seal of England, in the 3d year of Cha. I. which subjected the Island to the Dominion of the King. *A Brief Narrative*, &c. p. 1.

(8) Bridges's Northamptonshire, II. 153.

(9) Pennant's Wales, 2d Edit. i. 392.
(10) MSS. Sloan. 2441, fol.

(11) See also Ligon's History of Barbadoes.

this loss, which involved him in great debt; for he died in the end of May, or beginning of June 1636, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the Church or Church-yard of St. Andrew Hubbard, the ground of both which was, after the fire in 1666, disposed of by the city for public uses, and partly laid into the street, the parish being annexed to St. Mary-Hill. There is an abstract of Sir William Courten's Will in the British Museum (*b*), dated May 22, 1636, from which some extracts are given in a note below [*I*].

(*b*) *Ibid.* 3515. He left all his manors, Wingham Barton in Kent excepted, to his son William and his heirs, and him he appointed his executor and residuary legatee. Among many other charitable legacies, some of which are mentioned below, he bequeathed sixty-four gowns, to sixty-four poor men, according to the number of the years of his life. A Latin paper in the British Museum (*c*) seems to have been intended for his Epitaph, though it censures as folly, the over-ardent spirit of mercantile adventure, for which both Sir William and his son were very remarkable. It is endorsed "May 1636" in the hand-writing of William Courten, Esq; the subject of the following article, and may contain perhaps the genuine opinion and sentiments of the endorser, expressed in his own words at some early period of his life. His care in preserving it, induces at least a suspicion, that it was not very different from his own way of thinking concerning the conduct both of his father and grandfather. This may be mere conjecture: the curious reader may see below a faithful transcript of the paper [*K*].

(*c*) MSS. Sloan.
3515.

The accounts of the original partnership, in which a very considerable part of Sir William Courten's estate consisted, remained unsettled at his death; though on the decease of his brother, Sir Peter, their brother-in-law, John Moncy, repaired to Middleburgh, to settle with Peter Boudean-Courten. Before this settlement could be accomplished, Mr. Moncy died at Boudean's house, where he made his Will, as was pretended, leaving Sir William Courten and Peter Boudean-Courten his joint executors.

The validity of this Will was litigated for many years by an Esther White, *alias de Wyer*, who claimed as heiress at law to Mr. John Moncy, and obtained letters of administration to his estate. After a tedious legal process at Middleburgh, and the Hague, this gentlewoman obtained a sentence in 1657, to compel Peter Boudean to produce the books, papers, &c. but the validity of Moncy's will was still left in question, and it does not now appear, in what manner this law-suit terminated.

William Courten, Esq; the son of Sir William, was very early initiated, and very extensively concerned in commercial business. He married Lady Katharine Egerton, tenth

[*I*] *Extracts are given in a note below.* It appears from the abstract above-mentioned, that Sir William Courten's manor of Wingham Barton in Kent, had been settled before the date of his will, on his daughter Mary and her heirs; and for her better preferment, [it seems she was not then married] he left her 2000*l*. To his daughter Anne Devereux, wife of Essex Devereux, Esq; 1000*l*. to his daughter Dame Hester Littleton, wife of Sir Edward Littleton 4000*l*. and to each of her children living at his decease 100*l*. To his sons-in-law Littleton and Devereux, each a diamond ring sealed up, and their names on the boxes. To his daughter-in-law Lady Katharine Courten, a jewel of diamonds sealed up with his seal at arms, and her name thereon. To his nephew Peter Boudean, and to his wife, a ring and a jewel. To Mr. James Pergehs, a ring. To Mr. James Casiere, Merchant, and to his sister Mrs. Andrews, to each of them 50*l*. Ditto to Mr. Casteel, Merchant. Ditto *Flemish* to Mr. Joos. Ditto to John De Batts. To Mr. James Tryon, 100 merks. To Mary Casiere daughter to Mr. John Casiere, 20*l*. To his Book-keeper and Accomptant David Goubard, 100*l*. and 50*l*. per annum so long as he continued in the service of his son William Courten. To his servant Samuel Bonnel, on the same condition, 50*l*. per ann. To Mr. John Moone, 10*l*. To seventeen men-servants and five women-servants of himself, and to all his son's servants, different small sums. To the reparation of St. Paul's, over and above what he had given before for that use, 500 merks. To Christ's Church Hospital and St. Thomas's ditto, 100*l*. a-piece. To the Ministers of St. Gabriel Fan-Church, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Saxby, 20*l*. each; and to the poor of the said parish, 30*l*. To the poor of the Dutch Congregations in London, 50*l*. and to the young Students maintained abroad, at Universities, by the said Congregations, 20*l*. To the poor of St. Mary-Hill, 15*l*. To the Minister of St. Andrew-Hubbard, 5*l*. and to the poor of the parish, 10*l*. To Monf. Marmot, preacher to the French Congregation

in London, 20*l*. and to the poor of that Congregation, 20*l*. To the poor of the Dutch and French Congregations in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, and Yarmouth, 10*l*. each. To the poor of the several parishes of Laxton, and Kneefal in com. Nottingham, of St. Nicholas at Wade in the isle of Thanet, and of Westham in Essex, 10*l*. each. To John, Earl of Bridgewater, a ring, &c. &c. It is said in a note at the close of the abstract, that the rings and jewels, Sir William having the diamonds ready by him in his house [*inter alia*] at the time of his death, amounted in value to 7500*l*.

[*K*] *A faithful transcript of the paper.*

May, 1636.

GULIELMUS COURTEN, verè liberali mercaturæ deditus, et in contractibus averse periculi assiduus; post summè amplificatam diuturno fortunæ afflatu, rem familiarem; post opes insignitas equestris ordinis honore; post liberos utriusque sexus illustrissimis comitum familiis per conjugia innexos; in præcipiti horum omnium perdendi ac contaminandi discrimine, excessit vitâ 27 Maij, 1636. Filio non multo post cedente foro; distractis tot villis, agrisque paternis ære alieno absumptis in classem Indicam privatam; immerfis opibus, depressâ et absorptâ oceano classe, non sine errore patris, filijque. Illius, quod spes longas inchoare non dubitasset, moriendi præ ætate jam fermè certus; quodque annis gravis levem illam lubricamque Deam tentare denuò voluisset; quasi illam silicerniorum, bustorum, cinerumque curam gereret, quam tot procantur venusti juvenes, et quibus auscultare, solennius multo est æquiusque. Nec filius, ephorive, suâ vacabant culpâ; quod fugientem illam persequi studuerint, et in ordinem cogere. Fortunam fortunæ copijs aggressi sunt, non immerito offensam horum omnium temeritati, qui totius ex alto in partum, ex partu in agros et possessiones opimas deducti, salum rursus solo retrogradi protulerint; quasi priora beneficia repudiarent, nisi plura suggererentur; vel nulla satis magna esset pecunia, qua impotentis senis, juvenisve vota, non adimplerentur.

daughter

daughter of John, first Earl of Bridgewater, by whom he had issue, one son, named William, and one daughter, called Katharine, and afterwards by her marriage Mrs. Yongs. With the assistance, it seems, and additional credit of his father-in-law the Earl of Bridgewater, William Courten, in 1641, equipped two ships, at great expence, the Bona Esperanza, and the Henry Bonadventure, which he sent to the East Indies, to prosecute the trade, and support the establishment for trade, which his father, Sir William, had settled there. This was his decisive effort, and circumstanced as he then was, a very hazardous and desperate adventure, in which he was unfortunate; for his ships, on their voyage, were way-laid, seized, and plundered by the Dutch, who in this iniquitous way ruined the son, after having attempted, in like manner, to ruin his father about twenty years before, by the butchery of his agents, and the seizure of his property at Amboyna.

That crafty people saw and seized the instant of a storm bursting just then on Britain, to accomplish a darling point of their mercenary policy, and succeeded but too well in stopping for a time the trade of this nation to China, Persia, and the East Indies. Moreover, to fill up the measure of their iniquity and of their infamy, when, nearly thirty years after, the un-recompenced sufferers of, and by this much-injured family, protested their wrongs, and in a legal manner reclaimed the property of which they had been robbed and pilfered, soliciting the support of their magistrates in the course of law; the States permitted their thieves and robbers to plead openly in arrest of Judgment, a general article in the Treaty of Breda, that consigns to oblivion, all national offences, injuries, losses and damages, &c. antecedent to its ratification in 1667, as a happy release from all obligations on Dutchmen to act honestly with Englishmen. The States went farther, adopted this strange construction of the article, in contradiction to the common sense of words, and positively interdicted all their Courts of Judicature from doing justice to the English plaintiffs, or giving verdicts contrary to this scandalous interpretation of an article in a Treaty, where the subjects of complaint were never considered, or even mentioned (d). On this shallow pretext, did the High and Mighty States of Holland, regardless of the general faith of nations, screen and justify their subjects in flagrant crimes, and prohibit their restitution of private property invaded by fraud and violence, on a principle subversive of the commerce by which they subsist, and utterly destructive of all civil society.

(d) This is affirmed on the authority of a printed tract of above 134 pages in folio, entitled, "Fraud and Oppression detected and arraigned," a fragment of which is bound up in MSS. Sloan. 3515. fol.

Here ended the grandeur and opulence of a family of intelligent, enterprising, and wealthy Merchants, who rose and stood unrivalled by individuals, but were, with all their means and skill, unable to withstand the persistent opposition of a whole mercantile nation, accustomed to determine its right by its power, to whose ignoble jealousy and sinister arts, they fell at last a shameful sacrifice. The Dragon and the Katharine of Sir William Courten were most probably intercepted, and privately destroyed by the same left-handed wisdom which audaciously seized the Bona Speranza and Henry Bonadventure of his son, and thereby gave the finishing blow to the trade of the Courten family; for by this last disaster, their forts and factories in the East Indies were totally ruined, and the damage they immediately sustained, exclusive of consequential losses, is estimated in several memorials at more than 200,000*l.* the Bona Speranza being rated at 75,000*l.* the Henry Bonadventure at 150,000*l.* and the insurance upon them at 7,000*l.* more.

The Earl of Bridgewater, who had been the principal collateral security for his son-in-law, when called upon, absolutely refused to fulfil the obligations he had come under on this occasion. His Lordship said and swore, "that he would not fry in hell for his own debts, for the discharge of which he had set apart some lands; but that he would pay none of William Courten's debts, in whose estate he said he had been deceived." Nevertheless both this Earl, and his son after him, if the writer does not mis-remember, were put to great trouble and expence on this account.

That part of the estate of the Courten-family which now probably was his all, William Courten could neither realize, nor ascertain. Overpowered, therefore, with his father Sir William's debts, and his own, and burthened with large sums at interest, he became insolvent in 1643, when he absented himself from the administration of his paternal estate, and withdrew into Italy, leaving the many and great claims upon him unsatisfied, and the accounts of the original family-partnership still unsettled. He lived abroad entirely, for the last twelve years of his life, and died at Florence in 1655 intestate, or at least, it was afterwards thought prudent to say so.

It seems there was no statute of bankruptcy taken out against him on his retirement from England, and the estates of the family continued, for years at least, unsequestered. His wife, Lady Katharine, who remained here with her children three full years after her husband went abroad, appears to have been entrusted with the sole management of his affairs, and in the administration of the estates of the family.

In 1646, this Lady employed John Moone, and David Gubard, both remembered in Sir William Courten's Will, as her Agents or Attornies, to settle every thing with Peter Boudean, who persisted dishonestly in evading the settlement, and having, by whatever means, got possession of some of Sir William Courten's books and papers, absolutely refused to re-deliver them, availing himself of the disorder and iniquity of the times.

It may be, that in some instances Lady Katharine's interest was neglected, perhaps betrayed, by the people she employed; but with all the integrity and activity in her service imaginable, it is not likely that her agents could have succeeded effectually, in bringing one so watchful and so artful as Boudean was, to settle, and close the accounts of the partnership. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that Boudean, to protract time and shuffle off the final settlement, might send Lady Katharine occasional remittances, for the support of her husband abroad, and the supply of her own and her children's necessities. If this was not done, at any rate she might, with whatever disadvantage, take up monies on exchange, and give obligations for the repayment of them on the co-partnership. It is certainly said, that Sir William Courten did this, the accounts not having been liquidated for fourteen years before his death. It is said, that "the great bulk of Sir William Courten's lordships and lands, excepting those in the counties of Worcester and Gloucester, were sold outright by William Courten his son and heir, to William Purpoint, Esq; Mr. Daniel Harvey, the Earl of Kent, and others (e)."

(e) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. 4to. 1683. By Tho. Browne, Gent. p. 39.

It does not appear, from any thing this writer has seen, in what year Lady Katharine died; nor is he authorized to say, that she continued till her death in the sole management of her husband's affairs, and the administration of the remaining estates of his family. Certainly, in 1660, King Charles II. granted Letters-Patent of Administration to all the estates of Sir William Courten and his son, in favour of one George Carew, Esq; whilst William, the son of William Courten, Esq; was still a minor, wanting then three years of being of age, and residing at that time beyond sea.

It may be proper to close here this article with some account of Carew, who, in a way apparently not very reputable, probably enriched himself from the wrecks of a very opulent family. A certificate signed Arlington, if printed from a genuine original, proves that Geo. Carew was one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Chamber. He was likewise a Member of the Society of Gray's-Inn, as appears from a printed copy of a certificate of the reader and benchers, dated 1674-5, in the 27th of Charles II. and signed Thomas Holt Lector, Robert Raworth, John Otway, and Francis Luttrell. Thomas Browne, who says he was concerned for Mr. George Carew twenty years and upwards in the affairs between him, as an Assignee of Sir William Courten's estates, and afterwards Administrator of his goods, says, that Carew "was in his juvenile years bred some time in the city of London; that in 1652, he was admitted of Gray's-Inn, where he was a great Student in the common law of England for seven years together after his admittance."

(f) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. ut *supra*, p. 39.

(f) Another certificate likewise printed, and ascribed to somebody whose name is forgotten, but who is styled Steward to Mr. Carew, attests, that George Carew's estates in Suffolk, Essex, London, Dorsetshire and Surrey, amounted to 530*l.* *per annum*. In the papers relative to the Courten-family in the British Museum, this person is commonly called George Carew of Gray's-Inn, and sometimes George Carew of Richmond, Esq.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 18, 19. and p. 4. and Dedication.

"In 1659, George Carew bought nine cottages at Richmond, *alias* West-Sheene, in Surrey, which he demolished as being receptacles for poor inhabitants burthensome to the parish; and in the room of them built three fair brick-houses, with coach houses, barns, stables and out-buildings, whereby, it is said, he increased the King's revenue in hearth-money, and the rents and profits of James, Duke of York, at an expence to himself of 8000*l.* sterling and upwards." This estate fell, it is said, to Sir James Butler in 1682 (g). Carew had likewise eight houses in the parish of St. Andrew in Holbourn, of about the value of 1400*l.* which he mortgaged, with his Richmond estate, and another he had in Worcestershire, to take in several assignments on the ships destroyed by the Dutch, from Sir William Powell and Sir Peter Vanlore, to unite all interests, as it is said, but in fact, it seems, to accomplish the scheme in which he succeeded, viz. to get Letters of Administration, to the estates and goods, both of Sir William Courten, and of Sir Paul Pyndar, whose administrator Sir William Powell then was; though it is said in the Dedication of the Tract here referred to, "that Providence had cast this administration on Carew, in right of his wife, and other his relations." This was done in, or soon after the year 1665; for in the month of May, in that year, he obtained *Letters of Redress* on the East India Company of the Netherlands, for the sum of 151,612*l.* with costs and charges, to continue effectual in law, till full satisfaction was made for all losses, &c. or a composition took place between the Grantees and the Company above-mentioned.

From two papers transcribed into the article immediately following this, it is evident, that there was a Mr. Carew, who was a very considerable debtor to William Courten the last man of that name and family, and at one time his Agent and Solicitor. It is not clear to the compiler of this article, that this George Carew, Esq; was either a real creditor, or a rightful agent for the creditors of this family; but it appears, that he bought up debts and claims on the estates, and that, under a pretext of having an interest himself in right of his wife, and a zealous concern for the interests of other creditors, he actually worked himself into their business, and obtained at last, as has been said, Letters of Administration to the estates of the Courten family in the year 1660, and likewise in 1665 or 1666, to the estates, &c. of Sir Paul Pyndar.

In 1661, George Carew, Esq; went to work on the strength of his Letters of Administration to the goods of Sir William Courten, and commenced a legal process in Holland, against Peter Boudean-Courten, who died, it seems, rich, as may be seen below [L], in or about the year 1662, leaving his sons and daughters responsible for the still undecided claims on the partnership of the Courtens and Moncy, from their joint stock of which their father had so unjustly kept possession, and from the real and personal estates which he had left to a great amount among his children. The legal processes were now renewed, and claims of justice re-instituted in sundry Courts of Holland, in the name of George Carew, Esq; administrator to the estates of Sir William Courten, &c. against John and Peter Boudeans and the other sons and daughters of Peter Boudean deceased. They seem to have inherited the disposition and craft with the wealth of their father; for one James Bovey, who had been servant and book-keeper to Mr. Moncy, being on the death of his master employed by William Courten, Esq; and afterwards vested with letters of procuration from George Carew, Esq; was arrested on a great feigned action, and confined in prison for several years, to prevent his prosecution of the suit, and to retard the course of justice. Its decisions in that country, to judge of them by this suit against the Boudeans, seem to have been sufficiently deliberate; for whether it was owing to the *law's delay*, or to the influence and ingenuity of the defendants, it certainly was still in litigation in the year 1674, and this writer is yet to learn in what way, or at what time it terminated. Since this was written, and after part of the article was printed, much new information has been obtained from a curious and scarce Tract, obligingly communicated by Isaac Reed, Esq. It is entitled "*Vox Veritatis*, or a brief abstract of the case between George Carew, Esq; Administrator of the goods and chattels of Sir William Courten, and Sir P. Pyndar, Knts. deceased, &c. and the East-India Company of the Neitherlands, with other inhabitants of Amsterdam and Middleburgh, &c. by Thomas Browne, Gent. dedicated to his much honoured friends, the creditors and legatees of Sir William Courten, Sir P. Pyndar, and William Courten, Esq; deceased." 60 pages, &c. 4to. 1683.

(b) *Vox Veritatis*, &c.

In this pamphlet, it is said (b), that George Carew, in or about the year 1672, with a letter in his custody from King Charles II. to his Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries in Holland, the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, with a Passport likewise from the States Commissioners at Hampton Court, was actually apprehended with his two servants, as spies and enemies to Holland, and committed close prisoners to the Geuangen Port, without access, where they continued for the space of two and twenty months. It is added, (i) that G. Carew "was condemned to die, by way of retortion for Advocate Sasse, prisoner then in the Tower of London, but the executions of both were suspended until farther order, soe that at the end of the war, they were released upon equal terms."

(i) *Ibid. ut supra.*

It appears from this new source of information, that the litigation was not yet terminated at the date of its publication in 1683; and that in the preceding year, 1682, G. Carew, being determined not to surrender the Letters of Reprisals which he had obtained in 1665, had, in contempt of the High Court of Chancery, which had declared them null and void, and issued its orders to apprehend him, fled into France, and taken up his residence at Paris, where, says the writer, "he now resolves to eat his bread, until the people of England are come to their right wits and senses again(k)." A paragraph of a French letter, from a French Lawyer, *François Perenott*, written at this period, and dated *A Paris ce 16 Dec. 1682*, being very curious, is given for the reader's amusement, in a note below [M].

(k) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. p. 37.

The

[L] *Who died, it seems, rich, as may be seen below.* Peter Boudean-Courten left, among his daughters at his death, according to the phraseology of the Netherlands, "nine ton of gold," that is, as explained in the paper that contains the information, 90,000l. sterling.

[M] *Given for the reader's amusement in a note below.*

"MONSIEUR,

"J'ay reçu la votre avec copie du proces de Scire facias, au nom du Roy, & la reponse à icelle tous deux en Latin, & l'ordre de la Chancellerie ensuivie dattée le 26 de May, 1682, & aye auprès de moy la copie des Lettres Patentes pour Reprises faillies contre les Hollandois, pour 151,612 livres sterlins, traduité en Francois. J'ay consulte cette affaire avec les premieres Conseillers du Parlement de Paris, lesquels sont d'avis qu'il est contre la justice naturelle & la constitution du Gouvernement d'Angleterre, que la même Cour de Judicature d'où les Lettres Patentes sont issies, les pourroit abroger & anuller, sans premierement faire satisfaction aux personnes injuriées ou endomagées, & ils tiennent pour

"fort deshonorable à aucun Prince, ou sujets, de chercher relief contre leur propres actes, lesquels sont en leur propre pouvoir d'accomplir; LE ROY de FRANCE, vendroit son lit de dessous soy, plutôt que de courir le deshonneur & reproche d'une telle action, si respectant contre tous Princes Soverains, &c (12)."

(12) *Vox Veritatis* &c. p. 37, and 38.

The King's Attorney, Solicitor, and Counsel pleaded in the Court of Chancery, that the Letters of Reprisals granted to Sir Edmund Turner, G. Carew, &c. in May 1665, were disannulled by an express article in the Treaty of Breda in 1667. The Chancellors, Hide and Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, acquiesced in this opinion; and it was accordingly decreed in the Court of Chancery that the Letters were void, that they ought to be resigned, and the record of them erased. This order of the Court was made absolute Feb. 27, 1682, when tip-staves and messengers being sent from day to day to apprehend Carew, as it is said, dead or alive, his personal liberty became insecure, and he fled the kingdom.

Carew's pleas against the disannulment or surrender of the Letters of Reprisals granted to him and others in 1665 were specious and strong. He pleaded, that his name was only used in trust; that he never

per-

The legal demands of the Courten-family on Holland and Zealand were very serious things, and seem to have required, and indeed to have justified, mature consideration. Its

personally acted in execution of the powers given by the letters, &c. and that neither the letters themselves, nor any of the *exemplifications*, or *duplicates*, [for commissions had been frequently given to Captains of ships, upon them] were actually in his custody, although he mentioned the names of the persons in whose possession they were. He refused however to sign an instrument of surrender drawn up by the King's Attorney, which Turner, another grantee, readily signed, and by signing released himself from all farther trouble and prosecution. He pleaded, that he had sold or mortgaged all his estates to purchase assignments on the two East India ships, the seizure of which was to have been indemnified by these Letters of Reprisals; that the letters had not by any means indemnified him and other sufferers, for whom he likewise acted in trust; that therefore he could not without ruining himself, and being moreover guilty of great injustice to other claimants, his constituents, as administrator of the goods of Sir W. Courten, and Sir P. Pyndar, acquiesce in the order of the Court, or relinquish or surrender, by signing the instrument of the King's Attorney, the Letters of Reprisals, the sole security then left for him, and other sufferers for whom he acted, without some adequate satisfaction. He pleaded an express clause in the Letters of Reprisals, which says, that they were to remain in full force, "Notwithstanding it may so happen, the present differences between us and the States-General, depending upon General Reprisals, may be agreed and composed, and that in the *interim*, a peace and good correspondence may be renewed between us and the said States-General (13)." Sovereign Princes, said Carew or his Counsel, make their stipulations as they please concerning their own interests, relating to dominion or royalty, either at sea or land; but as to matters of property, and in cases of *meum & tuum*, wherein their subjects were concerned, and them only, they were, as the King was, in the article of the Treaty of Breda pleaded by his Attorney, &c. circumscribed within the limits of the laws of God and man: but the King having granted his *fiat*, and the Chancellor his *recepti* to the grant of 1665, for reparation and satisfaction according to law, the King had put it beyond his power to avoid it without payment in the way agreed on, or in some other effectual way; and that the King's Ministers and the Dutch laboured equally in vain to gain a point which could not possibly be gained, without restitution, or adequate satisfaction.

Carew added other reasons against the decree of the Court, some of which are curious and memorable. He urged, that the certificates, depositions, and authentic acts of public notaries, obtained at great expence from the East-Indies, &c. on which Dr. Exton grounded his report of damages at 151,612*l.* had all been consumed by the fire of London in 1666; consequently if he signed the instrument of resignation and surrender proposed by the King's Attorney, &c. there would remain nothing on record in behalf of the creditors of Sir W. Courten, &c. there would be even a record against them. He contended that the spoils and depredations for which satisfaction was claimed, were upon record under the broad seal of England; that the debt and damages of the creditors of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar were all liquidated and ascertained under the Broad Seal of England annexed to the Letters of Reprisals. The names too of the officers and seamen in the ship *Bona Esperanza* killed and destroyed in their own defence, in the time of alliance between England and Holland; the wages also of the officers and seamen in both the ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bona Adventura*, were in like manner upon record under the Broad Seal of England. Finally, Carew insisted that this sole remedy for all their relief, in lieu of which nothing was offered, was, so long as the Letters of Reprisals were not abrogated, or surrendered, valid on record, in several duplicates and exemplifications, besides the original Patent itself upon record under

the Great Seal of England, the greatest security in the kingdom, against which there was no averment. It followed, that he considered his Letters of Reprisals as his all, and that in spite of the Court he proposed to keep them, and to act upon them as he found occasion in justice to himself, and, as was added for the grace of the matter, in justice to the numberless and much aggrieved creditors of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar.

It is easy to see, that Carew's obstinacy militated against himself, that all his pleadings were overborne, and all his arts vain, opposed to the Court of Chancery, in a suit prompted and supported by the crown, though it was actually in proof before that Court upon the deposition of Sir George Downing, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the States, whom his Majesty had enjoined to get satisfaction for the injuries done to the Courten-family by the seizure of their ships, that John de Witt, in Oct. 1664, had actually offered 200,000 guilders, and whatever more could be got, on the caution of Pergens and P. Boudean, but that the offer had been rejected by Carew, for himself and the creditors, &c. as an inadequate satisfaction. New differences arising just at that time, between the King of England and the States, this affair was dropped; and probably in the hurry of the treaty at Breda, concluded just after the plague, the fire, and the exploit of the Dutch at Chatham, where they burnt several of the King's ships, and whence they carried off the Royal Charles, of which they made a Coffee-house at Helver-Slucce; this private interest was either totally over-looked, or politically abandoned. However this was, the crown, it seems, acceded to the Dutch interpretation of that Treaty, and having generally released, and re-delivered the prizes taken by commissioners acting on the Letters of Reprisals to Hamburgers, Lubeckers, Danzieckers, Swedes, and various very questionable claimants, even before the ratification of this treaty; after it was ratified, the captains of ships, and seamen, who accepted of commissions from Carew and other grantees, nominated in the Letters of Reprisals, for proceeding on the powers with which they were undoubtedly vested, were several times apprehended, and once tried as felons and pyrates, but acquitted. In short, the Letters, &c. meant for their relief, instead of being a benefit to the grantees and creditors of Sir William Courten and Sir P. Pyndar, who had, it seems, an assignation of the two ships, for divers sums of money lent to Sir W. C. and his son, on yielding the surplus to Sir Edward Lyttleton, proved eventually an aggravation of their loss, and an additional injury (14).

The author of the publication, from which the substance of this note is extracted, a solicitor for Carew, and, at the date of its printing, employed more than twenty years in the affair of which he relates the case, states a fact relative to the Letters of Reprisals granted to Carew, &c. *anno* 1665, in the following words (15): "Complaints being made to the Councill-Table, that ships of the King's allies were brought in by force of the Letters Patent, for reprisals, upon suspicion as enemies, and that it was prejudicial to the Lord High Admiral's interest, and the King's fleet for want of seamen; proclamation issued forth *de bene esse*, to suspend the execution of the said Letters, &c. until further orders, and Mr. Carew was committed by the Councill-Table to the prison of the Fleet, Aug. 20, 1666, old stile, for the seamen pretended misdemeanours. Afterwards, on the same day of the month, and hour of the day, *anno* 1672, John de Witt, [to whom Browne imputes Carew's imprisonment, &c.] and Cornelis his brother were murdered at the Hague by the rabble, as a judgment upon them for treachery and ingratitude."

The present writer enters not into the *treachery*, *ingratitude*, or consequential judgment roundly asserted

(13) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. p. 58.

(14) *Ibid.* *pass.*

(15) *Ibid.* p. 6.

Its single claim on Peter Boudean and his family amounted of itself to 122,000*l.* which, great as it is, was not yet one half, if even a third, of the claims of this family in various Courts of that country. Indeed, the sums said to have been owing to the Courtens, one way or other, here, or beyond sea, are in their aggregate enormous, and so uncommon, as almost to exceed all belief, considered merely as the net gains of fair trade, never suspected of fraud, nor ever supported by force[N]. The writer just gives them as he found them, for

ferted by the author of the foregoing paragraph; but he takes the opportunity of recording here, a curious fact relative to the assassination of these brothers, not commonly known, and never printed, which he learnt very early in life, from a well-informed person of unquestionable veracity and extensive knowledge in history.

After the Prince of Orange became King of England, a Dutchman one day solicited hard for an audience, and in order to obtain it, requested that it might be signified to his Majesty, that the name of the man who begged to speak to him was *Tallo*. The delivery of this importunate suitor's message, procured him instantaneous admission, and it became certainly known at Court, that this fellow was the ring-leader of the mob that tore the brothers to pieces. For this piece of service he had, it seems, an annual pension for life from the Prince of Orange; and his application to the King, in which, it was said, he succeeded, was for its arrears and continuance.

This digression cannot be much lengthened by the following addition. On this tragic event, the pensionary's mother, and a younger surviving son, fled into this kingdom. The son, perhaps only Englishing his Dutch discrimination, took the name of White, and began near Fulham, where they fixed their habitation, a manufactory, the first in its kind here, of pottery-ware, and stone-bottles, vulgarly called *grey-beards*, which is still carried on, in the same place, by the lineal descendants of the family, at this day. The mother, it is said, lived recluse, in fullen solitary dignity, generally inaccessible, unless to the King who visited her sometimes, and people of the first fashion. She died in that retirement, where the writer's informer says, he saw an admirable picture of Oliver Cromwell, for which, he was told, that repeated offers of extraordinary prices had been repeatedly refused.

It is high time to conclude this long note, occasioned by an accidental sight of *Vox Veritatis*, &c. too late for incorporation with the article, by observing that the author of the tract so entitled, mentions four books published by Carew, of the first of which only, the present writer has seen a fragment. To them all the reader is referred, if he can find them, for farther information in these matters, if he wishes to know more concerning them.

1. Fraud and oppression detected and arraigned.
2. An hue and cry after the goods and chattels of Sir William Courten, and Sir Paul Pyndar.
3. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ.*
4. *Lex Talionis*, or the law of *Marque* or Reprisals.

[N] *Never suspected of fraud, nor ever supported by force*; Sir W. Courten, and his fellow-adventurers in the East Indies, did not send servants to trade there, with tinsel and trinkets in one hand, and a musket in the other. To push or protect their trade, they had not the aid of soldiers maintained at the public charge, or any legal permission to employ such armed auxiliaries *ad libitum*, even at their own expence. The Letters-Patent which permitted them to make trading voyages to the East Indies, China, Japan, &c. and to make settlements there for future commerce, restrained them from all acts of violence and coercive measures, and made them only more responsible for their behaviour. Their Patent, indeed, though obtained by interest, and attended with expence, was more for ostentation than use; chiefly for the grace of

their undertakings, and at best but in the nature of a testimonial, if happily it could be made intelligible, to say, that the grantees were not, as many traders then were, mere pirates and free-booters.

Nevertheless, with this support only, in appearance sufficiently ample for all the honest purposes of commercial dealing, we are told, that Sir William Courten, in an amicable manner, and at great expence, established factories and store-houses, at Carwar, Cocheen, Maccao and other places on the coast of India; and that he entered at the same time, into a correspondence and agreement with the Viceroy and Governours in those parts, for a *continual trade*.

After the death of Sir William, and the retirement of his son, Lady Katharine Courten, parted with the books and papers of instructions for this well-planned trade, to Maurice Thompson, of London, Merchant, who knew their value; "for he, and others, upon a private account, set forth several ships for trading-voyages to the East Indies, upon the same foundations laid by Sir William; and made returns of ten for one upon those trading voyages, as the said Thompson himself confessed before credible witnesses, still living," in 1679 (15).

Upon this same foundation, originally laid by Sir W. Courten at his own proper cost and charges, it is said, that the first East-India Company erected themselves; and that persevering in their pursuit of the trade which he established, they were soon afterwards confirmed in it by a Charter from O. Cromwell, strengthened after that by Charles II. and since repeatedly renewed with powers and privileges more and more ample.

As the trade of Sir William Courten and his son, was not supported by force, so neither was it ever suspected of fraud or unfairness. This is evident from a fact recorded in the *Vox Veritatis*, &c.

Mr. Browne concludes that tract, with expressing hope, "that the eyes and ears of the Officers and Ministers of State, and justice, would at length be opened for the preservation of his Majesty's honour, and the honour and reputation of the Crown and kingdom, by complying with the humble addresses and proposals of their creditors, for perpetuating the memory of Sir W. Courten, and of Sir P. Pyndar, by erecting their statues in marble, under the piazzas of the Royal Exchange; that of Sir William Courten, at the end of the Barbadoes-walk on the one side; and that of Sir P. Pyndar, at the end of the Turkey-walk on the other side, &c. (16)."

The request and proposals of these public-spirited creditors are equally honourable to the memories of themselves, and those of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar. They found, no doubt, good reason to make this patriotic petition, and they had the greatest reason to have expected, that it would have been readily granted. Their petition, it seems, was still depending in 1683; but the King, to whom it was preferred, had more wit than gratitude, was no slave to justice, and never generous. Neither he, nor his favourite companions and Counsellors were very likely to make much account of claims of this nature; and accordingly, he never acceded to their honourable request. The very extraordinary favours which this Prince's father and grandfather had been accustomed to receive from both the Knights, whose memories were thus proposed to have been perpetuated, were probably recollected by their royal heir with reluctance. Certainly he seems not to have been unwilling, that the residue of their wealth should be alienated from its rightful inheritors, and that all remembrance of them in this country should perish for ever.

(15) "A brief narrative and deduction of the several remarkable cases of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar, &c. under four principal heads, viz. 1. The discovery and plantation of Barbadoes. 2. Expeditions to East India, China, and Japan. 3. Denial of justice on civil actions depending in Holland and Zealand. 4. Loans and supplies for the service of the crown, upon the collection of fines and compositions out of the Popish recusants estate, &c. Recollected out of the original writings and Records, &c." Lond. 1679. f. p. 3 and 4. N.B. This narrative, which contains twelve pages, besides the title and epistle, was presented to Parliament some time in April that year, 1679, which broke up May 27, and never met till Oct. 1680, when it seems a long printed remonstrance on the same subjects was laid before them, of which, it appears from a quotation, that there was an *Epitome* printed, consisting at least of 21 pages, in 1681. The names of G. Carew, and James Boeve, with ten more, are subscribed to the prefatory epistle of the narrative above-mentioned, dated March, 1678-9. (16) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. 4to. ed. fin. May 29, 1683.

When

for they are stated below with accuracy and fidelity [O], from the statement of a paper which the curious reader may see in the British Museum (1).

(1) MSS. Sloane 3515.

Having

When Mr. Browne expressed himself in the words above-quoted, surely he *believed against hope*, and would soon find, that he had erred in disregarding the admonition which says, "Put not your trust in Princes." This Prince unquestionably knew, full well, that if he had granted the request of their creditors in favour of two such signal benefactors to his family, it would then have become notorious, that he ought to have done a great deal more; but by absolutely doing nothing, and appearing rather inimical than friendly to their descendants, he foresaw, that it might be imagined, he either did not know, or was not sensible, of his having inherited any obligations from their fore-fathers.

Mr. Browne's argument for the erection of marble statues to Sir William Courten and Sir Paul Pyndar, was certainly the worst that he could have made use of in that reign; namely, to furnish Merchants in future times, with extraordinary examples of loyalty, and extraordinary incitements to practise it; meaning by *loyalty*, not a religious reverence for our laws, but a blind devotion to our King.

Now, certainly the examples of Sir W. Courten and Sir Paul Pyndar, properly considered, and to the full extent of their histories, operate very differently, and hold forth very poor encouragement for the sort of loyalty, which Mr. B. perhaps, only in the course of his pleading, recommends. Nevertheless, it seems that the language of Englishmen, has in process of time, become entirely conformable to Browne's unconstitutional idea of loyalty: for, whatever it may have been owing to, there is no unequivocal example to be found of the word *loyalty*, in its primitive and most obvious sense, in the grand Dictionary, that professes to give the true meanings of all our words, and to fix, at least up to its date, the standard of our vernacular language (17).

[O] They are stated below with accuracy, &c.]

Debts incumbent on the Crown	- -	148,216
Claims for damages at Barbadoes	- -	65,000
Ditto on the East-India Company of the Netherlands	- -	151,612
Debts outstanding on civil actions in Holland and Zealand	- -	134,000

£. 498,828

Observations.

The date of the paper from which this list of the principal claims of the Courten-family is transcribed, cannot at present be fixed, some pages being wanting at the beginning, and a leaf or leaves at the end; but it is evident from other papers apparently antecedent, that some of the loans to King James I. and his son, King Charles I. were liquidated; for it is mentioned, more than once, that the debts, said here to be *incumbent on the Crown*, amounted at one time to 200,000*l.* &c. The following entries are taken from the same paper here referred to, and may be, as the transcriber conjectures, particulars of the last gross article in the preceding account, viz. "Debts outstanding on civil actions in Holland and Zealand." But as he does not know what might be the precise value of a guilder at that time, and as the claims on the actions for legacies by Sir Peter Courten and Mr. Moncy are not distinctly specified, he does not pretend to determine, whether the aggregate of the entries given below, do, or do not, correspond with the amount of the gross article, of which they are supposed to be the particulars. The decision of this point is left to people better skilled in this kind of lore, and is of very little consequence in a work of this nature.

Action against the Boudean-family	-	122,000
For monies received in trust for William Courten, Esq; by Jacob Pergens	-	5,500
For money lent by Sir William Courten to Jacob Pergens	- -	3,000
On an attachment in the Bank for 12,000 guilders of D. Goubard	- -	

VOL. IV.

Actions for legacies by Sir Peter Courten and Mr. Moncy, to Sir William Courten, &c. prosecuted by G. Carew, James Bovey, and William Courten, Esq; - - - probably the son of William Courten, Esq; and the subject of the subsequent article.

N. B. The claim of damages on the East-India Company of the Netherlands, was ascertained upon oath in our High Court of Admiralty, and was fixed at the sum of 151,612*l.* by the express decree of Dr. Exton, then Judge of that Court.

May 19, 1665, the King granted Letters of *Marque* or Reprisals to Sir Edmund Turnor and G. Carew, for the forcible recovery of these damages with costs, to continue effectual in law, until the sum of 151,612*l.* with all charges, was received, or a composition between the parties took place. But according to Browne's account, entitled, perhaps not with unexceptionable propriety, *Vox Veritatis*, these Letters, &c. originally intended for the benefit of the sufferers, had not, in 1683, been productive of any reparation, but proved indeed a stone, instead of bread, and for fish, a serpent. It does not appear at what time Carew [who seems to have got into the agency for the aggrieved creditors of Sir W. Courten and Sir P. Pyndar, rather to serve his own ends, than to have been their chosen and faithful constituent] relinquished these worse than useless Letters, &c. or whether he ever surrendered them. The latter end of this intermeddling man is at present involved in obscurity. Indeed, but that some account of him seemed necessary to explain the intricate history of this article, he might as well have passed unheeded into utter oblivion.

The claims of damages at Barbadoes, in consequence of the forcible entries of the Earl of Carlisle's agents, stated here at 65,000*l.* were not, it seems, prosecuted by any legal contention with that Lord, or his heirs, but only by importunate applications to the Crown, grounded on Sir William's having incurred the loss above-mentioned, in discovering, planting, and fortifying Barbadoes, on the faith of the King's Letters Patents under the Broad Seal of the kingdom. It was proposed that, on an exact survey, a quit rent, at so much an acre, should be granted in compensation for Sir W. Courten's right of prior occupancy, and his expenditures in 1626, 1627, and 1628; or that in lieu of such a quit-rent, four and an half *per cent.* on the growth of the island, should be appropriated, one moiety for the benefit of the Knight's grand-child, and heirs, for ever; the other moiety to belong to his creditors, apparently too, for ever, no mention being made of the expiration of their title, on the liquidation of their claims. Whether the overture was fair, or insidious, it seems to have been unsuccessful: at least, in 1683, it does not appear that any thing was granted from the crown, on the idea of indemnification upon this score, either to the grand-child, or creditors of Sir William Courten, or to George Carew, who on no very promising speculation, by his own confession, seems to have stripped himself of decent raiment to get arrayed in wealth, by the shameful purchase of cheap claims, amplified, with interest, on a reduced family, and an impoverished estate (18).

As to the out-standing claims on civil actions, in the Netherlands, stated in this account at 134,000*l.* it seems, that even in 1683, justice was still positively denied to Englishmen, who had suits for recovery of debts depending at law, in any of the Courts of Holland and Zealand. The Dutch pretended, in spite of sense and reason, that they were universally discharged from all claims whatsoever of Englishmen, by an express article in the Treaty of Breda. For any thing that appears at present to the contrary, their Magistrates persevered to the last

4 Q

(18) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. p. 51, p. 17, et passim.

(17) See JOHN-SON'S Dictionary, Art. LOYALTY and its derivatives.

Having now paid that tribute which seemed to be deservedly due in a work of this nature, to several of our countrymen, who, in the age in which they lived, were conspicuously eminent and very meritorious in the mercantile line; it still remains to give some account of the last of their name, a man of a contemplative cast, much esteemed and beloved in private life, in habits of intimacy and friendship with scholars in the first ranks of literature in his time, who was himself well versed in sundry branches of science, particularly in Natural History, and who appears to have been the principal collector of the coins and natural curiosities now in the British Museum, as the reader will find from the perusal of the following article.] C. N.

[**COURTEN (WILLIAM), was the last in the male line of the family, to whose merits it was meant to do justice in the preceding article; the writer of which, wished to have given here a better account of this Gentleman, than he now finds it possible to give.

The following well-authenticated memorials, however imperfect, may still be better than a chasm in this alphabetical place for his name, in the Biographia Britannica. They are given, however, with diffidence *pro re natâ*, and not under the notion of any thing entitled, to be considered as a regular life of William Courten, Esq. Many papers written by him, or relative to him, in the British Museum, have been consulted and considered: but after the pains that have been taken, after all that may be found in that rich repository, probably, there may still be a want of sufficient materials for a chronological and satisfactory narrative of this Gentleman's life.

It was but lately, that the present writer became certain of what he had long suspected, though it was not known or attended to before, that the subject of this article soon after he became of age, dropt his family name, and assumed another, which he afterwards retained, as is now well known, to the end of his life.

The certainty of this discovery, which this writer had hinted before, in another work, led him to new sources of information in abundance; from which much was expected, and but little procured. Every book, letter, or scrap of paper, that could be found in the Museum, under this new name, or in the same, or any very similar hand-writing, on the strictest search of the obliging officers in that establishment, has been carefully examined, and entries were made of every thing thought worthy of notice in them, in provision for something of this kind.

If new information can fill up the outlines here given, or supply deficiencies, or correct any mistake, the subsequent life of Sir Hans Sloane will furnish an occasion, which may be taken, to make this account less imperfect: for almost every thing relative to the person spoken of here, may be introduced there, with equal pertinence and propriety.

WILLIAM COURTEN, the fourth and last of his family who had both these names, was born in the parish of Fan-Church, in London, March 28, 1642, and baptized on the 31st of the same month, as appears by an extract from the register of christenings in that parish given below [P].

He had probably no knowledge, or remembrance of his father, who, as has been said, the next year after his son was born, in 1643, became insolvent, and quitted this kingdom, to which, it does not appear that he ever returned. When he died at Florence, in 1655, the subject of this article was about thirteen years of age, and it is most likely, that his mother did not survive her husband above four or five years; for as no mention is made of Lady Katharine in 1660, when Mr. Carew obtained Letters of Administration to the estates of the Courten family, it is probable she was then dead. In a petition to Parliament, a rough draught of which is in the British Museum, undated indeed, but certainly presented by William Courten very soon after he came of age, there is a like ground for the same supposition, no mention being made of his mother; for it is only said there, that

in this curious and commodious explication of the article, and boldly avowed an evil principle, in justification of an immoral practice. Charles II. unquestionably acquiesced in this Dutch interpretation of the Treaty, and with memorable forgetfulness of the superabundant obligations of his family to Sir William Courten and Sir Paul Pyndar, urged his Lawyers, &c. to counter-act and disannul the Letters of Reprials, which shame and justice had wrested from him, in behalf of the heirs of two *signal* LOYALISTS, whose subsequent fate and family-history deserve to be thus minutely recorded, for the instruction of their rich successors in future times.

[P] *An extract from the register of christenings in that parish given below.* What follows, is a faithful transcript of a paper in the hand-writing of William Courten, Esq; junior, the subject of this article, excepting only the certificate signed, THO. WEBSTER.

Memorandum concerning my age, and when Carew took Letters of Administration to Sir William Courten.

The 28th of March was my birth-day, and I was baptized March 31, 1642.

1642	1694	1642	1668	31 March.
1694	1642	20	1642	31 March.
8	52		26	

" I read, on the 17th of Jan. 1662, in the Register-book of christenings and burials of the parish of Fan-church, London, now in the custody of Richard Powell, Clerk of the said parish, among others William Courteen, the son of Mr. William Courteen, was baptized March 31, 1642.

" [Signed] THO. WEBSTER."

he

he the petitioner, and his only sister, had been left for *many years*, destitute of a *livelihood*. If Lady Katharine had been then living, as she had most probably a jointure competent to her birth and rank, which her husband's creditors could not affect, her children could hardly have been "destitute of a livelihood for many years." The paper mentioned below [Q], though not a proof, favours the presumption, that Lady Katharine was dead at the time of its date.

Attempts have been made in vain, to investigate his education, and discover the instructors of his early age in literature, and morals. No name of any of them has been found; but the after-character of their pupil, both as a scholar, and as a gentleman, which prompted the curiosity about them, is a creditable testimony to their abilities and integrity. We are told in a paper, written by Sir Hans Sloane, that William Courten, *junior*, from his earliest years, "did not regard the pomp or vanities of the world, but gave himself up to the contemplation of the works of God, whose infinite power, wisdom, and providence, he saw and admired, in the creation and preservation of all things." Revolted it seems, from his childhood, at the complicated misfortunes of his immediate ancestors, this last male of the family, contracted probably an irreconcilable dislike to mercantile business, in which they had embarked so extensively, and by which his grandfather certainly had, at one time in his life, amassed and realized an immense fortune, as evidently appears from what has been related in the foregoing article.

It is said on the same respectable testimony, and in the same paper above-mentioned, that "William Courten was well-educated in this kingdom, *before* he travelled." The word in Italics used by Sir H. Sloane, justifies the supposition, that William Courten had little knowledge or remembrance of his father, who sold outright before he left this kingdom, "the great bulk of Sir William Courten's lands, those in Worcester and Gloucestershires excepted [R], to William Purpoint, Esq; Daniel Harvey, the Earl of Kent, and others (m)."

(m) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. ut supra, p. 39.

It is not said at what time this Gentleman's father sold *the great bulk of Sir William Courten's lands*. If he sold them before his retirement from England, he doubtless, made some provision, for the support of his wife, Lady Katharine, and their children, whom he left behind him. G. Carew, though "one of the assignees of Mr. Courten's lordships, &c." could not have sold outright the estates of the Courten family in Worcester and Gloucestershires, till after he became administrator in 1660, when this last male-heir was about eighteen years of age. It is therefore credible, that till that age at least, there were abundant means for his most liberal education, in the jointure of his mother, in what was entailed on himself, and the still unsequestered estates of the family.

Even the wrecks of a fortune once so ample, must have been very considerable, and more than sufficient for the properest education, and decent maintenance of William Courten and his sister. She it seems could very well live in those days, on no more income as appears, than 30*l. per annum*. That this moderate annual sum was her principal support, we are led to believe from a slight attention to two papers which we have seen. If he and his sister had even been more reduced in point of income, than we can well suppose, they still had infallible resources in the number, rank, and riches of their relations. Their grandfather, the Earl of Bridgewater, two uncles, with eleven aunts on the side of their mother, and three aunts on their father's side, were people of fortune and distinction; many of them married into honourable and wealthy families, and all of them apparently in affluent or

[Q] *The paper mentioned below.* A formal agreement of Lady Dame Knightly, daughter of Sir W. Courten, so far as it concerns her, to the suit of William Courten her nephew, to get Carew's Letters of Administration cancelled, consenting that her nephew prosecute the suit to get the said Letters repealed. Dated June 25, 1663, and signed,

ANN KNIGHTLY (19).

[R] *Those in Worcester and Gloucestershires excepted.* It seems that the Courten-estates in these two counties, came into the hands of "Assignees of Mr. Courten's lordships and lands," but when, or by whom these assignees were appointed does not appear. T. Browne says, that G. Carew was one of the assignees of Mr. Courten's lordships, &c. in Worcester and Gloucestershires, and he gives the following, it may be imperfect, account of them. "Pyrton, Aunton, Evesham, Severnstock, Upperwell and Lowerwell, formerly granted for counter-security to Sir Edward Littleton, against debts for which that Knight stood obliged; but pre-engaged for great sums of money to Gyles Carter, Esq; Mr. Daniel Harvey, Mr. John Rushout, Merchants, and others." G. Carew sold the reversions and

equities of redemption of Pyrton and Severnstock, to Thomas, Lord Coventry, for 8700*l.* of Evesham, to Mr. William Rudge, Merchant, for 7500*l.* of Aunton, to Thomas Foley, Esq; for 3800*l.* He sold Upperwell and other lands in the mortgage, to Sir James Rushout for 300*l.* He sold Lowerwell to Sir Robert Atkinson, for 1600*l.* "The monies were disposed of according to several Deeds of Trust. William Courten, the grand-child and heir, joined in the fines and conveyances to Lord Coventry, Mr. Rudge, and Mr. Foley; but Sir Robert Atkyns, and Sir James Rushout, refusing to comply with the said heir, hold their estates under the first assignees (20)."

The various purchases made by Sir William Courten in Worcestershire, may be seen in Dr. Nash's History of that county (21); who mistakes in supposing the Courtens to be strangers to this kingdom, though they were so in that county. Of Sir William in particular, Dr. Nash observes, from Habington's MSS. "Our Knight was so famed for his modesty, bounty, and charity, to his tenants and neighbours, as is scarce to be met with in those new men who purchase Gentlemen out of their ancient habitations and manors."

easy

(19) MSS. Sloane. 3515.

(20) *Vox Veritatis*, &c. *Ibid.*

(21) Vol. i. p. 411, 452. vol. ii. p. 76, 257, 286.

easy circumstances. It might therefore have been reasonably concluded, that William Courten was well educated, even if it had not been ascertained on the foregoing testimony.

After a previous good education in this country, forwarded probably with peculiar care, and earlier certainly than is now usual, William Courten began his travels, or was sent, whilst yet a minor, to prosecute his studies abroad. The genius of a naturalist, which he discovered, it seems, from his infancy, led him to cultivate it at Montpellier, distinguished then, as Upsal since, for its Botanical Garden, its peculiar attention to Natural History, and the abilities and celebrity of masters in various branches of this science.

Here he met, as might probably be expected, with students of a congenial taste, and persons then and afterwards eminent in various walks of literature, with several of whom he appears to have lived in great familiarity, and to have cultivated long correspondence. *Joseph Pitton de TOURNEFORT*, the celebrated French Botanist, was of this number. William Courten, who was the senior by several years, had, no doubt, made a very considerable proficiency in Botany, before his acquaintance with this illustrious foreigner commenced; but it must have been much improved by the intimacy that appears to have subsisted between them.

It was at Montpellier probably, but many years after his primary settlement there, that William Courten contracted his first acquaintance with Sir Hans Sloane, a zealous naturalist, who spared no pains or expence in the acquisition and promotion of knowledge in Natural History, and who was yet more honourably distinguished, by his skill in his own profession, his general patronage of scholars, his public spirit, and extensive philanthropy. Sir Hans Sloane unquestionably spent a considerable time at Montpellier, it may be, both to improve his knowledge, and to establish his health; and here too it is said, he got his degree of M.D. But at what place, or at what time soever their acquaintance began, being forwarded by a similarity of studies, in which William Courten had unquestionably the preheminance, it ripened into a friendship, that, as will appear in the sequel, continued, without interruption, to the end of his life. He was at Montpellier, and still a minor, when the administration of the estates of his father and grandfather was legally vested in G. Carew, Esq; of whom so much has been said in the preceding article. Even at this period, in 1660, when the remaining mortgages and lands of the Courten-family were fore-closed, or sold outright, certainly William Courten and his sister were not stript of every thing, so as to be left entirely dependent on the generosity of their many honourable and opulent relations, for the mere necessaries, or even the common comforts of life.

William Courten had a manor or manors entailed upon him, which it was thought most prudent to sell and convert into personal estate. His sister Katharine had, no doubt, some patrimony, of which the creditors, or their officious administrator, could not deprive her. The *deeds of trust* before mentioned, intimate some settlements on the heirs of the family; and, moreover, it is not very likely, that William Courten would have joined, as has been said, in the fines and conveyances to Lord Coventry, Mr. Rudge and Mr. Foley, idly, and for nothing.

Whatever, therefore, the forms of law, and the common phraseology in an application to the Throne might require to be said, yet what we read in a petition presented to the King, by William Courten in 1663, probably was not true, and certainly is not credible, *viz.* that he, the petitioner, and his sister, had actually been *for many years destitute of a livelihood*.

Immediately on the expiration of his minority, William Courten, it seems, left Montpellier for some time, being obliged to repair to London, by the exigency of his own and his sister's affairs, in order to push their final settlement, and to secure to himself and her, the best provisions for the future, that could be collected from the wide-spread ruins of their family.

With a turn of mind that biassed him strongly to a contemplative life, unexperienced in the ways of the world, torn from darling studies, and under the influence of the indolent habits of a mere scholar, this youth was ill-qualified to be a principal agent for himself and his sister in a business so perplexed, so laborious and so unpromising. There is little room for wonder, or for censure, if in such a labyrinth William Courten did not always see clearly, or keep constantly the right way.

We have, however, an honourable testimony for his integrity and Christian character, in the hand-writing of Sir Hans Sloane, unquestionably a competent and a creditable witness. But, possibly, with the best dispositions and principles imaginable, circumstanced as he was, this young Gentleman might be led to concur in measures, of which, from our ignorance of particulars, or an inattention to them, we may now doubt about the rectitude, or the propriety.

It is indeed evident, that he acted but a subordinate part, for which only he was qualified, and that he relied entirely on the guidance of his counsellors and relations, who seem to have exerted themselves in his service throughout, with zeal, friendship, and ability; and to have effectually protected him and his sister, from being essentially injured by G. Carew, Esq.

Soon after his arrival in England, in concert with his friends, William Courten, Esq; began his litigations in behalf of himself and his sister. The first object he aimed at, was to

to set aside the letters that, in his absence and minority, Carew had *surreptitiously* obtained; and to get himself legally invested with the administration of the estates and effects of his ancestors. He contended that G. Carew was an officious intruder, under false pretences of being a sufferer, and an agent for other sufferers by the losses of his father and grandfather; and urged that this man's intermeddling with the wrecks of their fortunes had been equally to the prejudice of the rightful heirs, and to the detriment of the legal creditors of the family. He claimed therefore for himself, as his natural right, the administration of the Courten-estates; and his aunt Lady Knightly, who seems to have been then the only surviving child of Sir William, from whom the estates descended, concurred with her nephew, as has been said, in this claim.

G. Carew, who was both a courtier and a lawyer, seems to have exerted his utmost address and professional skill to stop, or frustrate these proceedings. He expressly owns, in one of his papers, that he had indeed paid *indefinite* sums of money to William Courten Esq; *after he came of age*, though he says, at the same time, that he did not pay the monies because William Courten had a right to them, but solely to prevent and terminate debates. The causes here assigned for the payments to William Courten, Esq; *after he came of age*, are very questionable; for Carew does not appear a man likely to have parted with money on such principles, merely *to prevent or terminate debates*. Whatever sums he paid with the views he pretends, were all totally lost to him; for they did not then answer the purposes which they were the most promising means to have accomplished.

Mr. Courten still persisted in his favourite study of Natural History [S]; but he persevered notwithstanding, in the various processes instituted in behalf of himself and his sister. He preferred and prosecuted his application and petitions for redress of their grievances; probably to the Court of Chancery, certainly to the Prerogative Court, to the Committee of Parliament, and to the Throne itself.

In the British Museum, there is the rough draught of an undated petition of William Courten to the honourable Committee of Parliament, for redress of grievances in foreign trade. In this unfinished instrument, the injuries done to his ancestors are stated in strong terms, at 200,000*l.* with an account of particulars proved, it is said, upon oath, in the Court of Admiralty. These injuries, and the consequential claims they gave rise to, have been treated of *satis superque*, in the preceding article. It is therefore sufficient here, to mention only one circumstance relative to the affair of Barbadoes, omitted in the foregoing account. It is this, that from the time this violent injury was done to Sir W. Courten by the Earl of Carlisle, for thirteen successive years, there was no Parliament to apply to for redress: during the Protectorate, the feeble remonstrances of the Courten-family, so obnoxious to the powers then in being, were disregarded; and when its solicitors had good ground for better hopes, their solicitations were still rejected by the superior influence of those who were in possession of the lawless plunder they reclaimed.

Along with the instrument above-mentioned, there is in the same place, the petition of W. Courten, Esq; to the King, dated in 1663; in which the petitioner complains, as has been said, of G. Carew; claims the administration of the Courten-estates for himself; states the debts due to him for money lent to his Majesty's father, and the reparations and claims due to his family in every way, *ut supra*. W. Courten concludes with an earnest request, that the consideration of his petition, *in toto*, might be referred to his Majesty's Attorney-General.

It appears from other papers in the same repository, that his Majesty did actually deign to refer this petition to his Attorney-General, then Sir Jeffery Palmer, who, after consulting with Sir William Mericke, at that time Judge of the Prerogative-Court, and answering two questions stated by Sir William Mericke in writing, gave in his report, warranting the revocation of the Letters granted to G. Carew, and the grant of the administration to W. Courten, Esq. The curious may see the questions and answers alluded to in the British Museum, and the report itself, which is an original paper, and has the autograph signature of J. PALMER.

There is, *ibidem*, a letter signed Richard Dowdewell, dated Sept. 11, 1663, and directed "To his honourable friend William Courten, Esq; at Fawsley-Lodge, to be left at the Post-House in Daintrye, to be conveyed." This letter mentions some proposals of Mr. Carew, from the consideration of which, [says the letter-writer, R. D.] "I infer that the Squire has lost his wits, and as for his honesty, if ever he had any, it has quitted him long ago."

Sir Jeffery Palmer's Reports seems to have restored the Squire to his wits, and to have produced more reasonable proposals, which, for want of better, were probably accepted;

[S] *Study of Natural History.*] There are many MSS. of William Courten, Esq; preserved in the British Museum, apparently written about this time. One or two of his common place-books have the name of William Courten upon them, written by himself, and with the date 1663: they contain, as most of his papers do, evidences of his having been an inquisitive, able Naturalist, and well-skilled in coins and antiquities.

They abound with observations on animals, vegetables and minerals, and with hints and directions for the preservation of natural productions, generally very curious, frequently, as this writer believes, original, but sometimes, and not seldom noted from his reading, and it may be from oral information, for his own particular use.

for it does not appear, either that W. Courten, Esq; took out Letters of Administration, as he now might have done; or that the Letters of Administration, which had been granted to Mr. Carew, were ever actually revoked.

It seems, indeed, that about this time, or not very long after, some compromise took place between William Courten, Esq; and G. Carew; but it is evident from a letter in the British Museum, that all matters were not entirely adjusted between them, or even likely to be finally settled in August 1684. The terms and stipulations of their partial and temporary agreement, this writer has not been able to collect with circumstantial certainty, from any thing he has yet seen; he suspects the conditions were industriously kept as private as possible, and supposes there were prudential and valid reasons for this concealment. The circumstances that incline him to think so, will presently disclose themselves; nor is there any thing in them, or indeed in any thing clearly visible, in the conduct or conclusion of his negotiations with Carew, so far as we know of them at present, to warrant our thinking unfavourably of Mr. Courten's character.

A rough draught of an undated bond is preserved in the British Museum, from which it appears, that Mr. Courten gave up all claim to the administration of the estates of his father and grandfather, in favour of G. Carew of Gray's-Inn, for valuable considerations not specified. If Carew moreover indemnified Mr. Courten against all molestation and lawsuits from the creditors of his ancestors, on the score of his descent, it was manifestly prudent in both parties to conceal as much as they could, their agreement, and all its conditions. Nevertheless it is said expressly, that Mr. Courten was sued, summoned into Chancery, and even arrested, by some or other of the creditors of his father and grandfather. We are likewise told that in all these cases, he pleaded that he was not the executor of his father or grandfather, nor the administrator of their estates and effects, from which he said he now claimed nothing. He added, moreover, that whatever he had received from the wrecks of their fortunes, was *ex dono et gratia*, and not *ex jure*; and declared openly, that he did not demand any thing *ex additione hereditatis*, as heir to his father or grandfather. He even relinquished his family name of COURTEN, assumed that of WILLIAM CHARLETON [T], and publicly announced his intention of quitting England, and living in a strange land.

There being no dates to direct the regular entry of the last-mentioned circumstances, it may be, they are not introduced here in the order they happened. It is a matter of little consequence, as the irregularity, if there be any, can only relate to the later part of a period of about seven years, from 1663 to 1670, which seems to include the whole duration of William Courten's residence in England, after his first return from Montpellier. It appears, from a preceding note, that he lived with his aunt, Lady Knightly, at Fawley-Lodge, in Northamptonshire, for the most part of the time (p), and that he was *beyond*

(q) Letter signed P.S. dated 1684. Note [D].

sea about Jan. 1670(q). Some time or other, more or less advanced in the course of the seven years specified, certainly William Courten, Esq; formed his plan of life, dropt his litigation with Carew, got things in a train for final settlement, and secured the best means he could stipulate for his own and his sister's future livelihood.

Now with whatever prudence or privacy the arrangement was settled, out-standing creditors must know, that the grandson of the family could legally enter on the administration of the estates of his ancestors, and conclude, from his deferring to administer, that he had compounded with Carew, the former administrator, and received something very considerable to induce him to relinquish his rightful claims, and all his own, and his sister's inheritance. Any knowledge, or even suspicion of this kind, was sufficient to bring on, towards the close of the septennial period above-mentioned, the law-suits and vexations that obliged Mr. Courten to make the preceding declarations, and compelled him finally, for peace-sake, to quit the kingdom, to change his name to CHARLETON, and to live abroad as he did for many years (*).

(*) About 14, or 16.

Floyd's prosecution grounded ultimately, as it seems, on a family debt to a Dutchman, of the name of Vanlore, or Vanlere, pursued Mr. Courten, it is said, to *the Land's-End*, about Jan. 1670, continued to go on against him after he was *beyond sea*, and was still likely to put him to more trouble and expence fourteen years after, i. e. in the year 1684, as appears from the letter of his cousin P. S. of that date (r).

(r) Note [D]. *ut supra*.

[T] WILLIAM CHARLETON.] "*M. Guillaume Courten, fut plus connu posterieurement, sous le nom de Charleton, qu'il prit apres avoir perdu un tres beau domaine appartenant à sa famille* (22)." His will is made in his family name of William Courten, but his death is announced in the *Post Angel* for March 1702, 4to. p. 137, in the following words. "March 27, 1702, William Charleton, Esq; of the Middle Temple, eminently known for his fine collection of curiosities, viz. medals, shells, &c. died at the Gravel Pits at Kensington, and has left the foregoing said curiosities to Dr. Sloan." There is likewise an entry of his death, under the name of William

Charleton, on March 17, 1702, in Le Neve's MS. obituary (23). This information was given as a probable conjecture, in a late edition of the *TATLER* with notes, Vol. VI. p. 477. It is now beyond a doubt, and to the proofs of it, already given, unquestionable evidences of his having long borne the name of William Charleton, will occur in the sequel of this article. It is sufficient to know, with certainty, that William Courten actually took this other name, of Charleton; but it is unnecessary here to ascertain, with nicer precision, the occasion, or the time of his taking it.

(22) MSS. Birch. 4241, 410.

(23) Harl. MSS. 3625.

The most dry and unpleasant part of this article the writer would willingly close here; but that it seems necessary to say something farther on this head, to obviate a very serious objection to Mr. Courten's moral character, for which, it does not clearly appear, that there is any real foundation. It is stated by B. S. a writer in the Gentleman's Magazine, who maintains in brief, that every farthing that William Courten, Esq; recovered from Carew, or from the wrecks of the Courten-estates, ought to have been distributed among the creditors of the family;—that Mr. Courten had no right to whatever monies he derived from his inheritance; and that his application of it to his own, or his sister's support, was *ipso facto* an impeachment of his integrity.

The objection deserves consideration the rather, as it is not grounded on a point of law; but on a principle of rectitude, which, like Bayes's simile in the *Rehearsal*, might do very well, if it were but well applied. It seems necessary, therefore, to state the following circumstances, with a view to vindicate Mr. Courten's character from this odious aspersions; and to guard it from injurious misconceptions in future.

In the course of this narrative, it has been said, in the words wherein the relater found his information, that Sir William Courten died *involved in great debt*,—and that his son, overpowered with his father's debts and his own, and with large sums at interest, &c. withdrew from the Administration, and left this kingdom *insolvent*. Merchants, properly so called, and many others of respectable professions, when very extensively concerned in trade, may, however, be *involved in great debt*, *insolvent*, even *bankrupts* [U], and yet be in a condition to pay twenty shillings in the pound; and to make, after all, decent and ample provision for their families.

There was no bankruptcy in the Courten-family; yet from a peculiarity of circumstances, which it is not requisite to mention, this appears to have been eminently the case of Sir William Courten's affairs, when he died *very deeply in debt*; and of his son's too, at the very time of his *insolvency*, but much more at the period we are now come to, twenty, or it may be more years after his death.

The accounts of the family, both on the debtor and creditor side, are unquestionably incomplete, and by no means before us in such an accurate state, as that we can speak or reason upon them with arithmetical exactness; but still we know enough of them otherwise to support the following apparently conclusive arguments.

G. Carew had certainly all the knowledge that we want of the affairs of the Courten-family; he had been long employed in them both at home and abroad; he had balanced, no doubt, the debtor and creditor sides of their accounts; and as he was a man of equal perspicacity and industry, certainly in a business wherein he embarked so deeply, it may well be supposed that he knew perfectly what he was doing. Surely he was no fool, and would not have taken the trouble, or paid the price he did for the administration of the Courten-estates, but with, I say not a probable; but a certain prospect of very ample recompensation. Now if this administration was an object well worthy of all the trouble and cost that G. Carew expended upon it, there can be no doubt but that it would have been equally advantageous, and more beneficial to Mr. Courten. It seems therefore highly reasonable to conclude, not only on the face of the general accounts, but more especially from the drift of Carew's conduct, and his unremitted perseverance in the pursuit, that the debts due to the Courten-family greatly exceeded the debts payable by it, and to a very large amount.

To the partial statement of 498,828*l.* on the creditor-side, well ascertained, and in very many particulars upon oath, which by no means included the whole of what was due to the family, it seems difficult, indeed impossible, to find debts equally well authenticated, of half the sum, to oppose upon the debtor-side. If justice then had been done, [and we go on principles of rectitude] if the debts on both sides had been liquidated, *in toto*, or by composition, the vast overplus must assuredly have been the whole and sole property of William Courten Esq; and his sister. He and she, therefore, were creditors, in appearance the principal creditors on the estates of the Courten-family.

Besides, the debts of the many creditors of this family in Holland and Zealand were settled, it seems, and paid by the Treaty of Breda; for if by this treaty, no debts antecedent to it were afterwards to be paid to British subjects over all the dominions of the States, certainly no antecedent debts need be paid to Dutchmen in any of all the territories of Britain.

It is, indeed, obvious to remark, that on this principle, the Courten-family cleared with Vanlore, and their relatives of the Cromling-family, and thereby gained something considerable, though they still lost vastly more. But this loss, Mr. Courten and his sister were well-entitled to have made up to them, by the community which enjoyed the blessings of this treaty, and which, doubtless, owed full reparation to the individual sufferers, at whose great

[U] *Even bankrupts.* This has not uncommonly happened even in more recent times; and may be exemplified in the case of Mr. Knapton, the famous bookseller, who, with the utmost integrity, and with a surplus of many thousand pounds, submitted to

become a bankrupt, as the readiest mode of collecting his out-standing debts, in order to pay the demands of all his creditors, and to retire on an affluent independence.

expence the beneficial treaty had been obtained. And if the King and his Council on this occasion had driven a hard bargain for the public, still the public must abide by the loss, and no reason could be assigned why two innocent orphans, against whom nothing was alledged, or pretended, should be plundered of their property, and left to starve, by the act of the Sovereign, or of his negociators, who, by assuming a power of giving what was not theirs to give, recognized the right of the proprietors to come upon them for damages and reparation.

William Courten, Esq; claimed, moreover, as his right, the administration of his father's and grandfather's estates; and a great Crown-lawyer honestly admitted the right, and vouched for the legality of his claim, in direct contravention to a prior royal grant.

Sir Jeffery Palmer's determination put the administration in Mr. Courten's power, but left it at his option; nor was he by any means obliged to administer, contrary to the dictates of prudence, the advice of his friends, or his own inclination. Had Mr. Courten actually engaged in the administration, there is no ground to doubt, but that, if justice had been done to him, he would have done ample justice to the creditors, and would have had in the end, an abundant provision for himself and his sister.

Circumstanced as Mr. Courten was, he probably acted in the best, as well as in the most cautious manner possible. The estates on which he was to enter, might have been injured irreparably, by the preceding administrator he was about to supersede. He might have been over-awed by the apprehended embarrassments, and threatened opposition of this artful man. He might have thought it more difficult and more expensive, than it was in reality, to get equal justice done to himself, and to do equal justice to the creditors; and have been more apprehensive of the final issue than he had good cause to be. He might commiserate the condition of the creditors, and despise and detest the character of the man whom the king had appointed administrator, and agent for them.

Nevertheless, if terrified at the prospect of an office so troublesome and so perilous, or smitten with the love of a studious and quiet life, he chose rather to give up greater but more precarious advantages, for a lesser but more certain provision; and if his sister likewise consented to the composition, what indeed was to hinder him from compounding with Carew, for all his own and her claims. Whatever right he, or his sister had, or might be supposed to have in reversion, with her previous consent, he was certainly free to transfer. He might do, as some creditors had done before him, as others probably did after him. In treating with Carew, who was the legal administrator, if he himself declined to become so, he had to deal with a man, who parted, it seems, with a decent livelihood, to make himself rich in this disreputable way, and who was likelier to give him less than an equivalent, than more than enough.

If, because "he was faint," or constrained by dire necessity, he sold his own and her birth-right for a mess of pottage, Was he not to eat it? Was the poor pittance he got, after all, not his own? Might he not honestly retire with it wherever he pleased? Sharing it, as they could agree, with his sister, which he appears to have done to the end of her life. Surely, all things considered, there is more call here for sympathy, than for censure; for commiseration, than for reproach.

In a word, the present writer, after a revival, cannot see that there is any thing in the *long account* that B. S. refers to, in the *longer account* given here, or in any account he has ever seen, that really militates against Mr. Courten's integrity in the way surmised, or that invalidates the ample and repeated testimony under the hand of Sir Hans Sloane, corroborated beyond all suspicion, and much to Mr. Courten's honour, as will appear in the sequel, by the cordial friendship of John Locke, one of the greatest and best of men, eminent alike as a philosopher, and as a christian.

Indeed, to this writer, the composition with Carew, for what he could get, and his easy relinquishment of the administration to a man of the world, whose keenness and conduct argue its value, appear to be strong and unsuspicious evidences of Mr. Courten's integrity.

Having thus, with difficulty, in the course of several of the best years of his life, collected, from the remains of his fore-fathers opulence, some future provision for himself and his sister, and it may be, an ample sufficiency for all the wants of a scholar, whose humble walk he chose, Mr. Courten entirely withdrew from active life, in which he apparently engaged with reluctance, and indeed, from necessity. Contented with the little he got, he retired to indulge his contemplative disposition, and declined the very probable prospects of bettering his circumstances, which his extensive and honourable connections held forth, if he would have taken to any learned profession or lucrative employment.

In the British Museum, over a door in the second shell-room, there is a fine portrait of William Courten Esq; drawn, seemingly, before his leaving England for the second time, about the close of 1669, and certainly by some eminent painter. It was probably at this period of his life, that "he travelled [as Sir Hans Sloane informs us] over most parts of Europe, studying the languages, observing the customs and manners of its inhabitants, and purchasing every where, whatever he could get curious in nature or art."

Of the course, or duration of his travels, the present writer can give no particular information. It may be reasonably judged, that after a peregrination of three or four years, at most, he settled in his former place of abode, at Montpellier, where he certainly resided for the greatest part of the time that he lived abroad. Sir Hans Sloane says, expressly, that he was absent from England, at different times no doubt, twenty-five years in all; and though the particular years are not stated, it would not be very difficult, if it was of any importance, to ascertain them.

Mr. Courten seems all along to have paid great and general attention to polite literature. His papers and place-books, many of which are preserved in the British Museum, discover various, judicious, and extensive reading; and his own frequent remarks shew, that he thought as well as read.

About this time he seems to have been much engaged in the study of coins, both ancient and modern. In this entertaining and useful, but expensive branch of knowledge, he certainly made great proficiency, and attained at last extraordinary skill.

It appears from one of his pocket-books, referred to in the margin (s), that in 1669, he began to collect coins, in both kinds, and in all metals, at considerable expence. There is no doubt but that his collection in this way became ultimately ample, well-selected, and very valuable; but there is now no possibility of ascertaining its extent, its merit, or its value; for it certainly appears, that he not only exchanged his duplicates, as all collectors do, but that he very frequently sold, as well as bought, and bought for others, as well as for himself. From several of his priced catalogues in the British Museum, latterly very accurate, and entirely in the manner of a master in the science, the present writer is inclined to think, that very many, perhaps most of the coins in that repository, might be traced to their original purchaser and prices. The whole catalogue of coins gathered in Spain, and purchased by Sir Hans Sloane (t), those presented by John Lee Esq; and all donations of this kind posterior to the death of Mr. Courten, are obviously out of the question. It ought likewise to be mentioned here, as it is upon good authority, that the original coins purchased by the public, told several hundreds above a thousand, short of Sir Hans Sloane's inventory delivered to Parliament.

(s) MSS. Sloane
3988.
Plut. xxxi. c.

(t) MSS. Sloane
2824.

Certainly Mr. Courten, on his return to England, about fourteen years after the time we are now speaking of, was looked up to here, and apparently with justice, as a person of superior skill in medallic science, wherein no man, who is not a good scholar, can ever arrive at any great degree of eminence. This very desirable literary accomplishment, at times perhaps, may have been over-rated by some of the few who have been too lavish of their time, ingenuity, and expence, in the acquisition. It has oftner been undervalued, like the grapes in the fable, and treated by the illiterate, with a Gothic ridicule, manifesting a kindred disposition and an absurd vanity, similar to that which Diogenes manifested, in trampling with insolence, on the cloak of Plato.

It is now well known, that the best and most elegant writers of antiquity, cannot be read with just understanding and true taste, without good maps. Genuine coins are serviceable in the same, and in very many other respects. As they might be so very advantageously employed in the course of our early instruction in classical literature, the means of that part of our education are manifestly defective, where a good cabinet of coins, or the best books that represent and explain them are wanting, or not brought into common use. Unquestionably, after all that can be said to depreciate this kind of knowledge, it must still be held in considerable estimation, and very deservedly, by all who are desirous to know with certainty, the history, chronology, geography, arts, manners, customs, and notions, both civil and religious, of ancient times, which these compendious and indubitable monuments do, in so many pleasing and useful ways, contribute to illustrate, to rectify, and to establish in truth, or verisimilitude.

Mr. Courten's superior skill in this science, a hand-maid to so many other arts and sciences, is well ascertained, by his catalogues of his own coins, by his many papers, and his epistolary correspondence on subjects of this nature, with Sir John Evelyn, the honourable Heneage Finch, and others, but especially with Lord Colrane, his own *elevée* in this science, and a pupil that evidently appears by his proficiency to have done great honour to his master.

The present writer having derived, from a little cabinet of his own, purchased at more expence perhaps than was suitable to his circumstances, a great alleviation of uneasiness, and much elegant enjoyment, distrusts his own judgment in this case, and forbears rather reluctantly, giving any of all the many curious extracts that might have been given from these letters, for fear of being carried farther on a favourite subject, than might be acceptable to the generality of readers. The perusal of the originals in the British Museum, is easily accessible to the curious in this way, who may there freely gratify their curiosity. In the notes taken for this writer's private use, the references have been too often omitted, and he has neglected to mark, particularly, every thing of this kind that has been examined; but some, and perhaps the principal references, are given in the margin (u) to direct the search, and facilitate the enquiries of such as think justly, and as they ought to think, of this kind of knowledge.

(u) MSS. Sloane.
3961. f. 3962. f.
Plut. 3988,
1828, &c.

It was most probably abroad, and about the year 1675, that Mr. Courten's acquaintance and friendship with the celebrated Mr. John Locke began; for in the summer of that year the bad state of Locke's health, and an apprehended consumption, induced him to repair to Montpellier, then as famous for the cure of diseases of the lungs, as Antycira was of old for those of the brains. For many years past, people have discontinued to resort to Montpellier, when afflicted with pulmonary and consumptive complaints, its air having been long judged peculiarly improper for them; though it is now said to be much mended, by draining a morass, or planting, or destroying a wood. Bishop Atterbury, who was there in the summer 1729, represents it as so uncomfortable, that he was forced to take shelter from the sultry heats, at Vigan in the Cevennes, ten leagues distant.

The unpublished letters of Mr. Locke, to Mr. Courten, &c. given below [X], about ten years after this time, prove the intimacy and dearness that subsisted between them, and which,

[X] Unpublished letters of Mr. Locke, to Mr. Courten, &c. given below.]

Dear Sir, Amst. 12 Aug. —87.

I cannot but take kindly, from Dr. Goodall, any service that he has done you: and he cannot oblige me more than by putting it to my account, which is with great justice done, since there is no thing that more nearly concerns me than your health. When I write to him, I shall acknowledge it, and also recommend it to him as an interest *for* properly mine, that he may assure himself, that if he administers any thing to the recovery of your health, he truly takes care of mine. I have not had time, since the receipt of your letter yesterday, *for* to inform myself as to answer all the particulars of his, *for* as I desire; for which I must beg you to excuse me to him, with the return of my thanks, till I shall be in a condition to do it by an answer to what he demands. In the mean time, pray do me the favour to inform me him, that I remember a friend of mine, one Mr. Charleton, had, by the use of tobacco in snuff, contracted at Montpellier, a continual head-ach; which, upon the forbearing of snuff, left him again: whether this at all concerne your present case, I beseech you consider; and if fashion has prevailed upon you to do yourself harme, to quit it again. I with the more importunity presse this, because I remember, it was with great instance and violence I extorted that pleasure from you, which perhaps forgetfulness has suffered you to return to again. I have already spoke to a friend of mine, to get for you any rarities that he can light on in the East-India fleet, which is now here every day expected. I, the last week, put into the hands of Mr. Smith, a bookseller, *living* at the Prince's Arms in Paul's Church-yard, twenty-six draughts of the inhabitants of several remote parts of the world, especially the East-Indies, they are marked thus, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30; and the names of them writ on the backside with my hand; those, whose names are not writ, if you know them not, I will get explained here; the Brasilian Canibals [of which there are one or two] are easily known; but since there was not the name of the particular nation from which they were taken, I would not add them myself. For the excellency of the drawing I will not answer, they being *done* by my boy, who hath faithfully enough represented the originals they were copied from, *for* that one may see the habits and complexion of the people, which was the main end they were designed for, and therefore you must excuse them if they be not excellent pieces of painting. I also put into the hands of the said Mr. Smith, a little box, with the seeds and husks of *Fœniculum Sinense*. The husks have a very fine *aromatical* taste, and are used by the Muscovites, to be mixed with their The, as I have been told, which is not, I imagin, the most *sotish* thing they are guilty of. If you think the seeds will grow, and then find to spare, I would be glad you would send two or three of them in my name, to Jacob Bobart, the gardener of the Physick-garden in Oxford, who may endeavour to raise plants from them. He is a very honest fellow, and will not be unwilling to furnish you with any curiosities of that *kinds*. Moreri, I find,

by your *for* often mentioning it, lies heavy upon your hands, not that you are weary of the book; but are impatient till I have it. I tell you truly, if I had a better friend, to whose care to commit it till I return, I should presently ease you of it; but if you cannot be easy in your conscience, till you find it wholly in my possession, I must intreat you yet to have patience till I *betinke* myself how to dispose of it commodiously. You are one of those scrupulous friends that cannot be at rest till you have more than quitted scores, (for so your exact putting them to account, gives me reason to speak) with the kindness of your friends. In this respect, Dr. Guinellon and you are well met; and I, who am of a more loose and careless temper, am pleased to see, that this nice humor has a little perplexed one, or both of you, for I see the Doctor is in pain that he cannot find *Gorlaeus* and the other books you desired. I most earnestly wish your health, and am,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble,
and most obedient servant,

J. LOCKE (24).

(24) MSS.
Sloan. 3962. f.

I was told you promised to enquire of Serjeant Maynard for the *beerbe* which cures the leprosy; give me leave to *aske* whether you have *don* it. It is not fit so useful a thing should be lost.

Directed. "For Mr. William Charleton, to be left with Mr. William Garret, *Merchand* in Lime-street, London."

Dear Sir,

26 Aug. —87.

I lately gave you the trouble of a letter, to let you know, that I had sent you, by Mr. Smith a Bookseller, at the Feathers, in Paul's Church-yard, 26 draughts of the habits of several *forain* [especially Asiatick] people; and also a little box, of the seeds of *Fœniculum Sinense*. What other commands I have from you, in your's of 26 of July, I shall take all the care I can to give you satisfaction in. I herewith send you a letter, and a little manuscript, to Lord Pembroke, which I beg the favour of you to deliver to his own hands, and to send me what answer his Lordship shall please to honour me with. If his Lordship be at Wilton, I beg the favour of you to send the whole packet away by the next post, to Dr. David Thomas at Salisbury, with the letter here inclosed to him. If I make you not an apology for this trouble, 'tis because I know, with what pleasure and *readiness* you oblige your friends, which lays on me the greater obligation to be, as I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and
Most humble servant,

J. LOCKE (25).

(25) MSS.
Sloan. 3962.

Directed. "For Mr. William Charleton, to be left at Mr. William Garret's, a *Merchand* in Lime-street, London."

Endorsed in Mr. Courten's hand-writing,

"Copy of mine of the 26 July, in answer to Mr. Locke's of 10th of June."

Dear

which no doubt continued to the end of Mr. Courten's life, for Locke, though his senior about eight years, was the survivor. It appears that Mr. Courten was one of the select friends among whom Locke practised physick, of which he had taken a Bachelor's degree at Oxford. That Locke practised a little, and was exceedingly well qualified for the employment, appears from many circumstances mentioned in his article; and particularly from the following testimony of the celebrated Dr. Sydenham. "You know how much my method has been approved by a person who examined it to the bottom, and who is our common friend: I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we consider his genius, and penetrating and exact judgment, or the strictness of his morals, has scarce any superior, and few equals now living (x)." That Mr. Courten attended particularly to Locke's prescription, and derived benefit from it, is evident from his answer, and from the following entries in a Saunders's Almanac for 1698, in which there is a MS. Diary, not by Dr. Walter Charleton, as it is entitled in the Museum, and the Catalogue of MSS. but relative solely to Mr. William Courten, being his own hand-writing; which is sufficiently distinguishable, and moreover vouched as his, by the information itself. "July 27, 1698, being distressed with my head-ach and giddiness, I left off entirely taking tobacco in snuff, having only taken it but four times a day, for several days before, and never after 7 at night." Aug. 20, 1698. "Must shew my things, [meaning his Museum] but seldom, never two days consecutively for the future (y)."

(x) Biog. Brit.
Art. LOCKE,
1st. edit. p. 2995.
Note [H].

(y) MSS. Sloane,
4956.

Certainly Mr. Courten cultivated medicinal science with pleasure, avidity, and considerable success: the curious may see the most satisfactory proofs of this at the British Museum, both in the coins he collected, and in the accounts he has given of them. It appears likewise, from very many of his papers in the same repository, that as a general scholar he was far from being contemptible, and that he was not unskilled in making experiments. Some of these papers the curious may easily find in Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue of MSS. but to others of them, not less worthy of notice, as they are loose and unentered, no express references can be given. The only paper of Mr. Courten, which the present writer has ever seen in print, is a translation from an original in Latin, published ten years after the death of its author, in the Philosophical Transactions, at large, Vol. xxvii. page 485, for the months of July, August, and September. The title, and some account of it, the reader may see below [Y].

Mr.

Dear Sir,

July 26, 1687.

"Inclosed, I send you the long expected letter from our worthy friend, Dr. Goodall, for whose extraordinary kindness and civility to me, on your account, I intreat the return of your thanks. It is now near three months, that I have been sorely afflicted with violent and constant pains in my head, accompanied with great giddynesse, insomuch that I was not able to read your letters on the back of a book, placed on a shelf of an ordinary height, without being ready to fall. In this condition the able and compassionate Dr. found me; and after he had taken a very exact account of the circumstances of it, he prescribed me several things in order to my cure; amongst others, a sort of lozenges, by which I found benefit, though he would receive none, it not being in my power to fix one single fee on him, telling me, that perceiving I was so intimate a friend of yours, I should have his advice gratis. I thank God I am somewhat better than I have been, but I fear that I shall scarcely ever be freed from this unhappy distemper. Pray let me know in your next, when I shall send the Moreri's Dictionary, and the other books you formerly mentioned, &c."

The letter concludes with an order for some insects, birds, and animals, from a catalogue of objects of Natural History, apparently on sale about this time at Amsterdam.

Endorsed by Mr. Courten, in his own hand.

"Copy of mine of the 28th Aug. in answer to Mr. Locke's of the 12th and 26th ditto."

Dear Sir,

Aug. 28, 1687.

"I have received both yours of the 12th and 26th instant; and, according to your order, my Lord not being in town, I have sent the let. and MS. into the country. Mr. Smith the Bookseller is not yet arrived; when he comes, I shall enquire of him for the favours you designed me, and send to Mr. Bobart some seeds of the *Feniculum Sinense*. He was recommended to me not long since, by a very good friend, and I gave him a sight of the collection of plants I made at Montpellier, and of the fine extotic ones you were pleased to send me, several of which he had never seen before. I told

Dr. Goodall what you had written relating to his letter; he presents you his service. I am endeavouring to follow your kind and good advice, and have so far prevailed on myself, as to forbear taking tobacco in powder, using, instead of it, cut tobacco: when you are pleased to write, I should be glad to have your opinion about it. I have some few things by me, that if your friend is not already furnished with, I shall take care to send, by the first opportunity: [then follows a list of them too long to insert.]

"When Sir Henry Hobart was in town, he promised to enquire of his father-in-law concerning the herb you mentioned, but I heard not since from him. When he comes again, I shall wait upon him, and put him in mind of it. My humble service to Dr. Guenellon, &c."

It appears from another letter in the same volume of MSS. that Mr. Courten succeeded in propagating the seeds of the *Feniculum Sinense*, and sent some of them to James Bobart, as Locke requested. There is, *ibidem*, a letter from this gardener, to Mr. Courten, accompanied with some African seeds; among which, he recommends, particularly, one under the name of *Cucumis Africanus echinatus*.

[Y] The title, and some account of it, the reader may see below.]

II. Experiments and observations of the effects of several sorts of poisons upon animals, &c. made at Montpellier, in the years 1678, and 1679, by the late William Courten, Esq; communicated by Dr. Hans Sloane, R. S. Secr. Translated from the Latin MS.

Two ounces of the juice of Dutch Nightshade [*Solanum Batavicum*] did a dog no manifest injury; the same dose of the juice of hemlock [*Cicuta*] did not hurt him; nor did he appear to be hurt by a pretty large root of wolfs-bane [*Aconitum Pardalianches*] bruised with the leaves and flowers of the same plant mixed with flesh. Two drachms of white hellebore [*Helleborus albus*] disordered the same dog very much, but he recovered, and afterwards swallowed five roots of meadow-saffron [*Colchicum Ephe-merum*] fresh dug, with which he was violently tormented, but did not die. Two drachms of opium stupified, but did not kill him. He was afterwards caused to be bit three or four times on the belly by

Mr. Courten was evidently a pretty general student, and not ill-versed in most parts of polite literature; but whatever branch, or branches of knowledge, might, more or less, engage his attention occasionally, it manifestly appears, that his *forte*, his principal and favourite study, was always that of Natural History; a most engaging and extensive science, that ministers very copiously to the wants and the pleasures of human life, and furnishes us throughout all the works of nature, with the most delightful demonstrations of the wonderful power, wisdom, and goodness of its all-perfect author.

It has been said, on the respectable testimony of Sir Hans Sloane, that Mr. Courten, "from his earliest years disregarding the pomp and vanities of the world, gave himself up to the contemplation of the works of God, &c." Many papers, in Mr. Courten's hand-writing, appear in aid of the Baronet's testimony; and it seems very certain, that the writer of them prosecuted this inexhaustible science, in all its branches, *con amore*, and with success, to the remotest period of his life, which extended beyond the age of three-score years.

The Catalogues of Mr. Courten's plants, at Montpellier, &c. referred to in the margin (x), afford abundant proofs of his skill in Botany, and may serve, with the assistances of various accidental notices contained in his papers *passim*, to give a tolerable idea of the state, at that time, of the Botanical Garden at Montpellier, then celebrated as the best of the kind in Europe. His friendship with Dr. Sherwood, which lasted to the end of his life, seems to have been grafted, originally, on their common attachment to Botany [Z].

(x) MSS. Sloane 3962. Plut. f.

Mr.

an enraged viper, and would probably have died, if he had not been cupped, scarified, and relieved with *Theriaca*, and volatile spirit of hartshorn, mixed in broth. He was at last killed by another dog. By fifteen grains of the dried root of monks-hood, [*Napellus*] powdered and mixed with flesh and broth, a dog was variously distressed, and miserably tormented for an hour, but recovered by degrees. A little dog, by a drachm of the root of monks-hood [*Napellus*] laboured under the same grievous symptoms, more violently and longer; but he likewise recovered: but an ounce of the leaves, flowers, and seed of the *Napellus*, when green, bruised, and given to a dog, scarce disordered him any more than if he had eaten so much grass.

The stomach and small guts of another dog, killed by the *nux vomica*, were found very red and inflamed by the corrosiveness of the medicine.

A strong lusty dog was, by a warm injection of an ounce of *vinum emeticum*, distressed with a variety of lamentable complaints, circumstantially narrated in the paper, and died convulsed in a few hours, though twice revived with warm broth through a funnel.

A drachm and a half of *sal armoniac*, dissolved in an ounce and a half of water, injected warm into the jugular vein of a dog, convulsed and killed him presently. A whelp, bit in the lower lip by a blind worm [*Cæcilia*] so that the blood appeared in the wound, died the same day. An injection of a drachm of *Salt of Tartar*, dissolved in an ounce of warm water, convulsed and killed a dog almost immediately. A warm injection of an ounce of urine, made by a man fasting, produced no convulsion or other ill symptoms. A gentle decoction of two drachms of white hellebore, well powdered, in spring water, and evaporated to nine drachms and a half, strongly pressed out and injected turbid into the jugular vein of a dog, instantaneously produced convulsive motions, and on its entrance into the heart, killed him as suddenly as if he had been shot dead with a bullet; and he hung flaccid, like a fleece, in the hands of the person who held him.

A whelp stung in the tongue, &c. a pigeon stung likewise by a scorpion, the sting being often forced into the wounds, and the bladder, supposed to contain the venom, being pressed, remained unhurt; so also did a rat, included and stung often by scorpions, in a large glass. The provoked rat attacked the scorpions and gnawed off, and devoured part of them, with the precaution of keeping his eyes shut meanwhile. Several animals were killed by injections of spirit of salt, of spirit of wine, and opium; but an injection of two drachms of sugar, dissolved in an ounce of water, did a dog no harm; and an injection of a drachm and a half of common salt made him only very thirsty, and drink greedily. An injection of half an ounce of warm oil of olives into the crural vein of a little dog, deprived him presently of all external

sense, and killed him in three hours; and the injection of an ounce of the same oil, into the jugular vein of another dog, suffocated him in the same moment.

An injection of ten drachms of highly rectified spirit of wine, into the crural vein of a dog, killed him quietly, and as it were with pleasure, in a very little time. An injection of five ounces of strong white wine, into the crural vein of a dog, made him very drunk; but the drunkenness abated and he recovered.

An injection of three drachms of rectified spirit of wine, into the crural vein of a small dog, made him apoplectic; in a little time he recovered from his apoplexy, but was giddy, and reeled, and drunken; but in four hours he eat bread, and was next day out of danger.

A dog died terribly convulsed from an injection of an ounce of a strong decoction of tobacco; but a similar injection of ten drops of distilled oil of sage, mixed with half a drachm of sugar, did a dog no harm. A drachm of purified white vitriol, injected into the crural vein, killed a dog immediately. Another recovered, with much difficulty, from an injection of fifteen grains of salt of urine; so also did another, from a warm injection of a decoction of senna, in water, to the quantity of two drachms. A mole, stung in the side by a scorpion, died immediately, convulsed; and on dissection, the experimenter discovered that the *intestinum cæcum* is wanting in moles. Next follows, an account of the effects of tying nerves, arteries, &c. in dogs, for which, the curious reader is referred to the paper itself.

[Z] On their common attachment to Botany.]

Extract from a copy of a letter of William Courten, Esq; to Dr. Sherwood, dated Middle Temple, May 11, 1691 (26).

(26) MSS. Sloane 3961. f.

Sir,

"I am ashamed to mention the date of the letter I received from you; but having so favourable an opportunity of writing by Mr. Harison, I could not but own the receipt of it, and assure you, that though I have not had the civility of returning an answer till now, yet I did several times wait upon our friend, in relation to what you desired, and acquainted him, that whatever *kindness* he should express towards you, I should esteem it as done to myself; and he was pleased to say, that he should espouse your concern as if it was his own, &c. &c. My most humble service to Sir Arthur Rawdon, and when you write to Dr. Tournefort, be pleased to give him my service. I *wish* you at our club the other night for an hour or two, to have had a sight of a curious book of plants of the Cape of Good Hope in miniature, presented by the States, to the Bishop of London. There were to the number of forty, and as our chief Botanists said, most of them not described. May you have a pleasant

Mr. Courten's intimacies, correspondencies, and friendships with Doctor, afterwards Sir Hans Sloane, with Doctor, afterwards Sir Tancred Robinson, Physician in Ordinary to George I. with Doctor Martin Lister, with Mr. L. Pluckenett, with Mr. Edward Llwyd, &c. &c. were certainly founded on congenial taste, and argue no contemptible degrees of proficiency in the various branches of Natural History.

Though Mr. Courten was very greatly Sir Hans Sloane's superior in the knowledge of the science here spoken of, as appears from many and various evidences in the British Museum, nevertheless their intimacy seems to have grown from their common affection for Natural History; and their friendship seems to have been cemented and cherished to the last by their persevering ardour as naturalists, and the mutual assistances they lent to each other in similar pursuits. The extracts from Sir Hans Sloane's own letters given below [AA], seem to confirm what has been said; the harshest part of which, the writer well knows, cannot be contested by the ablest officer in the Natural History department of the British Museum.

We can now only guess at the nature of Sir Hans Sloane's great obligations to Mr. Courten; but it seems, by Sir Hans's own account of them, that they were very great in whatever way, fourteen years at least, before the date of Mr. Courten's last will, by which this very worthy Physician was so much more obliged, as shall be shewn in the sequel. In 1687, at his departure from this country for Jamaica, in quality of Physician to the Duke of Albemarle, who went there as Governour, Sir Hans Sloane, under a grateful sense of peculiar obligations to Mr. Courten, purposed, it seems, to collect *natural things* principally for him, and to enrich a collection which his benefactor had been making from his earliest years, and for which, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that there was no inconsiderable foundation in his family before he was born.

However this was, Mr. Courten, about three or four years before the date of Doctor Sloane's first letter, that is, about 1684 [BB], had returned to his native country, where he

'fant season in your intended progresse, and the satisfaction of meeting with whatever may be rare in the parts you visit, &c.'

N.B. Mr. Courten in his last will, left Dr. Sherwood five pounds to buy him a ring.

[AA] The extracts from Sir Hans Sloane's own letters given below.]

Extract of a letter signed H. Sloane, dated from Portsmouth, Sept. 10, 1687, and directed to William Charleton, Esq; at his Chambers over Mr. North's, in Brick Court, Temple.

'I thank God I am come hither very safe. I hope before this you are likewise come safe from Dover with your friends, &c.'—'I hope, for my sake, you will abstain as much from *excesse* in wine, as your too good and complaisant humour will suffer you. You cannot do me a greater favour than to be careful of your own health.' [Then follow particular advices, directions, and prescriptions relative to his health, earnestly recommended to Mr. Courten's observation.] 'I am extremely obliged to you beyond any in the world, and upon all occasions, and in all places, I shall endeavour some manner of requital. I design to send you what I meet with that is curious from the several islands we land at, which will be most of our plantations. Remember me to all friends, not forgetting Mrs. Wood. I am in all sincerity,

'Dear Sir,

'Your most obedient,
'most obliged, and
'most humble Servant,
'HANS SLOANE.'

N.B. Dr. Sloane was at this time on his way to Jamaica, in the character of Physician to his Excellency the Duke of Albemarle.

Extract of a letter signed Hans Sloane, dated Barbadoes, Nov. 28, 1687, and directed to William Charleton, Esq; to be left at Mr. William Cockram's, Merchant, in London.

'Dear Sir,

'I would have wrote to you from the Madeira, but there were no English ships there bound homewards. This is the first one I meet, and I am

VOL. IV.

'heartily sorry, I being new-landed here, cannot now send with this any natural things; for what I had at Madeira cannot be come at, which are plants, and what is here, I have not as yet gathered; but you may assure yourself, that what these parts of the West Indies afford, is all your own, the best way I can send them. You may be sure the taste I have already is delightful to me, for this is indeed a new world in all things. I wished heartily for you to day, if you could have been back in your Chambers at night. I find this place very warm; my greatest work is sweating and drinking water, which I find does well, and better than other small liquors of this place. From Jamaica you shall hear and receive from me at large. My humble service to Dr. Lister, to Dr. Robinson, to whom I design to write very soon, and to Mrs. Wood.

'Your very affectionate, &c.'

There is, *ibidem*, a letter, signed Hans Sloane, dated Newhall, July 11, 1690, directed to W. Charleton, Esq; at his Chambers over Mr. North's, Essex-Court, Middle-Temple, full of affection, and particular directions about Mr. Courten's health.

In a letter dated likewise from Newhall, Sept. 12, 1690, and directed as above, Dr. Sloane recommends three Ladies, who came to town with the Duchess of Newcastle, to see Mr. Courten's *fine curiosities*; informs him that Dr. Mullens died at Barbadoes, of a spotted fever in three days; and acquaints him with his own intention of being in town in ten days at farthest.

There is, *ibidem*, a letter directed to the Worshipful William Charleton, Esq; above Mr. North's Chambers, in the Temple, dated Oxford Sept. 25, 1691, signed Edward Llwyd, advertising him of the robbery of the Ashmolean Collection, with a curious account of the particulars, for which the reader is referred to the British Museum (27).

[BB] About 1684.] In a printed paper in the British Museum, and likewise in the *Vox Veritatis*, *ut supra*, it is said, that "William Courten, Esq; lived in France in 1683, on a small estate in money, not having a foot of land in England of all his father's or grandfather's large possessions (28)."

From a letter written by his cousin Posthumus Salwey, dated August 8, 1684, from Throckmorton, it seems that Mr. Courten was then living at his Chambers in the Temple. Probably he made a short visit to his friends in England, in 1681-2,

(27) MSS.

Sloan. *ut supra*.

(28) *Ibid.* 3515.

he opened, as the Doctor himself informs us, "A Museum extremely well furnished with every thing curious either in nature, or for illustrating history, and ancient times." It filled, it seems, ten rooms in the Middle Temple, where, says Dr. Sloane, "Mr. Courten shewed it *very freely*, and with great civility, to the advancement of the glory of God, the honour and renown of the country, and the no small promotion of knowledge and useful arts."

Dr. Sloane's own collection, or *closet*, as is called, at the time here spoken of, that is, in 1687, and long after, was, probably, inconsiderable, certainly never comparable to Mr. Courten's Museum, which it had always, from his earliest youth, been the chief business of this intelligent Naturalist's life to form, and to render every day less imperfect.

It has been said, that in the formation and disposition of it, Mr. Courten did not overlook any thing that was rare or curious in art, and that he enriched it very skilfully with coins and medals ancient and modern, antiquities [CC], seals, pictures, drawings, prints, vases, &c. for the "illustration of History and ancient times;" but certainly his chief attention was, to bring together the principal and most curious objects of the vegetable, animal, and mineral kingdoms, which he collected through the whole course of his life, with great judgment and at great expence.

It appears from his Catalogues and MSS. in the British Museum, that this able collector was well acquainted with the best methods of preserving, and the most scientific modes of classifying them then known, to the improvement of which, he seems to have been, himself, no contemptible contributor. It is equally evident, and deserves to be recorded to Mr. Courten's honour, and for the imitation of such as engage in similar studies and pursuits, that though he did not overlook their classification and arrangement, his principal attention was bestowed on the wise contrivance and beneficent design discoverable in the objects he collected, on their admirable economy, and on the most judicious and ingenious applications of them to the many various purposes of use and ornament in human life.

It is highly proper, indeed absolutely necessary, that the multifarious objects of Natural History should be well ascertained, and distinguished with nicety in all their varieties. The science, and lovers of it, are unquestionably indebted to the able Naturalists, who have spent their time, and exercised their ingenuity, in devising commodious methods of arrangement, and inventing systems for identifying the things about which it is conversant, with accuracy, and less danger of fallacy or mistake.

If students in this way could but agree universally to adopt any one of the methods or systems of classification, the worst of them all, much more the best, brought into general use, and constantly adhered to, would doubtless facilitate very greatly the study, and banish entirely that immense superfluity of synonymous terms, and ever-growing jargon, that is at present, the embarrassinent and reproach of their favourite science.

All who are, or would wish to be thought Naturalists, certainly ought to consider, that the best possible mode of classification, the Linnæan system not excepted, is after all, only an introduction to Natural History; and the Naturalist who goes no farther, hardly deserves that name: he embraces a cloud for a goddess, quits a substance for a shadow, substitutes the means in place of the end of the science, brings the study of it into disreputation and contempt, and prosecutes the knowledge of Natural History as if he conceived it to be only a mere vocabulary. The ingenious and indefatigable Linnæus, who spent his life in fabricating the curious system of classification now in vogue, intended it certainly for the advancement of Natural History, as a basis for the service of knowledge and the benefit of mankind. But surely some of his admirers seem to have overlooked his views, and taken the scaffold for the building; or if the writer is mistaken in this opinion, there can be no harm in expressing a wish, that the lovers of Natural History, would in the prosecution of the science, think of the true ends of knowledge, and endeavour to promote their own instruction, and the advancement of others, and not pursue it from mere curiosity, or only for the arrangement of objects, but chiefly with a view to their application to the occasions and uses of life, all along conducting and perfecting the study in the spirit of benevolence.

Perhaps it may be of more use, some time or other, than is commonly apprehended, to define, with precision, the class, order, genus, species, sex, family, and habitation of a plant, for example, if possible with all its varieties; but why, in the mean while, should the plant itself remain, I say not useless [for certainly nothing in nature is so], but unuseful, and no attention be paid after ascertaining and arranging it, to discover, by experiment, its virtue as a

or, as we may reasonably infer from the conclusion of another letter from his cousin Richard Salwey, dated London, June 30, 1681.

N. B. In a marginal note on the preceding article, p. 323, the word *maclær* is misinterpreted. In the Flemish language, this word variously spelt, *maka-lær*, or *maclær*, &c. signifies a broker, a factor, an agent, a man that deals in trade on commission, &c.

[CC] *Antiquities, &c.* Old, ancient, and antique, heighten the signification of one another. A fashion is *old* when it ceases to be followed; it is *ancient* when the use of it is entirely laid aside; and it is *antique*, or *antiquated*, when it has been a long time *ancient*. *Oldness* refers to age, *ancientness* refers to families, and *ANTIQUITIES* to things that have existed in times far remote from our own.

dye,

dye, its benefit as a food, cloathing, or physic to man, or its serviceableness in whatever way to him, or to any of all the multitude of animals subservient to his use, or ministerial to his pleasure. But even during this æra of apparently mere classification, Natural History may in reality have been advanced, or advancing, and therefore, with these hints only, certainly well intended, the present writer passes, very willingly, from a theme so unpleasant, with a sincere wish, and in great hopes, that it may become every day less and less necessary for any person to resume it.

Mr. Courten prosecuted the study of Natural History in the most useful way, and to its full extent; and he collected, disposed, and communicated the various objects of it, with solicitude, judgment, and liberality. Some instances of this the reader may collect from what has been said, to which I shall only add the following. Among his apparently earliest MSS. in the British Museum, there is a methodical treatise on the *asbestos*, and of the best methods of applying it to various useful purposes, in Latin, certainly in the hand-writing of Mr. Courten; but whether it is altogether original, or only transcribed with observations and remarks, from the papers of Dr. Lister, Dr. Plot, &c. published about that time, on the same subject, the present writer not having seen them all, cannot pretend to determine.

When Mr. Courten could only be about the age of fourteen, his name appears in the list of benefactors to "TRADESCANT'S Ark"[DD]; for the "*Museum Tradescantianum*" was published in 1656, 12mo. and contains an account of the plants, shrubs, and trees in the extensive Botanical Garden of this family, as well as a Catalogue of their Museum properly so called. When this early collection, after remaining for some time in the possession of Elias Ashmole, Esq; who augmented it very considerably, became, by that learned and worthy Gentleman's bounty, a kind of public property, by being deposited at Oxford, where it might best answer the ends of judicious enquirers through all succeeding ages, Mr. Courten continued to be a generous contributor to it, and in a variety of ways, as appears from the authentic testimonial given below [EE].

Mr. Courten's own Museum remains to this day, and may be still seen *very freely*, and probably much in the state he left it, though improved, as may well be supposed, and now arranged for the most part, to greater advantage, according to the Linnæan system. Of his curious collection, it is now impossible to ascertain the exact Catalogues, or the precise value. None of all the present catalogues that this writer has seen, though differently written, appear to be in Mr. Courten's hand-writing, nor are they made in his way, or indeed in any very accurate or scientific manner. Swelled with short and unscholar-like histories and accounts of their contents, they amount, it is said, in all, to thirty-eight volumes *in folio*, and eight volumes *in quarto*; but the present writer has not seen the whole number of them, nor even examined what he saw very particularly.

[DD] "TRADESCANT'S Ark." One of the earliest Museums formed in this country, in a scientific way, by very intelligent collectors, and with liberal and public-spirited views, was so called from the name of the Flemish family who formed it. The curious are referred, for farther information about it, to the "*Museum Tradescantianum*" mentioned in the text, 179 pages, exclusively of the long list of benefactors, which is not very scarce, or very dear, except on account of the two fine prints of the original collectors, by Hollar, prefixed, which, during the late and present humour of preserving the heads of eminent men, have raised it, without any consideration of the curious publication itself, to the price of one guinea. The two John Tradescants, father and son, whom these two prints represent, certainly well deserve to be better known, for their early and eminent services to Botany in particular, and to Natural History in general, which they laboured expensively, and not unsuccessfully, to promote in this country. The reader is referred for the fullest account that has hitherto been given of them, to the additional notes in the first volume of the last edition of the TATLER, with biographical, historical, and critical annotations, p. 435, & seqq. To this first Catalogue that the present writer has ever seen of a Museum, printed probably by John Mayler, next succeeds, so far as he knows, in 1664, and in 12mo. likewise, "A catalogue of the many natural rarities, with great industry, cost, and thirty years travel into foreign parts, collected by Robert Hubert, alias Forges, Gent. and sworn servant to his Majesty, and daily to be seen at the place called the Music House, at the Mitre, near the West end of St. Paul's Church-Yard." Of this Collector, and his place of abode, the curious may see a more particular account in the edition of the TATLER, *ut supra*, N^o. 221, Vol. VI. p. 33, Note.

Sir J. Hawkins affirms, on the authority of Mr. Oldys, that HUBERT'S *Museum* came at last into the possession of Sir Hans Sloane, most probably with Mr. Courten's superior collection, of which it might be some part. Of the following very rare book, or of the collection it announces, the present writer knows nothing but the title given on the authority in the margin (29). "*Catalogus Musei instructissimi. By the industrious labour of Johannes Jacobus Swammerdam, Apothecary, at Lambeth,*" 1679, 8vo. 143 pages. About the same time Mr. John Coniers, an ingenious and intelligent Apothecary, who lived in Shoe-Lane, and in whose hand-writing there are sundry and very curious original MSS. in the British Museum, formed with much assiduity, with unquestionable skill, and at great expence, another collection of Natural History, but chiefly of Antiquities; and in 1691, he made a proposal to the public, of opening it for general inspection. Such as are curious to know more of this, are referred for a farther account of it to "The Athenian Mercury," Vol. IV. N^o. 16. Nov. 21, 1691. Printed for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, *in folio*. See also TATLER with Notes, &c. Vol. VI. p. 336, and *Adv.*

[EE] *The authentic testimonial given below.* It is endorsed, not in the hand-writing of Mr. Courten, but by some other writer, "A copy of the register of your benefaction at Oxford."

"*Gulielmus Charleton à Medio Templo, London, Armiger, rerum naturalium rariorum, domi forisque, ubique gentium explorator sagacissimus: hujus Musei instructissimi quasi consummationem intentaret; eidem e penu suo CUMULATISSIMO, Zyganam piscem integram, varias tum Coralliorum, tum Conchyliorum species, numismata item non-nulla (plurium pignora) piè sacravit (30).*"

From

(29) Harl. MSS. Bagf. 5979.

(30) Brit. Mus. Bibl. Sloan. MSS. 3961. Plat.

From what has been said, however, the reader may possibly be inclined to believe, with the writer of this article, that Mr. Courten's collection was choice and valuable; nor is it very unreasonable to suppose, that it might nearly amount to the full price that was afterwards given to the heirs of his generous and bountiful executor for the Museum, augmented no doubt, in very many respects, but diminished, as has been mentioned, in one respect at least, on which certainly, its value greatly depended, and on which it was chiefly estimated.

(a) It was estimated altogether, the library included, at 30,000*l.*

It remained for about half a century after the death of Mr. Courten, in the possession of his executor and residuary legatee, who certainly added very much to it, and was then purchased in 1753, for the use of the public, without so much as the mention of the name of its first, and most scientific collector and proprietor, so far as appears in the whole course of the transaction, for 20,000*l.* though the coins and precious stones alone, were said to be of that value (a). It is now preserved with the Cottonian, Edwardian, and other public Libraries, the Harleian and other MSS. a liberal royal donation of books and pamphlets, the curious collections of Sir William Hamilton, from Herculaneum and Italy, of Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, from the Islands in the South Seas, and a very considerable and accumulating treasure of other occasional donations of printed books, MSS. coins, and various objects for the illustration of ancient times, and Natural History, at the national expence, in the British Museum.

There is a memorable clause in the preamble to the Act of Parliament for the purchase of this Museum, which the reader may not be displeased to find here, as it is not foreign to the purpose of this article: "Whereas all Arts and Sciences have a connection with each other, and discoveries in Natural Philosophy and other branches of speculative knowledge [for the advancement and improvement whereof, this Museum was intended] do, and may, in many instances, give help and success to the most useful experiments and inventions; therefore, to the end that the said Museum may be preserved and maintained, not only for the inspection and entertainment of the learned and the curious, but for the general use and benefit of the publick: May it please your Majesty to enact, and be it enacted, That out of all or any of the monies to be raised by virtue of this Act, the full and clear sum of twenty thousand pounds, lawful money of Great Britain, shall be paid to the executors of Sir Hans Sloane, &c."

This very just sentiment, if not borrowed from Cicero, we find in his fine oration for Archias the Poet; and he has expressed it with the accuracy of a Philosopher, and the curious felicity of a man of genius. '*Omnes artes—habent quoddam commune vinculum, & quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.*'

This judicious consideration anticipates and obviates, in a satisfactory manner, the frivolous objections to a public provision of this nature, which generally originate in illiberality and narrowness of mind, and ought to keep wit from over-running judgment in estimating inconsiderately, the comparative value of the various branches of science. To form such estimates justly, requires an impartiality, a greater compass of knowledge, and more patient deliberation than is commonly possessed. *Non omnia possumus omnes*; and even scholars eminently distinguished in various branches of literature, are apt to err, and to be too precipitate, and too peremptory in this respect. There is a proneness to over-rate what we have acquired, to under-value what we have not attained, and to dislike and despise what we have neglected, which ought to be guarded against, as it often discourages study, betrays ignorance, and suggests objections that recoil to the reproach of the objectors.

The purchase in question generously offered at less than half its value, if it had been rejected, would have been still more disgraceful to this nation, than the loss of Vossius's fine library, supposed to have been the best private library then in the world, concerning which the present writer takes this opportunity, to give a little information below [FF], omitted, or unobserved by the biographer of ISAAC VOSSIUS, in the first edition of this work.

The acquisition of Mr. Courten's collection, augmented, as has been said, in books and various respects by his worthy executor, and through his liberality offered, at a price so inadequate to its real value, the establishment and support of it for public use, is very honourable to this nation, and appears to be an act of true wisdom and sound policy.

(31) See Biog. Brit. Art. VOSSIUS, (Isaac).

[FF] A little information below, &c.] "The library of Vossius, in which were a great many Greek MSS. besides five hundred printed books as scarce as any MS. was offered to our University at Oxford, but unhappily lost through mismanagement. The most ancient of his MSS. Vossius had begged of Christina, Queen of Sweden (31), and these he had from time to time transcribed by the hands of one Faulkner, a Scotchman, which he sold to the King of France, and for some years together, made little less than one hundred

"pounds per annum (32)."

This fine library, the joint collection of Isaac Vossius and of his father John Gerard Vossius a more judicious scholar, was suffered to be purchased, and carried out of this kingdom by the University of Leyden, to the great shame and reproach of England. Gabriel Naudeus, who published in Latin, in 1644, "Instructions concerning erecting a Library," never saw, it seems, this curious library of Vossius, though he says he had often importuned Professor Perizonius to procure him that pleasure (33).

(32) Harl. MSS.

5911.

(33) "Instruc-

"tions concern-

"ing the erect-

"ing of a Libra-

"ry, written by

"Gabr. Naude,

"published in

"English, with

"some Im-

"provements,"

By John Evelyn,

Esq; Lond. 1661,

8vo. It is but

fair to observe,

that Naudeus's

book on this

subject, though a

good one, could

not but admit

and stand in

need of improve-

ments, almost

20 years after its

publication.

In

In all ages it has been an object of political attention, and ought to be so for ever in every civilized and wise nation, to promote useful learning, to cherish liberal arts, and facilitate the study by supplying the students of them, with suitable assistances of books, MSS. enticing materials, and every fitting encouragement. The kings of this world do really imitate the King of kings, and are truly his vicegerents on earth, when they are thus his ministers for good to their people, and bless them by opening fountains of useful instruction, elegant enjoyment, or innocent amusement. By the erection of Libraries and Museums in their dominions, they build permanent temples to their own glory, and secure to themselves a sort of honourable immortality, by furnishing the means, and patronising the instruments of it.

Public libraries seem, indeed, to be as necessary as public walks; for "reading is to the mind what exercise is to the body; as by the one health is preserved, strengthened, and invigorated; by the other Virtue, which is the health of the mind, is kept alive, cherished and confirmed(*)." In an age when the expence of living is so increased and increasing, that buying books is the first article of expence retrenched, that large libraries are got beyond the reach of most scholars, and even museums in miniature are become imprudent because over-costly pursuits for individuals, the convenience and felicity of this public provision for mental improvement, and intellectual gratifications, are likely to become more and more sensibly felt, and to be more generally resorted to by people of different ranks in life, for filling up with pleasure and profit the accidental intervals of leisure, in ways that may contribute to their delight in retirement, their ornament in company, and their ability in business. It would be lamentable indeed, and a subject of equal concern and reproach, if in a kingdom where no encouragement is withheld from less laudable schemes of pastime and frivolous amusement, an establishment in favour of more manly, more rational, more elegant, and more useful employment should be objected to on the score of expence, or fail for want of support.

Besides what might be urged in recommendation of a Museum well furnished with coins, &c. &c. arranged with propriety for the illustration of history and ancient times, a judicious and well-assorted collection of animal, vegetable, and mineral objects, may truly and devoutly be considered as A *Sanctuary of God*, filled with numberless pleasing and instructive evidences of HIS adorable goodness, wisdom and power, properly furnished and ordered for free and general inspection, to attract rational notice and serious examination, to excite, enliven, and confirm in the minds and hearts of all beholders, the most pious and salutary impressions of the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all. In this view it is unquestionably well worthy of national attention and expence, as being evidently a great good mean of adding many to the number, and much to the degrees of our purest enjoyments, of making good subjects, by making good men, and of extending the boundaries of science in every way imaginable. The pious, the considerate, the curious, the idle, and the gay, as they resort to it promiscuously, may be benefited there, in an almost infinite variety of ways; and people of genius, by lucky and random-strokes of ingenuity, may draw luminous sparks from one thing and another, sufficient to point out ways and means of applying them happily to purposes of use, conveniency, and ornament, and thereby to discover new methods of lessening the evils, of alleviating the labours, and of multiplying or enlivening the pleasures of human life.

As it is the professed intention of this work to promote knowledge, and the love of it, as well as to celebrate merit in *every way*, there needs no apology for this, or any similar digression, in the course of this article. The present writer, well aware of the nature and scantiness of any information that can now be given, or obtained, of Mr. Courten, would not have undertaken so barren a subject, but chiefly in consideration of this scientific man's pursuits, and of his Museum, now the property of the public, which furnished collateral matter for a proper article in this work, and a fair occasion of enlarging on parts of knowledge that have at times been ignorantly undervalued, and even invidiously treated, with a degree of absurd rudeness and indignity, tending alike, in his opinion, to the diminution of the innocent and elegant amusements of life, and to the general prejudice of useful science.

It seems difficult to account for the twenty-five years, which Sir Hans Sloane says Mr. Courten spent abroad, without supposing that he revisited Montpellier, and lived beyond sea for a year or two, after his return to England in or about 1684. The last fourteen or fifteen years of his life he passed in chambers at the Temple, promoting the knowledge of Natural History, and exhibiting his collection *gratis*, in an instructive manner, of which the reader may form some idea from what has been said. Latterly the declining state of his health obliged him to practise more abstemiousness than was agreeable to his convivial turn; and for several years he was under the necessity of abstaining almost entirely from wine and all spirituous liquors, in which, from a companionable disposition, and in compliance with a fashion then much more prevalent than at present, it seems that he indulged at times, rather too freely. He died at Kensington Gravel-Pits, on the 26th of March, 1702, aged sixty-three, and was buried in the church-yard of that parish. The inscription on his monument there, which shall be given at the conclusion of this article,

cle, was composed by Sir Hans Sloane, who inherited by his will the bulk of his fortune. There is, moreover, in the British Museum, a paper written by this Baronet, which contains the following honourable testimony to Mr. Courten's character: "He was a man of the greatest integrity and benevolence, remarkably modest and inoffensive, and a sincere believer in Christianity."

The following passage in the life of Sir Hans Sloane, in the first edition of this work, gave rise to this and the preceding article. It is certainly injurious to the memory of Mr. Courten, and contains an insinuation or suggestion to the prejudice of his character, probably not intentional, which nothing, either in Sir Hans Sloane's last will, or in the *Eloge* quoted by the biographer, can justify. It is therefore necessary to take some notice of it here, to enable the future writer, or reviewer of Dr. Sloane's life, to state it more unexceptionably, and in greater consistency with accuracy and truth (b).

"Our Author's [Sir Hans Sloane's] thirst for Natural Knowledge, seems to have been born with him, so that his cabinet of rarities may be said to have commenced with his being. He was continually enriching and enlarging it; and the fame, which in a course of years it had acquired, brought every thing that was curious in art or nature, to be first offered to him for purchase. But these acquisitions increased it but slowly, in comparison of the augmentation it received in 1701, by the death of William Courten, Esq; a Gentleman who had employed all his time, and the greatest part of his fortune, in collecting rarities, and who bequeathed his whole collection to Dr. Sloane, on condition that he should pay certain legacies and debts with which he had charged it (c). Our Author [Sir Hans Sloane] accepted the condition and performed the will of the Donor punctually: on which account, there are some who do not scruple to say, he purchased Mr. Courten's curiosities at a dear rate (d)."

(b) BIOG. BRIT.
vol. vi. part i.
page 3702. Text.
ART. SLOANE.
[SIR HANS.]

(c) Sir Hans
Sloane's last will.

(d) *Ib.* *ELOGE.*

The article from which the preceding passage is quoted, was written, as the signature indicates, by Dr. Philip Nicholls, who seems to have known what he has not said, though most probably true, that Dr. Sloane's *Cabinet of Curiosities*, notwithstanding its commencement with his being, and all its enrichments, and all its enlargements, was still comparatively inconsiderable, before the augmentation, as it is called, received in 1701 [he should have said in 1702] by the death of Mr. Courten. It appears most probable from Dr. Sloane's own testimony, that he collected principally, not long before this time, for Mr. Courten's museum, possibly with the hopes, and in the prospect of benefit from the survivorship, for he was eighteen years younger than his friend. It does not appear that the Doctor's own cabinet of curiosities had acquired the same advantageous to it, as his biographer mentions, before 1702. That year, which was the first of its junction with Mr. Courten's Museum, was most probably the commencement of the æra of its celebrity.

It is left, and recommended to the future writer or reviewer of Dr. Sloane's life, to examine the last will and the *elogé* quoted by Dr. Nicholls, *ut supra*, the consideration of which does not properly belong to this article; though it seems necessary to observe here, that whereas Dr. Sloane's biographer, in the fore-cited passage, would lead his reader to believe, that Mr. Courten died poor, and in debt, for the payment of which, his creditors were beholden to an exertion of Dr. Sloane's generosity and friendship for the deceased, the real fact was certainly otherwise. Mr. Courten died rich, and contributed very considerably to the enrichment of Dr. Sloane, in appointing him, by his last will, his executor, with a legacy of 200*l.* for his trouble, and the benefit of being his residuary legatee. This appears to have been the truth of the case; and though the present writer has not seen Sir Hans Sloane's will, or his *elogé*, he is nevertheless confident that there can be nothing in them to disprove it. The following short account of an attested copy of Mr. Courten's will, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, is amply sufficient to prove all this, and to shew that Dr. Sloane, instead of purchasing Mr. Courten's Museum at a dear rate, acquired, at this Gentleman's death, a very considerable accession to his fortune, though it is now impossible to ascertain the value of it with precision. The authentic paper from which the account is given, this writer will deposit in the British Museum, to throw some light on the story of its original collector, and to be preserved with the other vouchers for the truth of what has been advanced in the historical part of this and the preceding articles.

Mr. Courten's last will is dated March 10, 1701-2: of the three codicils annexed to it, the first is dated March 20, 1701-2; the second is dated March 22, 1701-2; and the last bears the date of March 23, 1701-2, only three days before Mr. Courten's death; and the probate is dated April 4, 1702, in which Dr. Sloane is expressly prohibited, for whatever reason, from intermeddling with the goods, &c. of the Honourable Elizabeth, Countess Dowager of Exeter lately deceased, or with the estates of Mr. Courten's father, or grandfather.

1. *Imprimis.* "Mr. Courten appoints his after-named executor to sell and dispose of what goods of any sort, or other personal estate he should leave behind him, to the best advantage, in order to pay the debts and bequests mentioned in the sequel of his will, except such particular things as he disposes of otherwise by his will."

2. "Mr.

2. " Mr. Courten states the whole amount of his debts, which he orders to be paid with all convenient speed, at the exact sum of two hundred and forty-eight pounds, six shillings and eight-pence sterling, and no more."

3. Mr. Courten mentions a number of little legacies in small sums of money, some of which he revokes, augments, and alters variously, in the codicils annexed to his will. The sum total of them shall be given in the sequel, and the reader, if curious, is referred for farther particulars, to the will itself in the British Museum, to the signature, sealing, and publication of which, Bernard Lintott the bookseller, subscribes his name as one of the three witnesses (e).

(e) The names of the other two witnesses are Thomas Bever and John Morgan.

4. The following are the express words of Mr. Courten's will relative to Dr. Sloane: " The residue of my estate, above what will pay my debts and other legacies, I give to my executor; and I do hereby appoint Doctor Hans Sloane, of the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, to be the sole executor of this my last will and testament."

5. The first codicil, dated *ut supra*, discovers that Mr. Courten was entitled, after the death of his aunt, Lady Knightley, to two mortgages, of which there is no mention made in his preceding will. The first mortgage, dated July 7, 1685, for the sum of 1000*l.* the second, dated Nov. 29, in the year preceding Mr. Courten's death, for 400*l.* Both these mortgages were secured to his aunt Dame Ann Knightley, who was to have the interest of both the aforesaid sums during her life, the precise date of which, at the time when this codicil was added, the reader may ascertain by looking back to an attested certificate of her baptism given in the foregoing article.

6. The following bequest to Dr. Sloane is given in the express words of the testator: " I do hereby will and devise to my executor two hundred pounds, in consideration of his great trouble."

7. In the same first codicil of the 20th of March 170 $\frac{1}{2}$, Mr. Courten alters, in sundry respects, his former will, augments generally the sums of his legacies, and increases the number of his legatees, by the addition of Mr. John Gibbes of Mellington, Dr. Paul of Montpellier, and Dr. Sherwood. The signature, &c. of this codicil is attested by three different witnesses (*).

(*) Theodore Rivett, John Cumberland, and George Scott.

8. What has been called the second codicil, dated two days after the first, is only a memorandum annexed to the first codicil, and relative solely to Dr. Sloane; it is conceived in the following terms, and given here entire.

" Memorandum, That it is my intention and meaning, that the several sums or legacies given by this codicil" [*meaning the preceding codicil, dated March 20,*] "to my will, should be paid by my executor therein named, so soon as the two sums of one thousand pounds and four hundred pounds mentioned in this codicil, wherein I have interest, shall be paid my executor, and no sooner. Dated the two and twentieth day of March, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$. William Courten. Signed, sealed, and published by the testator, in the presence of us who subscribed the same in his presence. *John Cumberland, Thomas Smith, John Chandler.*"

9. The third codicil relates likewise solely to Dr. Sloane, and is therefore given entire, and *verbatim*, from the authenticated copy, *ut supra*.

" Whereas I William Courten, of the Middle Temple, London, Esq; have made my last will and testament in writing, and have constituted and appointed Hans Sloane, Doctor in Physick, sole executor thereof, and have made a codicil thereto. Now I, the said William Courten, do hereby give and bequeath unto the said Hans Sloane, his executors and administrators, to his and their own use and benefit, all the rest and residue of my personal and testamentary estate whatsoever, after the payment of my debts, legacies and funeral expences, and I desire this may be added as a further codicil to my said will. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this three and twentieth day of March, *anno Domini* 1701, William Courten. Signed, sealed, published, and delivered in the presence of us, *John Cumberland, Thomas Smith, John Chandler.*"

Mr. Courten's bequests and debts, taken all together, amounted to no more than 2,020*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling. To pay this sum, his executor had in money secured on two mortgages to Dame Ann Knightley, and payable at the death of that Lady then aged eighty-eight [GG], fourteen hundred pounds; and a legacy to himself

[GG] *Aged eighty-eight.* This Lady did not out-live her nephew a full year, for she died on the fifth of Feb. 1702-3; the following account of her, extracted from a recent publication, contains some curious information, and comes very seasonably to explain and confirm many parts of this article.

Ann, daughter of Sir William Courten, Knt. widow of Essex Devereux, Esq; married for her second husband Richard Knightly, Esq; of Fausley in Northamptonshire. Charles II. before his coronation, created Richard Knightley a Knight of the Bath, but Sir Richard did not long enjoy this honour, for he

died June 29, 1661, and was buried in Fausley Church. Sir Richard's first wife was a daughter of the celebrated *John Hampden* the patriot, by whom he had one son, Richard Knightley, who died unmarried at Paris aged 26; and one daughter, Elizabeth, who died when a child. By his second wife Ann, daughter of Sir William Courten, Sir Richard had issue, 1. A son, named *Essex Knightley*, who was his heir, and married Sarah, daughter of T. Foley, Esq; by whom he had a daughter named Sarah. He died in 1670 about the age of 22, and left this daughter Sarah, a rich heiress, though she did not inherit

self of 200*l.* more. Dr. Sloane therefore being *sole* executor and residuary legatee, might, or might not sell, just as he pleased, and not chusing to part with any thing, he judged it most prudent to secure to himself entirely Mr. Courten's Museum, &c. by paying the expences of his friend's funeral, and a sum of 420*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Now in point of time, thirty years before this, it has been said in the course of the narrative, and it may be seen from the Collector's own account of only a very few particulars then purchased, that this price was not even one-half of the sum, which Mr. Courten had then expended in three years only, and during the very worst state of his affairs, when he had the smallest, indeed no certain income, and was involved in the greatest expence and solicitude (f).

(f) *Ut supra.*
MSS. Sloan.
3988.
Plut. xxxi. c.

It ought likewise to be observed, that Mr. Courten, as appears from the MS. referred to, had not then even begun to collect coins, &c. His Museum at that time was in its very infancy; the part of it, probably not inconsiderable in such an opulent mercantile family; which it is not unreasonable to suppose came to him as an heirloom, augmented no doubt by the contributions of his friends, and his own preceding unappretiated collections, was not included in the estimate here spoken of; and for more than thirty successive years; it is said, that "he employed all his time, and the greatest part of his fortune," in enriching and enlarging it.

These things being considered, it may be fairly concluded, that the author of the *elogé*, wrote not like an historian, but as a declaimer, and absolutely at random, if he has said any thing to induce Dr. Nicholls, or any body to think, that Sir Hans Sloane purchased Mr. Courten's Museum "at a dear rate."

Certainly it came to Dr. Sloane, as it did afterwards in its augmented state to the public, very much under its original and real value. Sir Hans bears an honourable testimony to the singular modesty of his friend; and considering the benevolent cast of this scientific Gentleman's character, it is not improbable, that it was Mr. Courten's desire, as well as Dr. Sloane's interest, that the Museum should be kept entire, that it should devolve at a great under-value to his friend and executor, and even that it might ultimately be settled according to its final destination, as the property of the public, at a price very much reduced.

It detracts nothing, certainly it is not meant to detract any thing, from the merit and patriotism of the great improver, and immediate donor of the Museum, to think that his bounty might originate in the generosity, and grow out of the public kindness, and national friendship of its first Collector. It does not indeed clearly appear that this was actually the case, from any direct proof now visible, or hitherto seen; but unquestionably Mr. Courten on his death-bed intimated desires, and recommended things to his executor, not mentioned in the written will, which his worthy friend nevertheless observed as a will, and performed religiously.

The following epitaph contains one proof of this, which shall be given, with a reference to its proper place in the inscription, as the conclusion of this article.

*Juxta hic, sub marmoreo tumulo,
Jacet Gulielmus COURTEN, cui Gulielmus pater, Gulielmus avus (g),
Mater Catherina, Johannis Comitissæ de Bridgewater filia,
Paternum vel ad Indos præclarum nomen.
Qui tantis haudquaquam degener parentibus,
Summa cum laude vitæ decurrit tramitem.
Gazarum per Europam indagator sedulus,
Quas, hinc illinc sibi partas, negavit nemini,
Sed cupientibus exposuit humanissime,
Non avaræ mentis pabulum, sed ingenii.
Si quid naturæ, si quid artis nobile opus,
Id quovis pretio suum esse voluit,
Ut Musis lucidum conderet Sacrarium.
Ast Morti hæc non sunt curæ!
Hic Musarum cultor tam eximius,
Hic tam insignis viator,
Obiit, quievit, 7 Kl. Apr. A. D. 1702.
Vixit annos 62, menses 11, dies 28.*

(g) *Gulielmusque pater.*

inherit the estate of Fausley, which went to his uncle Devereux Knightley, who died in 1681, and left it to a son of the name. Sarah the widow of Essex Knightley, married for her second husband, John Hampden, Esq; grandson to the patriot HAMPDEN. Sir Richard Knightley had likewise two daughters by Mr. Courten's aunt, 1. Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Edward Seabright, Bart. and 2. Jane,

married to Sir Thomas Delves, Bart. In the book from which this intelligence is given, it is said, that Lady Knightley, after being twice married, in the fortieth and second year of her widowhood, died at the age of eighty-eight, but certainly she had completed her eighty-ninth year, for she was baptized Jan. 17, 1614, as appears from the register of her baptism given in the preceding article (35).

(35) NOBLE'S
"Memoirs of
the Protectoral
House of Crom-
well." vol. ii.
p. 96, and 97.
2d. edit. Birm-
ingham, 1787,
2 vols. 8vo.

Pompa,

*Pompa, quam vivus fugit, ne mortuo fieret,
Testamento cavit [HH].
Sed hoc quaecunque Monumentum,
Et quam potuit immortalitatem
Bene merenti, mærens dedit.
Hans Sloane, M. D.*

[HH] *Testamento cavit.* It seems probable, that Sir Hans had mentioned his intention of erecting a monument to Mr. Courten's memory, in Westminster-Abbey; and that Mr. Courten, disliking the proposal, had expressly requested of his friend not to do it; for it is very certain there is no mention made of this in Mr. Courten's written will.

From what has been said, it appears that Mr. Courten must have had no inconsiderable fortune, to enable him to live like a Gentleman, and to leave behind him besides his Museum, a sum in money, of 1,400*l.* There were two papers, containing accurate

statements of Mr. Courten's *accounts* for two years, transcribed for publication, which went nigh to ascertain with precision, both his annual income, and his sister's livelihood. But as it is judged improper to swell this account by inserting them, the reader can only be referred to the originals in the British Museum, MSS. Sloan. 3962: and to the same repository and MS. the curious must go, it seems, for a sight of the letters signed, P. SALWEY, and other vouchers intended to have formed the note [D] so often referred to, but nevertheless omitted in this article.]

C. N.

COURTNEY (WILLIAM), Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of King Richard II. was the fourth son of Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, by Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward I (a). and was born in the year 1341 (b). He had his education at Oxford, where he applied himself to the study of the Civil and Canon Law. Afterwards, entering into Holy Orders, he obtained three Prebends in three Cathedral Churches, viz. those of Bath, Exeter, and York (c). The nobility of his birth, and his eminent learning, recommending him to public notice, in the reign of Edward III. he was promoted, in 1369, to the See of Hereford (d), and thence translated to the See of London, September the 12th 1375, being then in the 34th year of his age (e). In a Synod, held at London in 1376, Bishop Courtney distinguished himself by his opposition to the King's demand of a subsidy [A]; and presently after he fell under the displeasure of the High Court of Chancery, for publishing a Bull of Pope Gregory II. without the King's consent [B]. The next year, in obedience to the Pope's mandate, he cited Wickliff to appear before his tribunal in St. Paul's Church: but that heresiarch being accompanied by John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and other nobles, who secretly favoured his opinions [C], the Bishop

(a) *Parker's Life of King Ed. III.* Cambr. 1683, p. 904.

(c) M. Parker, *De Antiq. Eccles. Brit.* Ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 398.

(d) *Id. ib.* & Godwin, *De Præsul. Angl. inter Episc.* Heref. an. 1369.

(b) This appears from his age at the time of his promotion to the See of London.

(e) *Registr. Sudbury.*

[A] *He opposed the King's demand of a subsidy.* He laid before the Synod a written account of some injuries offered to him, and William Wickham Bishop of Winchester, and conjured the clergy not to grant the subsidy required, till satisfaction was made for them. The Synod hereupon being divided, the King could not obtain a subsidy, till he had given hopes of redress; which however he thought no more of after the breaking up of the Synod (1).

[B] *He published a Bull of Pope Gregory II. without the King's consent.* The Affair was this: Pope Gregory II. had lately excommunicated the Florentines, and had dispatched his Bulls every where, ordering their effects to be seized. The Bishop of London, without consulting the King, published the Pope's Bull at Paul's Cross, and gave the populace licence to plunder the houses of such Florentines as were in the City. The Lord Mayor hereupon, restraining the violence of the people, clapped a seal on the doors of the Florentines, and conducted them to the King, who took them into his protection. Afterwards, by order of the King, the Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Chancellor, summoned the Bishop of London into the Court of Chancery, to answer for having dared to publish the Pope's Bull, without consent of the King and Council, and contrary to the laws of the land. Courtney pleaded the Pope's authority and command. But the Chancellor gave sentence, that he should either forfeit his temporalities, or revoke his words with his own mouth. With some difficulty the Bishop of London obtained, that he might re-call them by one of his officers; and accordingly an Official mounted Paul's Cross, and addressed the people in these words: *My Lord said nothing about the Interdict: it is strange you should misunderstand, who hear so many sermons from this place* (2).

[C] *The Duke of Lancaster, and other Nobles, secretly favoured Wickliff's opinions.* This appeared openly by their behaviour upon this occasion. The Duke of Lancaster, the Lord Marshal Percy, and others, countenanced Wickliff by their presence in the

Bishop of London's Court. There was a vast concourse of people about St. Paul's Church, so that the Lord Percy could not pass through the crowd without difficulty. Courtney was alarmed at Wickliff's appearance in so extraordinary a manner: upon which there ensued the following dialogue between the Bishop and the two Lords above-mentioned; which I shall set down in Fox's language (*).

Bishop Courtney. Lord Percy, if I had known before hand what masteries you wou'd have kept, I wou'd have stopt you out from coming hither.

Duke of Lancaster. He shall keep such masteries here, tho' you say nay.

Lord Percy. Wickliff, sit down, for you have many things to answer to, and therefore have need of a soft seat.

Bishop Courtney. It is unreasonable that one cited before his Ordinary should sit down during his answer; he shall stand.

Duke of Lancaster. The Lord Percy's motion for Wickliff is but reasonable. And as for you my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride, not of you only, but of all the prelacy in England. Thou bearest thyself so; brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves.

Bishop Courtney. My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom I trust, by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth.

Duke of Lancaster. Rather than take these words at the Bishop's hands, I'll pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church.

These last words, though spoken softly by the Duke to one next him, were over-heard by the Londoners, who, being enraged to see their Bishop thus used, would have torn the Duke to pieces, had not Courtney interposed, and checked their fury. However they could not be restrained from marching directly to the Duke of Lancaster's Palace in the Savoy,

4 X

which

(1) M. Parker, *De Antiq. Eccles. Brit.* Ed. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 383; and Wharton, *De Episc. &c. Lond.* London, 1695, 8vo. p. 137.

(2) *Chronic. Eulogium diEum.* apud Wharton, *ubi supra*, p. 138.

(g) Dugdale, *Chr. Seruient.* p. 52.
(b) *Registr. Courtney.*

(i) Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl. Angl. Duaci*, 1622, p. 536.

(2) Harpsfield, *Hist. Wickliff. in cal. Hist. Eccl. Angl. Duaci*, 1622, p. 681; & *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* p. 191, 192, *Apud Wharton, ubi supra*, p. 138, 139.

(*) *De Script. Brit. Centur.* 7. n. 15.

(4) Godwin, *de Prasul. Angl. inter Episc. Londinens.* an. 1375.
(5) *Histoire Generale des Cardinaux*, Paris 1642, 4to. tom. i. p. 624, 625.

(†) In his *Cardinalium Catalogus*, &c. n. 31.

(6) *Registr. Eccl. Cantuar.*
(7) *Registr. Courtney.*

Bishop proceeded no farther than to enjoin him and his followers silence (f). In 1378, it is pretended, that Courtney was made a Cardinal [D]. In 1381, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of England (g). The same year, he was translated to the See of Canterbury (b), in the room of Simon Sudbury [E]; and on the 6th of May 1382, he received the Pall from the hands of the Bishop of London in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Croydon. This year also he performed the ceremony of crowning Queen Anne, consort of King Richard II. at Westminster (i). Soon after his inauguration, he restrained, by ecclesiastical censures, the bailiffs, and other officers, of the See of Canterbury, from taking cognizance of adultery and the like crimes [F]. About the same time, he held a Synod at London, in which several of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous [G]. In 1383, he held a synod at Oxford, in which a subsidy was granted to the King [H]. The same year, in pursuance of the Pope's Bull directed to him for that purpose, he issued

(f) *Walsingham, Hist. Angl.* p. 192, *apud Wharton, De Episc. &c. Lond.* Lond. 1695, p. 139.

(8) *Verba Arch. apud M. Parker, ubi supra*, p. 398.

(9) M. Parker, *ibid.*

(10) *Id. ib.* 400.

(11) *Id. ib.* 399.

which they plundered, and were preparing to set fire to it; when the Bishop, leaving his dinner, hastened to the Savoy, and, by his presence and intreaties, quieted the tumult, and saved the Duke's house (3). And here we cannot but take notice of the generous and Christian temper of the Bishop of London, in appearing thus heartily in behalf of the Duke of Lancaster, after he had been so lately outraged by him. Nor is the zeal of the Londoners, and their affection for their Bishop shewn on this occasion, less remarkable.

[D] *It is pretended, that he was created a Cardinal.* This is Bishop Godwin's opinion, which he founds upon the historian Thomas Walsingham, who writes, that the Bishop of London was one of those, whom Urban VI. promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. Ciaconius also and Onuphrius affirm, that a Bishop of London was, about that time, created a Cardinal; but his name, they tell us, was Adam. Now it is not to be doubted, that one Adam Eston, an Englishman, was honoured with the red hat; but Bale (*), and other authors, tell us, it was by Gregory II. If therefore a Bishop of London was made a Cardinal by Urban VI. in 1378, it must be Courtney (4). You see Bishop Godwin's argument: upon which M. Aubery (5) makes the following remark. 'Godwin, a modern author, will have it, that Adam Eston was one of the creatures of Pope Gregory II. Urban's predecessor, and as one absurdity is usually followed by another; this writer, by his own authority, creates a new Cardinal, whom he calls William Courtney Bishop of London, because Thomas Walsingham writes, that the Bishop of London was one of those, whom Urban VI. promoted to the Cardinalate in 1378. It must certainly be acknowledged, that Godwin does not deal fairly in this matter; since, for fear of being obliged to recognize Adam Eston for Bishop of London, he has set down but half his epitaph (†), and has purposely omitted the other part, by which the reader might have been informed, that our Cardinal was actually Bishop of London. It must however be observed, that S. Contelorio writes, that William Courtney, being nominated to the Cardinalate in 1378, would never consent to his promotion. But the English writers will not agree, that there were two Bishops of London created Cardinals successively by the same Pope Urban VI. So that, probably, either Adam Eston was not Bishop of London, which I cannot assent to, since his epitaph, reported by creditable authors, proves the contrary; or William Courtney was not created a Cardinal.' I shall only observe here, that neither is Cardinal Eston acknowledged for Bishop of London by our own writers, nor Bishop Courtney for a Cardinal by foreigners.

[E] *He succeeded Simon Sudbury in the See of Canterbury.* He was elected by the Monks of Canterbury, July the 30th, 1380 (6), and confirmed by the Pope's Bull of September the 9th, 1381, which was published January the 9th, 1382 (7). Having received the Temporalities, and done homage to the King, he repaired to Lambeth; and on the 12th, a Monk of Canterbury came thither, being sent by the Prior and Convent with the archiepiscopal cross: which he delivered to the Archbishop, sitting in his chapel, with these words: 'Reverend father, I am the messenger of the supreme King, who intreats, commands, and enjoins, that you take upon you the government of his Church, and that you love and protect it: In token of which

message, I deliver into your hand the banner of the supreme King.' *Pater Reverende, nuncius sum summi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, & precipit ut ecclesiam suam regendam suscipias, eamque diligas & protegas: In cujus signum nuncii, summi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum* (8). The Archbishop, not having yet received the Pall, was doubtful whether the Cross might be carried, as usual, before him, and whether he had a right to crown the new Queen. But these scruples were easily removed by the Monks of Canterbury, who brought precedents for both. Nevertheless, the Archbishop, though, upon the authority of the Monks, he suffered the Cross to be carried before him, yet cautiously entered a Protest, that he did not do it in contempt of the Court of Rome. *Archiepiscopus autem, accepta a monacho cruce, dubitationem ipse hanc iniecit: An Crucem ante se perferri liceat, antequam a Papa pallium acceperit. Ex eaque questione alia dubitatio nata est. Regis Bohemie soror regi Anglie Richardo Secundo nuptura in Angliam hoc tempore venit. Has regias nuptias Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus iure, ut diximus, metropolitico celebrare, & reginam coronare debuit. De quo non minus ante acceptum pallium, quam de cruce gerenda, dubitavit. Qui tam perplexus dubitationis scrupulus non a Jurisconsultis & Causidicis, sed a Monachis Cantuariensibus, qui actus crebros & frequentes rerum similiter sine pallio gestarum proferebant, & Cantuariensis Ecclesie consuetudinem allegabant, facile sublatus est. Et tamen archiepiscopus, etsi ex monachorum assertione, gesta ante se cruce, iniecit, Protestationem cautè interposuit: Non se id in Romanæ Curie contemptum facere* (9).

[F] *He restrained the officers of the See of Canterbury from taking cognizance of adultery, and the like crimes.* He extended his censures to others, who were guilty of the like offence: for, about two years after, we are told (10), he excommunicated one Richard Ismonger, a Kentish-man, for pretending to punish crimes, cognizable only in the ecclesiastical courts, by meer lay authority. Who, or in what office, this person was, we are not told: but, it seems, he could not obtain absolution, but by submitting to be beaten with a cudgel, naked, three successive market-days, in the open market-place of West-Malling; to have the same punishment repeated in the market-places of Maidstone and Canterbury; and, at the latter place, to enter naked into the Cathedral Church, and offer a wax taper of five pounds weight at the shrine of Thomas Becket.

[G] *He held a synod, in which Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous.* A more particular account of this synod will be found in the article WICKLIFF. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, Doctor in Divinity, being suspected of favouring Wickliff's doctrines, appeared before this synod, and were obliged to disclaim those tenets, and subscribe to the contrary. Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repindon, Doctors in Divinity, and John Asheton, Master of Arts, were accused in the same synod of heresy, and, refusing to purge themselves, were excommunicated. The King, in support of this ecclesiastical severity, directed his letters to the Archbishop and his suffragans, empowering them to seize and imprison all persons suspected of the aforesaid heresy (11).

[H] *A synod at Oxford, in which a subsidy was granted to the King.* It was held in St. Fridiswide's monastery. Archbishop Courtney officiated at divine service.

(A) Spelman's
Councils, vol. ii.
p. 636.

issued his mandate to the Bishop of London for celebrating the festival of St. Anne, mother of the blessed Virgin (*k*). In 1384, he had a contest with the Earl of Arundel, some of whose servants had robbed one of his fish-ponds [*I*]. In 1386, the King, by the advice of his Parliament, put the administration of the government into the hands of eleven Commissioners [*K*], of whom Archbishop Courtney was the first (*l*). In 1387, he held a synod at London, in which a tenth was granted to the King (*m*). The same year, it being moved in a Parliament, held at London on occasion of the dissension between the King and his nobles, to inflict capital punishment on some of the ringleaders, and it being prohibited by the Canons for Bishops to be present and vote in cases of blood, the Archbishop and his suffragans withdrew from the House of Lords (*n*), having first entered a Protest in relation to their Peerage [*L*]. In 1399, he held a synod in St. Mary's Church in Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the King [*M*], on condition that he should pass over into France with an army before the first of October following (*o*). This year, Archbishop Courtney set out upon his metropolitical visitation, in which he was at first strongly opposed by the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury [*N*]: but those prelates being

(l) H. de Knygh-
ton, *De Eventib.*
Angliae, l. v. ap.
X. Scriptor. col.
2685.

(m) M. Parker,
ubi supra, p. 401.

(n) Registr.
Courtney, f. 174,
& Walsingham,
Hist. Angl. apud
M. Parker, *ubi*
supra.

(o) Walsingham, *ib.*
ap. M. Parker,
ibid. p. 402.

service, and the sermon was preached by the Chancellor Dr. Rigge. After the affair of the subsidy was over, the Bishops proceeded to enquire after persons suspected of heresy: upon which occasion, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repindon, and John Asheton, excommunicated in the last synod, recanted their opinions, and were absolved. And, to secure the University from latitude in opinion, all the Graduates were obliged to swear a renunciation of Wickliff's tenets condemned at London (12).

(12) Wood, *Hist.*
& *Antiq. Univ.*
Oxon. p. 193; &
M. Parker, *ib.*

[*I*] *The Earl of Arundel's servants had robbed one of the Archbishop's fish-ponds.* It was at his manor of South-Malling in the Diocese of Chichester. The Earl's servants had dragged the pond, and cleared it of all the fish. The Archbishop, in a great rage, ordered the Bishop of Chichester to excommunicate the robbers, whom he styled sacrilegious persons, and violaters of the Church of Canterbury. The Earl hereupon applied to the King, desiring his Majesty to take cognizance of the affair, that he might not incur the sentence of excommunication. The King complying with the Earl's request, the Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of Chichester, to revoke the excommunication. And thus the affair dropped. *Archiepiscopus, qui in Wickliffianos ante vehementissimus erat, jam in Arundeliam comitem magnam controversiam instituit. Hujus servuli piscinam in archiepiscopi manerio de Southmalling Cicestrensis diocesis sublati piscibus evacuaverunt. Quo facto archiepiscopus in magnam actus sevitiā Cicestrensis Episcopo mandavit, ut piscine sue prædones, quos sacrilegos & Cantuariensis ecclesie violatores nominavit, excommunicatione feriret. Comes autem Regem adiit, petiitque, ut de ea controversia, ne excommunicationem incurrat, in sua præsentia transigatur. Atque Archiepiscopus, postquam Rex hujus controversie cognitionem suscepisset, ad Cicestrensem Episcopum scripsit, ut latas excommunicationes revocaret (13).*

(13) M. Parker,
ib. p. 400, 401.

[*K*] *The King put the administration of the Government into the hands of eleven Commissioners.* Namely, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Richard Earl of Arundel, John Lord Cobham, Richard Le Scroop, and John Devereux. This committee was authorized to receive the public revenues, to inspect the King's household and Courts, in short to direct the government, and make what reformations in the kingdom they thought fit. But their commission expired at the end of one year (14). Henry de Knyghton adds three more commissioners to the foregoing, viz. the Bishop of Ely Chancellor, the Bishop of Hereford Treasurer, and John de Waltham Privy-Seal, making the whole number fourteen (15).

(14) Rot. Parl.
10 Rich. II.

(15) De Eventib.
Angliae, l. v.
ap. X. Scriptor.
col. 2685.

[*L*] *The Bishops entered a protest in relation to their Peerage.* The purport of it is to set forth, that the Lords Spiritual, by virtue of their Baronies, and as Peers of the Realm, had a right to sit, vote, and give judgment with the rest of the Peers, in all cases and matters transacted in Parliament. But since Impeachments of High Treason, and Tryals for Life, were coming on, and they were forbidden by the Canons of the Church to concern themselves in matters of that nature, they protested, that, for this only reason they were obliged to withdraw. And thus having guarded the en-

tireness of their Peerage, they concluded with declaring, that nothing done in their absence upon this occasion should be hereafter questioned or opposed by any of their body. This instrument, at the instance and petition of the Archbishop and his suffragans, was read in full Parliament, and entered upon the Parliament Rolls, by the King's command, with the assent of the Lords Temporal and the Commons (16).

[*M*] *A tenth was granted to the King.* Speed has particularly dilated upon the circumstances of this grant, which we shall represent in that historian's own words. 'The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at London, had yielded to ayde the King with a Fifteenth, upon condition that the Clergie should succour him with a Tenth and an Halfe: against which unjust proportion William de Courtney, Archbishop of Canterbury, most stiffly opposed, alledging, that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to be taxed by the Laitie, and that himself would rather die then endure that the Church of England (the liberties whereof had by so many free Parliaments, in all times, and not only in the raigne of this king, bene confirmed) should be made a bond-maide. This answer so offended the Commons, that the Knights of the Shires, and some Peers of the land, with extreme fury besought, That Temporalities might be taken away from ecclesiastical persons, saying, that it was an Almesdeed, and an Act of Charitie, so to do, thereby to humble them. Neither did they doubt, but that their petition, which they had exhibited to the King, would take effect. Hereupon they designed among themselves, out of which Abbey, which should receive such a certaine summe, and out of which, another. I myself (saith a (*) Monk of St. Albans) heard one of those Knights confidently sweare, that he would have a yearly pension of a thousand Markes out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the King, having heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Petition to be razed out, saying, He would maintaine the English Church in the qualitie of the same state or better, in which himselfe had known it to be, when hee came to the crowne. The Archbishop hereupon, having consulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that he and the Clergie had with one consent willingly provided to supply his Majesties occasions with a Tenth. This Grant the King tooke so contentedly, as he openly affirmed he was better pleased with this free contribution of one Tenth for the present, than if he had gotten foure by compulsion (17).' We have much the same account, but more briefly delivered by the author of the *Antiquities*, &c. (18) in the following words: *In superiori autem Parlamento, cum Laici Subsidium sub hac conditione regi concessissent, si Clerus Decimam concederet; Archiepiscopus cum suis Suffraganeis valde iniquum et pessimi exempli asserabant, Cleri in regem donationes, quæ spontaneæ gratitæque esse debent, à Laicis tam strictis modis et conditionibus alligari: proinde se de quacunque cleri concessione in Synodo non acturos, nisi illa laicorum conditione deleta. Itaque Rex, qui eo die interfuit, expungi laicorum conditionem jussit; quod mox publice in Parlamento factum est.*

(16) Registr.
Courtney, fol.
174. Rot. Parl.
11 Rich. II. n. 9.
See also M. Par-
ker, *ubi supra*, p.
401.

(*) Tho. Wal-
ingham.

(17) Speed's *Hist.*
of Gr. Britaine,
&c. Lond. 1632,
fol. p. 726.

(18) M. Parker,
ubi supra, p. 402.

[*N*] *He was opposed by the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury.* The Bishop of Exeter (*) issued his mandate, forbidding all persons in his diocese, under pain of ex-

(*) Tho. Bren-
tingham, late
Lord Treasurer,

(p) *Registr.*
Courtney, fol.
86; & Walf. *ib.*
op. M. Parker,
ib. p. 404.

being at last reduced to terms of submission, he proceeded in his visitation without farther opposition: only, at the intercession of the Abbot of St. Alban's, he refrained from visiting certain Monasteries at Oxford (p). The same year, the King directed his Royal Mandate to the Archbishop, not to countenance or contribute any thing towards a subsidy for the Pope [O]. In a Parliament held at Winchester 1392, Archbishop Courtney, being probably suspected of abetting the papal encroachments upon the Church and State, delivered in an answer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons in relation to those encroachments [P]. The same year, he visited the diocese of Lincoln, in which, by his vigilance

communication, to acknowledge the Archbishop's jurisdiction. Courtney issued a mandate in opposition thereto, requiring their submission to his authority. The Bishop appealed to the Pope, and fixed up his Appeal upon the gates of his Cathedral. The Archbishop notwithstanding proceeded in his Visitation, and cited the Bishop to appear before him, and answer to certain articles exhibited against him. The Citation was dispatched by one of the Archbishop's Officers named Peter Hill; who being met by some of the Bishop of Exeter's servants in the town of Topsham, they, discovering his business, not only beat him most unmercifully, but obliged the poor fellow to chew, and swallow down the *Instrument*, which was of parchment, wax and all. The King, being informed of this violence, sent an order to the Earl of Devonshire, and others, to apprehend the Bishop's servants, and bring them before the Archbishop; which being done, Courtney enjoined them the following penance. They were to walk in procession before the Cross, in their shirts only, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands; to pay a certain stipend to a Priest for saying daily Mass at the tomb of the Earl of Devonshire; and lastly to pay twenty shillings each towards repairing the walls of the city of Exeter. The Bishop in the mean time prosecuted his appeal in the Court of Rome; but finding the Archbishop's credit prevail there, and that the King likewise espoused his cause, he thought it the most prudent course to withdraw his appeal, and to acknowledge both his own offence and the Archbishop's jurisdiction (19). The Bishop of Salisbury (+), when it came to his turn to be visited, made no less resistance, but proceeded, as he thought, with more prudence and caution, than the Bishop of Exeter had done. For being of opinion, that the Archbishop's visitatorial power was founded solely upon the authority of Pope Urban, who was now dead, he found means to procure from Pope Boniface, his successor, an exemption of himself and his diocese from metropolitical visitation in virtue of Pope Urban's authority. With this privilege he waited on the Archbishop at Croydon, but met with an unexpected reception from that Prelate, who declared he would visit the diocese of Salisbury, notwithstanding any papal exemption, and commanded the Bishop to be ready to receive him on a certain day in his Cathedral Church. The Bishop, depending on his privilege, took no notice of this order, and, the Archbishop beginning his visitation, appealed to the Pope. The Archbishop immediately excommunicated him, and commenced a prosecution at Law against him, for endeavouring to withdraw himself from the subjection he owed to the See of Canterbury. The Bishop of Salisbury, terrified by this severity, and the recent example of his brother of Exeter, renounced his appeal, acknowledged the Archbishop's jurisdiction, and, through the intercession of the Earl of Salisbury, and others, obtained Absolution and Reconciliation (20).

(19) *Registr.*
Courtney, fol.
86; & M. Parker, *ib.* p. 402,
403.
(+) Jo. Waltham

(20) *Ibid.*

[O] *The King commanded him not to countenance, or contribute any thing towards a subsidy for the Pope.* The writ sets forth, 'that the Archbishop could not be ignorant, that the King was bound by oath to maintain the rights and customs of the kingdom, to govern impartially by the Laws, to secure the property of the subject, and to prevent impositions being charged or levied upon the people without the common consent of the kingdom.' The King suggests farther, 'that the Commons, lately assembled in Parliament at Westminster, had addressed him for a remedy against the Impositions upon the Clergy, at that time exacted by the Court of Rome; and had petitioned him, that if any person should bring in

'any Papal Bulls for levying such impositions, or should actually collect or levy such impositions, he should be adjudged, and suffer, as a traitor to him and his kingdom.' His Highness adds, 'that he had granted, with the consent of the same Parliament, that nothing should be levied or paid, that might tend to the burthen or damage of the subject and kingdom: That notwithstanding this legal provision, he was informed of a new Papal Imposition upon the Clergy, which by his (*the Archbishop*) authority, or that of his Suffragans by his order, was to be levied without the common advice and assent of the kingdom; which he (*the King*) could not suffer consistently with his oath.' And therefore in the close he commands the Archbishop, 'upon his allegiance, and under the highest forfeitures, to revoke his orders for the levying this tax, and to return what had been already paid,' enjoining him 'not to pay, or contribute any thing to this subsidy, under the penalties aforesaid.' *Witness the King at Westminster, the 10th day of October* (21). Writs of the same purport and date were directed to the Archbishop of York, to all the Bishops of both Provinces, to the Guardians of the Spiritualities, and to the several Collectors of this Tax. A like Writ was directed to the Pope's Nuntio, commanding him to desist from exacting this subsidy, *sub forisfactura vite et membrorum*, under forfeiture of life and limb. This imposition was the payment of a Tenth laid upon the Clergy by the Pope, as appears by the title of the record, *Decimis Papæ non solvendis*.

(21) *Rot. Claus.*
13 Ric. II. P. i.
M. 17. *De Decimis Papæ non solvendis.*

[P] *He delivered in an answer to certain Articles exhibited by the Commons, &c.* The tenor of it was as follows. 'To our Dread Sovereign Lord the King in this present Parliament, his humble Chaplain, William Archbishop of Canterbury, gives in his Answer to the Petition brought into the Parliament by the Commons of the Realm, in which Petition are contained certain Articles: That is to say, First, *Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, and all his Liege Subjects, ought of right, and had been always accustomed to sue in the King's Court, to recover their presentations to churches, to maintain their titles to prebendaries, and other benefices of Holy Church, to which they have a right to present: The cognizance of which plea belongs solely to the Court of our Sovereign Lord the King by virtue of his antient prerogative, maintained and practised in the reigns of all his predecessors Kings of England; and when judgment is given in his Highness's said court upon any such plea, the Archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual persons, who have the right of giving Institution to such benefices within their jurisdiction, are bound to execute such judgments, and used always to make execution of them at the King's command (since no lay person can make any such execution), and are also bound to make execution of many other commands of our Lord the King: Of which right the Crown of England has been all along peaceably possessed: Notwithstanding, of late, divers processes have been made by the Holy Father the Pope, and Excommunications published against several English Bishops, for making such executions, and acting in pursuance to the King's commands in the cases above-mentioned; and such censures of his Holiness are inflicted in open dishonour of the Crown, and subversion of the Prerogative Royal, of the King's Laws, and his whole Realm, unless prevented by proper remedies.*' To this article, the Archbishop, premising his Protestation, that it was not his intention to affirm, that our holy father the Pope has no authority to excommunicate a Bishop, pursuant to the Laws of Holy Church, declares

(9) Knyghton,
ubi supra, col.
2736, 2737.

vigilance and activity, he gave a considerable check to the growth of Wickliff's doctrines (9). In 1395, he obtained from the Pope a grant of four-pence in the pound on all ecclesiastical benefices; in which he was opposed by the Bishop of Lincoln, who would not suffer it to be collected in his diocese, and appealed to the Pope (r). But, before the matter could be decided, Archbishop Courtney died, July the 31st 1396, at Maidstone in Kent, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury [2], under a monument of alabaster, on the South side, near the tomb of Thomas Becket, and at the feet of the Black Prince; the King, who was then going to marry the King of France's daughter, being present, with several of his nobles, at the funeral solemnity (s). This Prelate founded a College of Secular Priests at Maidstone. He left a thousand marks for the repair of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; also to the same Church a silver-gilt image of the Trinity, with six Apostles standing round it weighing 160 pounds; some books [R], and some ecclesiastical vestments (t). He obtained from King Richard a

grant

(r) Walf. ib. ap.
M. Parker, ibid.
p. 405.
(s) Chron. W.
Thorn, apud X.
Scriptores, col.
2197, 2198.
See also Dart's
Hist. and Antiq.
of the Cath. Ch.
of Cant. Lond.
1726, p. 157.
(t) Dies Obital.
Archiep. Cant.
apud Wharton,
Anglia Sacra,
vol. i. p. 61.

clares and answers, that if any executions of processes are made, or shall be made, by any person; if any censures of excommunication shall be published and served upon any English Bishops, or any other of the King's subjects, for their having made execution of any such commands, he maintains such censures to be prejudicial to the King's prerogative, as is set forth in the Commons Petition: And that so far forth he is resolved to stand with our Lord the King, and support his Crown, in the matters above-mentioned, to the utmost of his power. And whereas it is alledged in the Petition, *That complaint has been made, that the said Holy Father the Pope had designed to translate some English Prelates to Sees out of the Realm, and some from one Bishoprick to another, without the knowledge and consent of our Lord the King, and without the assent of the Prelates so translated (which Prelates are very serviceable and necessary to our Lord the King, and his whole Realm); which translations if they should be suffered, the statutes of the Realm would be defeated, and made in a great measure insignificant, and the said Lieges of his Highness's Council would be removed out of his kingdoms, without their assent, and against their inclination, and the treasure of the said Realm would be exported: By which means the country would become destitute both of wealth and counsel, to the utter destruction of the said Realm: And thus the Crown of England, which has always been so free and independent, as not to have any earthly sovereign, but to be immediately subject to God in all things touching the Prerogatives and Royalty of the said Crown, would be made subject to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm defeated and set aside by him at pleasure, to the utter destruction of the Sovereignty of our Lord the King, his Crown and Royalty, and his whole kingdom, which God forbid.* The said Archbishop, first protesting, that 'tis not his intention to affirm, that our Holy Father aforesaid cannot make translations of Prelates according to the Laws of Holy Church, answers and declares, that if any English Prelates, who by their capacity and qualifications were very serviceable and necessary to our Lord the King, and his Realm, should be translated to any Sees in foreign dominions, or the sage Lieges of his Council were forced out of the kingdom against their will, and that by this means the wealth and treasure of the kingdom should be exported; that such translations are prejudicial to the King and his Crown, and that if any such thing should happen, he resolves to adhere loyally to the King, and endeavour, as he is bound by his allegiance, to support his Highness in this, and all other instances, in which the rights of his Crown were concerned. He concluded with praying, that this Declaration might be entered in the *Parliament Rolls*; which was granted (22). This Declaration of Archbishop Courtney's seems to have led the way to the famous *Statute of Præmunire* passed in this Parliament; and it is evident from hence, that this Prelate was no vassal to the Court of Rome, nor asserted the Pope's Supremacy so far as to weaken his allegiance, or to make him an ill subject.

[2] He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. It appears by a codicil annexed to his will, extant in the *Archives* of the Church of Canterbury, that, upon his death-bed, not thinking himself

worthy to lie in his own Metropolitan, or in any other Cathedral or Collegiate Church, he chose, and desired, to be buried in the Church-yard of Maidstone-College, in the place designed for his Esquire John Butler. *Languens in extremis in interiori camera Manerii de Maydenston, voluit & ordinavit, quod quia non reputavit se dignum, ut dixit, in sua Metropolitana, aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Ecclesia sepeliri, voluit & elegit sepulturam suam in Cæmeterio Ecclesiæ Collegiatae de Maydenston, in loco designato Johanni Botelere Armigero suo* (23). But most certain it is, Dart tells us (24), that, notwithstanding this humble thought of his, in his lowness of spirits, King Richard, being at Canterbury, when he was to be buried, overruled his Will, and ordered him to be interred in that Cathedral.

[R] — *some books.* These were: St. Augustin's *Milleloquium*, A *Dictionary* in three volumes, and *Doctor de Lira* in two volumes. His nephew Richard Courtney was to have the use of them during his life, and his executors to return them after his death, under a penalty of three hundred pounds; for which they gave a bond. My author calls them, *sex libros preciosos*, six valuable books (25).

B.

* [Our learned Predecessor has touched the character of Archbishop Courtney with a very gentle hand. Wickliff, without any qualifying or softening word, is called an heresiarch, which is usually a term of reproach; and the Archbishop's conduct towards that eminent reformer is not related in the language of disapprobation. It is only recorded, that several of Wickliff's tenets were condemned as heretical and erroneous; and that a considerable check was given to the growth of his doctrines, by the vigilance and activity of Courtney. Such lenity of expression was scarcely becoming a Protestant Divine. In fact, Bishop Courtney was attached to the See of Rome beyond the duty of a subject, and he was, at the same time, a bitter persecutor. There is sufficient evidence of the former from many circumstances mentioned in his article, and especially from his behaviour in regard to the Florentines. His publishing the Pope's Bull at Paul's Cross, without consulting the King, and his giving the populace licence to plunder the houses of the Florentines who had been excommunicated by that Bull, were acts of great disloyalty and insolence. His character as a persecutor would have been equally apparent, if his treatment of Wickliff had been properly related. This character he uniformly maintained, both when Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, as may be seen in the life of Wickliff, written by Mr. Gilpin, to whom the world is so much indebted for several Biographical pieces, and other very elegant publications. One circumstance, which displays the strength and firmness of Courtney's mind in the exercise of his religious bigotry, deserves to be noticed. When the Archbishop, on a certain day, with a number of Bishops and Divines, had assembled to condemn the tenets of Wickliff, just as they were going to enter upon business, a violent earthquake shook the monastery. Upon this, the terrified Bishops threw down their papers, and crying out, that the business was displeasing to God, came to a hasty resolution to proceed no farther. "The Archbishop alone," says

(23) *Verba Archiep. Apud Wharton, Angl. Sacra, vol. i. p. 121.*

(24) Hist. and Antiq. of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. Lond. 1726, p. 157.

(25) *Dies Obital. Archiep. Cantua. apud Wharton, ubi supra, p. 62.*

(22) *Rot. Parl. 26 Ric. II. N. 20. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 348.*

grant of four fairs at Canterbury yearly, viz. on Innocents-Day, Whitfun-Eve, the Eve of Becket's translation, and Michaelmas-Eve; each to continue nine days, and to be kept within the site of the Priory (u).

(u) Dart, ubi supra.

Mr. Gilpin, "remained unmoved. With equal spirit and address he chid their superstitious fears, and told them, that if the earthquake portended any thing, it portended the downfall of Heresy; that as noxious vapours are lodged in the bowels of the earth, and are expelled by these violent concussions, so by their strenuous endeavours, the kingdom should be purified from the pestilential taint of heresy, which had infected it in every part. This speech, together with the news, that the earthquake was general through the city, as it was afterwards indeed found to have been through the island, dispelled their fears. Wickliff would often merrily speak of this accident; and would call this assembly the Council of the Herydene;

"Herydene being the old English word for earthquake (26)."

In the Parliamentary History, some notice is taken of the speech which, as Chancellor of England, Courtney made at the opening of the Parliament in 1382. The words which he took for his theme were *Rex convenire fecit consilium*, and it is said that he made a notable oration upon it in English. He applied his text to the good and virtuous government of the kingdom during his reign. No reign, the Archbishop affirmed, could long endure if vice ruled in it, to remedy which evil the Parliament was called, the laws then in being not having been found effectual to that purpose (27).]

(26) Gilpin's Life of Wickliff. p. 48, 49.

(27) Parliamentary Hist. vol. p. 385, 2d. edit.

** [COWARD (WILLIAM), a Medical and Metaphysical Writer, (of whom we are able to give only an imperfect account, but who is, nevertheless, entitled to some degree of notice in this work,) was the son of Mr. William Coward of the city of Winchester, where he was born in the year 1656, or 1657. His mother was the daughter of Mr. George Lamphire, an Apothecary in that city, and the sister of Dr. John Lamphire, an eminent Physician at Oxford, Camden's Professor of History, and Principal of Hart Hall (a). It is not certain where young Coward received his grammatical education; but it is natural to suppose that it was in his native place, at Wykeham's School, which hath long sustained a great and deserved reputation, and produced many learned men. At the age of eighteen, or in his eighteenth year, he was removed to Oxford, and, in the month of May, 1674, became a Commoner of Hart Hall, the inducement to which might probably be, that his uncle was at the head of that seminary. However, he did not long continue there; for in the year following, he was admitted a Scholar of Wadham College. On the 27th of June, 1677, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in January, 1679-80, he was chosen Probationer Fellow of Merton College, which may reasonably be considered as a testimony of his having obtained some reputation for his literary improvements (b). In 1681, was published Mr. Dryden's *Abfalom and Achitophel*, a production on the celebrity of which we need not expatiate. At Oxford it could not fail to be greatly admired for its poetical merit; beside which, it might be the better received on account of its containing a severe satire on the Duke of Monmouth and the Earl of Shaftesbury; two men who were certainly no favourites with that loyal University. Accordingly, the admiration of the poem produced two Latin Versions of it, both of which were written and printed at Oxford; one by Mr. Francis Atterbury, (afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Rochester) who was assisted in it by Mr. Francis Hickman, a Student of Christ-Church; and the other by Mr. Coward. These translations were published in 4to. in 1682. Whatever proof Mr. Coward's Version of the *Abfalom and Achitophel* might afford of his progress in Classical Literature, he was not very fortunate in this his first publication. It was compared with Mr. Atterbury's production, not a little to its disadvantage. According to Anthony Wood, he was schooled for it in the College; it was not well received in the University; and Atterbury's Poem was extolled as greatly superior. To conceal, in some degree, Mr. Coward's mortification, a friend of his, in a public paper, advertized the translation, as written by a Walter Curle, of Hertford, Gentleman (c). On the 13th of December, 1683, Mr. Coward was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. Having determined to apply himself to the practice of Medicine, he prosecuted his studies in that line; in consequence of which, he took the degree of Bachelor of Physic, on the 23d of June, 1685, and of Doctor, on the 2d of July, 1687 (d). After his quitting Oxford, he exercised his profession at Northampton, from which place he removed to London, in 1693, or 1694, and settled in Lombard Street. In 1695, he published a tract, in 8vo. entitled, "*De Fermento volatili Nutritio Conjectura Rationis, qua ostenditur Spiritum volatilem oleosum, è Sanguine suffusum, esse verum ac genuinum Concoctionis ac Nutritionis Instrumentum* (e)." For this work he had an honourable approbation from the President and Censors of the College of Physicians (f).

(a) Wood's *Atbenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. col. 947. *Ibid.* *Fasti Oxonienses*, col. 134.

(b) *Atbenæ*, ubi supra, col. 947.

(c) *Atbenæ*, ubi supra, col. 948. 1664.

(d) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 84.

(f) An historical view of the controversy concerning an intermediate state, p. 179. Sec. ed.

(e) *Atbenæ*, ubi supra, col. 947, 948.

It was not to Medical studies only that Dr. Coward confined his attention. Besides being fond of polite learning, he entered deeply into metaphysical speculations, especially with regard to the nature of the soul, and the natural immortality of man. The result of his enquiries was the publication, in 1702, under the fictitious name of Estibius Psycalthes, of a book, the title of which was, "*Second Thoughts concerning human Soul, demonstrating the Notion of human Soul, as believed to be a spiritual, immortal Substance united to a human Body, to be a plain heathenish Invention, and not consonant to the Principles of Philosophy, Reason, or Religion; but the ground only of many absurd* and

“and superstitious Opinions, abominable to the reformed Churches, and derogatory in general to true Christianity.” This work was dedicated by the Doctor to the Clergy of the Church of England, and he professes, at his setting out, “that the main stress of arguments, either to confound or support his opinion, must be drawn from those only credentials of true and orthodox Divinity, the lively oracles of God, the Holy Scriptures.” In another part, in answer to the Question, *Doth Man die like a Brute Beast?* He says, “Yes, in respect of their end in this life; both their deaths consist in a privation of life (g).” “But then,” he adds, “Man has this prerogative or pre-eminence above a brute, that he will be raised to life again, and be made partaker of eternal happiness in the world to come.” Notwithstanding these, “and as many other proofs,” (says a most competent judge) “of a firm and serious attachment to the authority of the Christian Scriptures, as it is in any man’s power to give under his hand,” Dr. Coward has commonly made one in the list with those who have been reputed to be the most rancorous and determined adversaries of Christianity (h). Swift hath ranked him with Toland, Tindal, and Gildon (i); and passages to the like purpose are not unfrequent among controversial writers, especially during the former part of the present century. However sincere and zealous Dr. Coward might be in his belief of the gospel, his denial of the immateriality and natural immortality of the soul, and of a separate state of existence between the time of death and the general resurrection, was so contrary to the opinions then almost universally received, that it is not very surprizing that he should hastily be considered as an enemy to revelation. It might be expected that he would immediately meet with opponents; and accordingly he was attacked by various writers, of different complexions and abilities; among whom were Dr. Nichols, Mr. John Broughton, and Mr. John Turner. Dr. Nichols took up the argument in his “Conference with a Theist.” Mr. Broughton wrote a treatise, entitled “Psychologia, or, An Account of the Nature of the rational Soul, in two Parts;” and Mr. Turner published “A Vindication of the separate Existence of the soul from a late Author’s Second Thoughts.” Both these pieces appeared in 1703. Mr. Turner’s publication was answered by Dr. Coward, in a pamphlet called “Farther Thoughts upon second Thoughts.” In Mr. Turner the Doctor acknowledged that he had a rational and candid adversary. This doth not appear to have been the case with regard to Mr. Broughton; who, therefore, was treated by Dr. Coward with a suitable degree of severity, in “An Epistolary reply to Mr. Broughton’s Psychologia,” which reply was not separately printed, but annexed to a work of the Doctor’s, published in the beginning of the year 1704, and entitled “The grand Essay; or, A Vindication of Reason and Religion against Imposthures of Philosophy.” In this last production, the idea of the human Soul’s being an immaterial substance, was again vigorously attacked. From the “Epistolary Reply” we shall insert two or three passages below, which while they serve to display Dr. Coward’s peculiar sentiments, and his mode of writing, will tend to throw some light on his Christian character [A]. A late Author (k), in speaking of Mr. Broughton’s

(g) For this he quotes Eccles. iii. 19.

(i) Supplement to Swift’s Works, vol. i. p. 237, 238.

(h) Historical Review, p. 174, 175.

(k) The Rev. T. Broughton, M. A.

[A] We shall insert two or three passages below.] “Good Sir,” says Dr. Coward, (addressing himself to Mr. Broughton) “do but consider without passion, how you have answered that argument, drawn from eternal life being the gift of God; ergo the philosopher ought not to give us an unwarrantable immortality. This is the substance of *Estibius*’s argument. Ans. 1. It is a superlative gift to have an immortal soul, p. 208. 2. We know it from scripture revelation. 3. Life denotes happiness in scripture; so by a new and full assurance, it is by scripture become a new gift. 4. The forfeited title to this happiness, was by the gospel restored to mankind. —What is all this to the purpose? If I say, immortality to man is a superlative gift revealed from scripture only, and this immortality consists in an happiness of life after death, which Adam forfeited and Christ restored, is not this as good divinity as yours? Nay, I am sure, yours has not that probability of truth, as mine has, because your first proposition is precarious and groundless, unless you make it appear, that God gave man an immortal soul at creation; and mine has the whole religion of the gospel to justify it. Sir, but one question more. Is immortal life a gift to an immortal being? Yes, say you, happiness super-added to immortal life, is a gift; and that is meant by immortal life in the scripture. Then pray do you interpret scripture, if your head can do it right, and tell us, that Christ promised his believer only happiness super-added to our immortal life in the next world, for he knew that we had an immortal life before. Can you, with any face, give such a gloss to the scriptures? Is not

“the whole intent and purport of the gospel to tell us, that though we had forfeited eternal life by Adam’s transgression, yet by Christ we should be restored to that again, who else would have died eternally? Doth he not first promise life to a dead lump of earth, rotted in the grave after several thousand years, by which we are put in a state of being capable of happiness? And after this promise of life, then if you do well, you shall have happiness super-added to it, as a new gift. Away with your trifling with a text. Is life a gift to a dead carcase or no? If it be, it is a gift of God, and no being else can possibly give it. If it be not the gift of God, then the scripture is vain, and the promise of none effect. For as to happiness or misery attending that life, it is subsequent to it, and depends upon yourself for the most part, to perform the conditions of obedience God has set before you.” “Epistolary Reply, p. 233.” After this, the Doctor proceeds as follows: “Another argument like the former, is in relation to the curse denounced against Adam, *In the day thou eat’st thereof* (viz. the forbidden fruit) *thou shalt die*. What sinned? saith *Estibius*. Soul as well as body, and therefore both were liable to death. But say you, by way of a nice question, *What is to be understood by, thou?* p. 279. Ans. The whole Man, or Person of Man. Then, say I, whole Man died. —No, whole Man may be as well understood for a part, as a part for the whole.—This is rare philosophy indeed! Whole Man died, therefore one-half of him survived,” *Epist. Rep.* p. 239. Again. “As to those arguments, *Estibius* urges from the nature and end of a resurrection and general judgment, “I be-

Psychologia, describes it as a learned and solid answer to the "Second Thoughts;" but the great Mr. Locke entertained a very different opinion of the merit of the work. For in a letter to Mr. Collins, he says, "The other book you mentioned, I have seen, and am so well satisfied by his fifth section, what a doughty Squire he is like to prove in the rest, that I think not to trouble myself to look farther into him. He has there argued very weakly against his adversary, but very strongly against himself (1)."

(1) Historical View, p. 176. 181, 182. 305. Note.

So obnoxious were Dr. Coward's positions, that it was not deemed sufficient to attempt the answering of them by the force alone of reason and argument. A more concise and effectual method of confuting them was sought for, by an appeal to human authority. On Friday, the 10th of March, 1703-4, a complaint was made to the House of Commons of the "Second Thoughts," and the "Grand Essay;" which books were brought up to the Table, and some parts of them read. The consequence of this was, an order, "That a Committee be appointed to examine the said Books, and collect thereout such parts thereof as are offensive; and to examine who is the author, printer, and publisher thereof." At the same time, the matter was referred to Sir Dudley Cullum, Colonel Stringer, Mr. Bromley, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr. Lownds, Mr. Topham, Mr. Smith, Sir Matthew Dudley, Mr. Colcher, Mr. Annesley, Mr. How, Mr. Sambrooke, Sir William Whitlock, Mr. Fagg, Mr. Moncton, Sir John Holland, Mr. Boyle, Mr. St. John, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Moor, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Harley, and Sir Jervas Elwes; who were directed to meet that afternoon, and had power given them to send for persons, papers, and records. Whether all or any of these Gentlemen (Mr. St. John, afterwards the famous Lord Bolingbroke, excepted) were acute and able Divines, doth not stand upon Record. If they were, it is probable that no subsequent House of Commons could boast of having produced a superior, or an equal number of skilful Theologues; and we assume some merit to ourselves, for rescuing them from the oblivion in which they have hitherto slept in this respect, and bringing them forward to public notice. But perhaps, after all, they might in part be indebted to the Chaplain of the House, or to still higher ecclesiastics, for their complete knowledge of the malignity of Dr. Coward's principles. Be this as it may, on the 17th of March, Sir David Cullum reported from the Committee, that they had examined the books, and had collected out of them several passages which they conceived to be offensive; and that they found, that Dr. Coward was the author of them; that Mr. David Edwards was the printer of the one, and Mr. W. Pierfon of the other; and that both the books were published by Mr. Bassett. Sir David Cullum having read the report in his place [B], and the same being read again, after

"I believe you foresaw them unanswerable, and therefore was forced to recur to an intermediate state.—This dream has indeed relieved you one way, but then it presses you very hard on the confines of Purgatory. For what end are souls reserved in that state? If wicked, and in torments, then it cannot be less than a Purgatory. If righteous, and in happiness, though but initial, as you term it, then you answer not well, for the justice of God, who has, by such his assignment, attested them to be so far innocent, as to be in a state of certain salvation, and certain happiness, and yet he still detains them from a perfect consummation and bliss, so many thousand years before a general resurrection. If any man had for that time *no being at all*, as *Estibius* avers it, it is no injustice to a non-existent man, because he is not capable of having injustice done him in a state of non-existence. Again, the scriptures every where, by the particle, *then*, relating to a fixed day of a general judgment, seem plainly to testify God's ordination on my side. But for God to give our souls existence in an intermediate state, who knew that they will have a certain happiness full and complete in all degrees, yet to detain them from it so long, without shewing any ordination of his from scripture to justify the truth of your opinion; by your good leave, I think, seems a grand reflection and derogation to infinite justice; for which opinion you deserve Lustration or Purgatory at least." *Epist. Reply*, p. 241. The advices which Dr. Coward gives to Mr. Broughton are worthy of being attended to by Controversialists in general. One word or two of advice to you, and I have done. 1. Whenever you write again, get a man of solid judgment and reading to supervise your papers before they come hastily into the world, that your expressions *may always be sense*, if they bear little or no weight in argumentation. 2. Take such a man's judgment in examining the reasons

"you propose as demonstrative, and especially where you attempt to reduce the adversary to own absurdities, and to ridicule him. 3. Never use calumny for argument, by calling a man *atheist*, *heretic*, *irreligious*, &c. either by inuendo or express words. For it becomes such as are of your station, and of your function, to treat men with candour and mildness of temper (whatever latitude a layman may take) more particularly. This is a breach of good-manners, and give me leave to tell you, that when you presume to call one *atheist* or *heretic*, who is known constantly to frequent the Sacrament often in the year, and seldom fails public devotion in the week days, in the Church of England, you, or any one else, do very ill to brand such an one with *atheism*, or *irreligion*, or as a broacher of heretical opinions." p. 246 (1).

(1) An Historical View of the Controversy concerning an intermediate State, p. 302—305. note.

[B] Read the report in his place.] The report was as follows:

In the "second thoughts concerning human soul, &c."

P. 84. "Now the notion of an immaterial, immortal, substantial Being in Man, or Soul, was one of those principles I had by education so imbibed; and having thought fit more strictly to enquire into the reasons or foundation of this belief, I find it to be only an opinion derived down to posterity, as it were, by trust."

P. 85. "But these grounds of the framing an immaterial, immortal soul in a man, I look upon to be idle and fabulous, and conceive it rather to be the consent and doctrine of the philosophers in general preaching, that virtue was to be rewarded, and vice punished; and when they usually saw good men die untimely deaths, and unrewarded too, being ignorant of a resurrection, taught their scholars, that men's souls, after death, remained alive to receive the same; i. e. good men rewards, and ill men punishments."

P. 88. "Now after the piety of the primitive

"Christ-

after it had been delivered in at the Clerk's Table, the House proceeded to the examination of the evidence, with regard to the writing, printing, and vending of the two books. Sufficient proof having been produced with respect to the writer of them, Dr. Coward was called in. Being examined accordingly, he acknowledged that he was the author of the books; and declared, that he never intended any thing against Religion; that there was nothing contained in them, contrary either to Morality or Religion; and that if there were

"Christians began, by secular interest, to be perverted, and the ambition of crafty prelates grew so high, as to require to be supported in grandeur and state, then it became convenient to propagate this doctrine to the height."

P. 144. "Thus, upon the whole, we find how weak and insufficient the arguments of philosophy are, to defend the opinion of an immaterial soul, united to the body; what idle and trifling distinctions they are forced to make to defend it; what shifts and evasions they frame to support their notion, insomuch that a man may say, there is no plea to ground a belief on the philosophers arguments, which pretend to establish two distinct substances, spiritual and material, in man, but only to those who are resolved not to be informed, and will know no better."

P. 176. "If we allow this conjunction of body and soul to be the union of an immortal immaterial spirit to a mortal material body, where is then the mystery of the hypostatic union? The union of the soul and body no man yet ever allowed to be a mystery of religion; therefore, either both must be reputed so, or neither."

P. 206. "1. That human soul will cease when the body dies (i. e. life and soul are the same thing in Scripture) and consequently the common notion of a spiritual immortal substance, united to, or in man, is erroneous."

"That, by the common course of Providence, man's immortality begins not until after the resurrection."

"As to the first proposition, thus I argue: If it appear by the whole current of scripture, that life is properly the soul of man; and no text gives us a sufficient ground to call it an immaterial substance; then the soul of man will cease to be, when the body dies. But it appears by the whole current of Scripture, &c. ergo, the soul of man will cease to be, when the body dies; and, consequently, the notion of a spiritual immortal substance, united to, or in, man, is erroneous."

P. 222. "Thessalon. Cap. IV. Ver. 13, 14.—Who will be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality, before it can be pronounced, that death is swallowed up of victory, 1 Cor. xv. ver. 51, &c. Where it is very observable, that the Apostle, in all the whole course of his writing, says, 'we,' not 'our bodies;' who cannot be called 'we:' As, 'we shall not all sleep;' 'we shall be raised incorruptible;' and, 'we shall be changed;' which could not be true, were our soul, our better part, an incorruptible immortal being already; for that has no change at all, but retains its first immortal nature."

P. 278. Obj. 14. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God that gave it: therefore, herein is a plain distinction of soul and body; and that when we die, our souls will certainly return to God:"

Answer: "This is the great *Goliab* argument, generally brought to knock down all opposers; though it argues not for an immaterial spiritual substance, but is rather, and ought to be, explained as a confirmation of my opinion."

P. 280. "Thus far, I think, I have sufficiently answered all objections brought from the Old Testament: and though there occur many of the same nature in the Apocrypha, and, indeed, more seemingly apposite to my opinion, yet I shall here pass them by until the Apocrypha be proved canonical: and so proceed to objections extorted from the New Testament."

"First, The first I meet with, that seems significant, is this: 'Fear not them that kill the body,

but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell." Matth. x. 28. Therefore there is a being in man distinct from his body, capable of being cast into a place of torment; whereas the body only lies in the power of man, and not the soul, to be destroyed."

P. 283, 284. "Answer: If by this text was meant a spiritual, substantial, immortal soul, no doubt but that our Saviour knew it, and so did his Disciples, to whom he then preached this doctrine; therefore, for our Saviour to instruct them in a doctrine, viz. The impossibility of man's power to kill an immortal spirit, which they must know before, if true, would favour more of trifling, than of giving real instructions in Christianity; for it might easily be returned, that all the world knows an immortal spirit cannot be killed, so that such instructions are vain and useless."

P. 285, 286. Luke xxiii. 43. "This day (says our Saviour to the thief on the cross) thou shalt be with me in Paradise. Therefore his soul must be there with our Saviour, or else our Saviour's words could not be admitted for truth; for, he sure, the thief's body was buried, and laid in the ground, as others were."

Answer. "This objection, though oft brought, I cannot see of what force it is, unless it be, to tell us, that our Saviour spake to the soul of the thief, when he said, 'Thou shalt be with me in Paradise.' 'Thou soul of the thief, for owning me, shall this day be with me in bliss: but O thief! thy body shall go to corruption, as other bodies do.' Now what a speech must such men make for our Saviour, that gave such an interpretation of this text, let the learned judge."

In "The grand Essay, &c."

P. 185. "Theol. How could man come by this immaterial substance, but at the first creation? And it's plain there, by express words, that he was made no more than a living creature."

"Philos. You had as good throw your cap into the air. All the Heathen Philosophers preached up man to be made of a soul, called immaterial substance and body; and if you throw all the Old and New Testament at that doctrine, you'll never confound it, or convince its believers to the contrary."

P. 186, 187. "Theol. Don't a man die if he lose his life?"

"Philos. No; he doth die in his body but not in his soul; for that lives as well, if not better, than it did in the body."

"Theol. Not one word of this, or like it, do I find in the Bible. This is as much as to say, a man doth die, and he doth not die. Pray what is meant by dying in his body?"

"Philos. His material body dies."

"Theol. As far as I find it never lived, for it was the soul lived all the while; and how can any thing die which never lived?"

"Philos. It's no matter how; it is so: The soul, or immaterial substance, gave the body life; and now it is separated the body is dead."

"Theol. What chapter and verse, for your immaterial living substance, in the Bible?"

"Philos. I told you you were always for Scripture. It's so by Philosophy, that's enough: and so if a man is said to sleep in death, he is as fully awake in his soul, the next minute of separation, as ever he was in his life in this world."

"Theol. A pretty way of sleeping indeed! You Philosophers make us believe any thing. I'll be stigmatized (for a fool)(2) all my life-time, if you can bring the like case where so many absurdities, without any warrant from Scripture, or common reason, are believed."

(2) These words are supplied from the original Report.

any thing therein against Religion or Morality, he was heartily sorry, and ready to recant the same. The House then resolved, "That the said Books do contain therein divers "Doctrines and Positions, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England, and "tending to the Subversion of the Christian Religion;" and ordered, that they should be burnt, next day, by the Common Hangman, in New Palace Yard, Westminster^(m), which order was carried into execution. One effect of this procedure was, that Dr. Coward's works were more generally read; for in the same year he gave to the world a new edition of his "Second Thoughts;" which was followed by a Treatise, entitled, "The just Scrutiny; or, a serious Enquiry into the modern notions of the Soul (*).

(m) Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xiv. p. 373. 379, 380.

(*) British Museum.

After this, the Doctor returned to the studies belonging to his profession, and, in 1706, published a Tract, entitled "Ophthalmiatria," which he dedicated to his patron, Manuel Sorrel, Esq. In this Dedication, Mr. Sorrel is complimented as a man of learning and judgment, in whose approbation of his works our author declares himself satisfied and happy, and enabled to despise the idle and profane mob of Sciolists, whom certain *pious agents of sedition* had encouraged to calumniate him. Dr. Coward, in the first chapter of his Ophthalmiatria, the title of which is, "De Oculo, ejusque Partibus," speaking of the manner wherein vision is performed and accounted for, diverts himself with the notion of an immaterial substance residing in the pineal gland, by the help of which, he tells us, the Philosophers of the day accounted for every phænomenon relating to sensation. Having exposed this hypothesis as empty and unphilosophical, so far as relates to vision, he adds, that he hath said enough on the subject elsewhere, and exhorts the learned of all countries, to examine, thoroughly and candidly, what absurd and ridiculous, and almost blasphemous opinions, follow from this doctrine of an *immaterial substance*. He hints, at the same time, that his domestic adversaries, not being able to confute him by reasoning, had endeavoured to silence him by fire and faggot⁽ⁿ⁾. Hence it is apparent that the burning of Dr. Coward's books had not had the least effect in abating his zeal for his peculiar sentiments, and that he retained a strong sense of the harsh treatment he had received. From a letter of our author to Dr. Hans Sloane, dated May 28, 1706, which is preserved in the British Museum, and has lately been published in the Gentleman's Magazine, it appears that he was in the habits of intimacy with this eminent Physician and Naturalist. Dr. Sloane carried his friendship so far as to take upon himself the supervisal of the Ophthalmiatria. He wished Dr. Coward to alter what related to his private opinion concerning the Soul, and to add something in commendation of the tender consciences of Physicians in point of Religion. The former our author declared could not be done; and with regard to the latter, he thought that if he advanced any thing on that head, it would be interpreted rather as a piece of a ridicule, than a serious apology for his conduct. As the letter to Dr. Sloane is dated from the Green Bell over against the Castle Tavern, (near Holborn in Fetter Lane) there is reason to believe that Dr. Coward had quitted London, and was now only a visitant in town, for the purpose of his publication^(o). Indeed, the fact is ascertained from the lists of the College of Physicians, which are preserved in the British Museum. In the Catalogue for 1706, Dr. William Coward, who stands under the head of Candidates, is then, for the first time, mentioned as residing in the country. The persecution he had met with, and the unpopularity arising from his works, might be inducements with him to leave the metropolis. It doth not appear, for twelve years, to what part of the kingdom he had retired^(p).

(n) Historical View, p. 180, 181.

(o) Gent. Mag. for Feb. 1787, p. 100.

(p) Lists of the College of Physicians, in the British Museum.

From this period we hear no more of Dr. Coward as a Medical or Metaphysical writer. Even when he had been the most engaged in abstruse and scientific enquiries, he had not omitted the study of polite Literature; for we are told that, in 1705, he published "The Lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, an Heroic Poem^(q)." Of this work, as we have not been able to meet with it, we can give no account. It doth not seem to have had even the fate of Sir Richard Blackmore's productions, to be spoken of and abused for a time, and then to be neglected. As far as we are capable of judging, it was little noticed at first; and it has now sunk into total oblivion. The subject of the Poem indicates our Author's regard for the Scriptures, and affords a farther proof how unjustly he has been represented as an enemy to Revelation. Concerning another poetical performance by Dr. Coward, and the last of his writings that has come to our knowledge, we are able to give more accurate intelligence. It was published in 1709, and is entitled, "Licentia Poetica discussed; or the true Test of Poetry: without which it is difficult to judge of, "or compose a correct English Poem. To which are added Critical Observations on the "principal Ancient and Modern Poets, viz. Homer, Horace, Virgil, Milton, Cowley, "Dryden, &c. as frequently liable to just censure." This work, which is divided into two books, is dedicated to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and introduced by a long and learned preface. Prefixed are three copies of commendatory verses, signed A. Hill, J. Gay, and Sam. Barklay. The two former, Aaron Hill and John Gay, were then young Poets, who afterwards, as is well known, rose to a considerable degree of reputation. Coward is celebrated by them as a great bard, a title to which he had certainly no claim, though his "Licentia," considered as a didactic poem, and as such poems were then generally written, is not contemptible. It is not so correct as Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated verse;

(q) Mag. ubi supra.

verse; But it is little, if at all, inferior to the Duke of Buckingham's Essay on Poetry, which was so much extolled in its day. The rules laid down by Dr. Coward for poetical composition are often minute, but usually, though not universally, founded on good sense and a just taste. He doth not approve of blank verse, and had not felt the harmony and variety of Milton's numbers. Triplets, double rhimes, and Alexandrines are condemned by him; the last of which, however, he admits on some great occasion. The notes, which are large and numerous, display no small extent of reading; and to the whole is added, by way of appendix, "A Political Essay," from which it appears that our author was a very zealous whig (r).

(r) *Licentia Poetica* discussed. *Passim*.

In the List of the College of Physicians for 1718, Dr. Coward begins to be mentioned as residing at Ipswich. From this place he wrote, in 1722, a letter to his old Friend, Sir Hans Sloane, the occasion of which is somewhat curious. He had learned, from the news-papers, that the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough proposed to give five hundred guineas to any person who should present her with an epitaph, suitable to the late Duke her husband's character, "Now," says he, "I have one by me which gives him his just character, without flattery or ostentation, and which I verily believe may be acceptable to any learned man." He adds, "that he hears it was to be approved by Dr. Hare, Dr. Friend of Westminster School, and Dr. Bland of Eton School;" and, if this be true, he begs that Sir Hans would give him leave to send it for his approbation and recommendation (s). From the omission of Dr. Coward's name in the Catalogue of the College of Physicians, printed in 1725, it is evident that he was then dead. Though his medical works are now in no reputation, and his other writings are but little attended to, it is, nevertheless, certain that he was a man of considerable abilities and literature; and we have esteemed it a duty incumbent upon us to rescue his name from the injustice which hath been done it with respect to religion. However erroneous his peculiar sentiments may have been, there is no reason to doubt of the sincerity of his belief in the Gospel, and of his zeal for its honour. The truth of Christianity and the doctrine of eternal life stand upon their own firm ground, independently of all speculations concerning the materiality or immateriality of the soul, and its separate state of existence. Divines of the first eminence, whose faith in revelation is unquestionable, and who have been among its ablest advocates, have concurred in opinion with Dr. Coward; and that such men should, on this account, have ever been ranked with unbelievers, can only have proceeded from the most contemptible ignorance and bigotry.

(s) *Gent. Mag. ubi supra*. From the British Museum.

We cannot dismiss this article without taking notice of a mistake which was committed by the late Dr. Caleb Fleming; who, in the year 1758, published a treatise, entitled, "A Survey of the Search after Souls," imagining that he was writing against Dr. Coward. But the "Search after Souls" was the production of Henry Layton, Esq; a Gentleman of an ancient family, and a handsome estate, at Rawden, in the county of York. Mr. Layton was educated at Oxford, and, studying afterwards at Gray's Inn, was called to the bar; but never applied himself to the practice of the law. His knowledge of it, however, enabled him to do good offices among his neighbours, without fee or reward (t).]

K.

(t) *Historical View, ubi supra* p. 182.

COWELL (JOHN), a learned Civilian in the latter end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century, was born at Earnsborough in the parish of Swimbridge in Devonshire (a), and educated at Eton-School, where he so distinguished himself by his good parts and agreeable industry, that he was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge (b), in the year 1570 [A]. Here he applied himself closely to his studies, and by his learning and unblameable course of life, grew up to so much reputation and interest in the University, that he was elected Fellow of that House: and after he had taken the two degrees in Arts, he had the honour to be chosen one of the Proctors for the year 1585 (c). He particularly turned his thoughts to the study of the Civil-Law, by the advice of that active Prelate Richard Bancroft Bishop of London (d), who had judgment to find the genius of our Author, and knew the great necessity the Church was in, to have men of abilities and integrity in that profession. He was regularly admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Laws in his own University (e); and in 1600 was incorporated into the same degree at Oxford (f). His Reputation was now so well established, that he was made the King's Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge; and about the same time, Master of Trinity-Hall; which two stations had as much Honour and Profit, as could possibly be bestowed, in that place, on a man of his Profession (g). In 1603 and 1604 he executed the office of Vice-chancellor of Cambridge (h). His chief patron Bishop Bancroft being advanced to the See of Canterbury in December 1604, and projecting many things which he thought would be for the interest and honour of Church and State, employed several men in their proper professions; imagining that to be the most effectual

(a) *Catal. Soc. Col. Reg. Cantab.* MS. mentioned in Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. London, 1708.

N.B. It is not paged.

Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 194.

Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 262.

(b) Wood, *Faisti*, vol. i. col. 160, edit. Lond. 1721.

(c) *Ibid.*

He was chosen through the recommendation of William Lord Burghley.

Strype's Annals, edit. 1728. vol. iii. p. 268, 269.

(f) Wood, *Faisti*, *ubi supra*.

(d) See Epistle Dedicat. to the Interpreter, 1607.

(e) Preface to Cowell's Interpreter, edit. Lond. 1708.

(g) Preface, *ubi supra*.

(h) T. Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 157.

[A] He was elected a Scholar of King's College Cambridge, in the year 1570.] And there, in all probability, put under the tuition of his name-fake and relation John Cowell Fellow of that House, who had been one of the University-Proctors in the year 1561 (1).

(1) *Faisti Cantab.* MS.

way

(i) Preface to the
Doctor's Inter-
preter, edit.
1708.

way to promote the public service (i). Among the rest, he solicited Dr. Cowell [B] to show himself an antiquary, and a useful man, by giving the interpretation of such words and terms, as created most difficulty to the Students of our Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Common Laws. This laborious task the Doctor performed with so much application and diligence, that his work was finished in about three years time, and published under the title of THE INTERPRETER [C]. By this book the Archbishop was so well satisfied with the author's parts, industry, and courage, that upon the death of Sir Edward Stanhope, Vicar General to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which happened on the 16th of March 1608, his Grace conferred that honourable place on Dr. Cowell, who had practised before as an Advocate in the Arches (k). In this station, he carried himself with that fairness and integrity, that equity and honour, as raised him no enemies and lost him no friends. If he was afterwards invidious as a writer, he was still blameless as a judge: For, when the warmest objections were made against some expressions in his book, there was not any fault found with his administration of justice (l). For some time, his book passed uncensured; but at last great offence was taken at it; because, as was pretended, the author had spoken with too much liberty, and in too sharp expressions, of the Common Law, and some eminent professors of it, particularly Littleton. Moreover, he had recited Hottoman's reflections on his treatise of Tenures, and by reciting them was thought to make them his own. This especially fired Sir Edward Coke, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was more particularly concerned for the honour of Littleton, whom he had commented upon; and valued himself as the Chief Advocate of his Profession. Another thing seems to have put Dr. Cowell out of favour with this Judge: namely, within two years after the publication of the Interpreter, Archbishop Bancroft, sensible that the jurisdiction of the Spiritual Courts was perpetually obstructed by the grant of Prohibitions from Westminster-Hall, employed Dr. Cowell to draw up Reasons and Exceptions against the too frequent grants of Prohibitions; which were delivered to King James I. in time of Parliament, under the title of *Articuli Cleri*, or the Clergy's Articles. These Articles the King ordered to be argued by the Judges, and their Arguments are printed by Coke in his XIIth Report, who had the chief hand in them; and was now more and more incensed against Dr. Cowell, whom he took for a professed enemy to the Westminster-Courts, and therefore directly or obliquely reflects upon him in several pages of his works [D]. But paper-reproofs not being satisfactory, Sir Edward Coke, who was of some authority with the King, and had good interest in the House of Commons, represented Dr. Cowell as an enemy to both (*). He knew that nothing would so much excite the jealousy of the King, who was very fond of Power, as to touch upon the point of Prerogative, and therefore he suggested, that Dr. Cowell 'had disputed too nicely upon the 'mysteries of this our monarchy, yea in some points very derogatory to the supreme power 'of this Crown (m);' and had asserted, 'That the King's prerogative is in some cases 'limited (n).' The author, by touching upon so tender a point, was in great danger of being ruined; but, in all probability, was saved through the Archbishop's interest. His adversaries hereupon turned the tables, and resolved to make him a betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the People, thinking this accusation would do more with the Parliament, than the other had done with the King. The Complaint against him in the House of Commons was carried on by men of parts and interest, and it came to this issue, that the author was committed to custody, and his book publicly burnt (o). Moreover the Commons complained of him to the Lords, as equally struck at, who resolved to censure his

(*) Preface, as
above.

(m) King James
Ist's Proclamat.
25 March 1610.

(n) Wood, ubi
supra.

(k) Continuat. of
Hatcher's Catal.
of Provosts, Fel-
lows, &c. of
King's-College,
Cambr. MS.

(l) Pref. to the
Interpreter, as
above.

(o) Pref. to the
Interpreter, as
above.

The Commons
were very desir-
ous to proceed
criminally against
him; nay even to
hang him, if the
King had not
interposed.

See Memorials of
Affairs of State,
&c. published by
Edm. Sawyer,
Esq; Lond. fol.
1725, vol. iii. p.
125, 131.

[B] Among the rest, he solicited Dr. Cowell — to give the interpretation of the difficult words in our Laws.] This the Doctor hints at, in his Dedication of *The Interpreter* to the Archbishop, in these words. — Yet the remembrance of those your honourable 'Provocations, whereby at my coming to your Grace 'from the University, you first put me upon these 'Studies, at the last by a kind of necessity enforced me 'to this attempt; because I could not see how well to 'avoid it, but by adventuring the hateful Note of 'Unthankfulness.'

[C] THE INTERPRETER.] The whole title of it was as follows, 'The Interpreter, or Book 'containing the signification of Words: wherein is set 'forth the true meaning of all, or the most part of 'such Words and Terms, as are mentioned in the 'Law-writers, or Statutes of this Victorious and re- 'nowned Kingdom, requiring any Exposition or In- 'terpretation. A work not only Profitable, but 'Necessary for such as desire thoroughly to be in- 'structed in the Knowledge of our Laws, Statutes, or 'other Antiquities. Collected by John Cowell Doctor, 'and the King's Majesties Professor of the Civil Law 'in the University of Cambridge. *In legum obscuritate 'captio.*' At Cambridge, Printed by John Legate,

Anno 1607, 4to. It was re-printed in 1609, and several times since, particularly in 1638, for which Archbishop Laud was reflected upon, and it was made an Article against him at his trial, as if the impression of that book had been done by his authority, or at least with his connivance, in order to countenance the King's arbitrary measures (2). In 1677, and 1684 it was published, with large Additions, by Tho. Manley of the Middle-Temple, Esq; and again in 1708 with very considerable improvements by another hand. In all these later Editions, those passages that were dubious or offensive have been corrected or omitted.

[D] Sir Edward Coke reflects upon him in several pages of his Works.] Being the grand Oracle of the Common Law, as Dr. Cowell was of the Civil, emulation produced so great an ill-will between these two great men; especially because the Doctor, who was well skilled in both Laws, practised frequently at Westminster-hall as well as at Doctors Commons; that Sir Edward took all occasions to affront him, and used to call him in derision Doctor *Cow-beel*. It is to be observed, that at that time the contest ran very high between the Civilians and Common-Lawyers, the latter of which were discountenanced by the Court (*).

(2) Hist. of the
Troubles and
Tryal of Arch-
bishop Laud, p.
235, Lond.
1695.

(*) Fuller's Wor-
thies in Devon.
p. 262.

Errors and Boldness [E]; but upon the interposition of the King, who declared that the man had mistaken the fundamental points and constitutions of Parliament, and promised to condemn the Doctrines of the book as absurd, together with the author of them, they proceeded no farther (p). However, the King published a Proclamation (q) on the 25th of March 1610 [F], wherein 'he not only prohibited the buying, uttering, or reading of the said book, but also straitly commanded all and singular persons whatsoever, who had or should have any of them in their hands or custody, that upon pain of his high displeasure and the consequence thereof, they deliver the same, presently upon the publication thereof, to the Lord Mayor of London, if they or any of them were dwelling in or near that city; or otherwise to the Sheriff of the county where they should reside; and, in the two Universities, to the Chancellor or Vice-chancellor there, to the intent that further order might be given for the utter suppressing thereof [G].' When Dr. Cowell had thus felt the displeasure of the King, and the indignation of the people, he took his leave of the press, and retired to his College and his private studies, where he lived inoffensively and in good repute; but not averse however to serve the public, either with his advice, or any other way. It was his misfortune to be afflicted with the stone, for which being cut, that operation proved fatal to him; for he died of it on the eleventh of October, 1611; and was buried in the Chapel of Trinity-Hall under the Altar (r), where there is an inscription to his memory [H]. He wrote other things besides *the Interpreter* above-mentioned [I]. He was a considerable benefactor to the College of which he had

(p) Which is inserted in Preface to the Interpreter, edit. 1708.

(r) Preface, as above.

[E] *To censure his Errors and Boldness.* The Errors charged upon him, were, That he had asserted, 1. 'That the King was *solutus à legibus*, and not bound by his Coronation-oath. 2. That it was not *ex necessitate*, that the King should call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do that by his absolute Power; for *voluntas Regis* with him was *Lex populi*. 3. That it was a favour to admit the consent of his subjects in giving of subsidies. 4. That he draws his Arguments from the Imperial Laws of the Roman Emperors, which are of no force in England (3). The Author of the Preface to the Edition of the Interpreter in 1708, observes, That these positions are so gross and intolerable, that no Englishman would defend or excuse them. But he says, that having run over most part of the first edition in 1607, 4to. he finds no such abominable assertions in words at length, though there be many things too unadvisedly expressed which a wise author would have omitted, and a wise Government might have despised. But when a suspected book is brought to the torture, it often confesseth all, and more than it knows.

[F] *The King published a Proclamation on the 25th of March 1610.* The beginning of this Proclamation is pretty remarkable, being as follows. 'This latter age and times of the World wherein we are fallen, is so much given to verbal profession, as well of religion, as of all commendable moral virtues, but wanting the actions and deeds agreeable to so specious a profession, as it hath bred such an unsatiable curiosity in many mens spirits, and such an itching in the Tongues and Pens of most men, as nothing is left unsearched to the bottom both in talking and writing. For from the very highest Mysteries in the God-head and the most inscrutable counsels in the Trinity; to the very lowest pit of hell, and the confused actions of the devils there, there is nothing now unsearched into by the curiosity of men's brains. Men not being contented with the knowledge of so much of the will of God as it hath pleased him to reveal, but they will needs sit with him in his most private closet, and become privy of his most inscrutable counsels: and therefore it is no wonder, that men in these our days do not spare to wade in all the deepest mysteries that belong to the persons and state of Kings and Princes, that are Gods upon Earth: since we see (as we have already said) that they spare not God himself.'—

[G] *That further order might be given for the suppressing thereof.* The reasons alledged in the Proclamation for suppressing that book, are, That the author had fallen into many mistakes; namely— 'In some things disputing so nicely upon the mysteries of this our Monarchy, that it may receive doubtful interpretations; yea in some points very derogatory to the supream power of this Crown: In other cases mistaking the true state of the Parliament of this Kingdom and the fundamental constitutions and principles thereof: And in some other points speaking un-reverently of the Common Law of England, and the works of some of the most famous and ancient Judges therein: it being a thing utterly unlawful to any subject, to speak or write against that Law under which he liveth.'—This whole Proclamation is manifestly in the stile of that pedantic Monarch, who then sat upon the throne.

[H] *Where there is an inscription to his memory.* And which runs thus; *Johannes Cowell, L.L.D. Custos hujus Collegii, Juris Civilis in hac Academia Cantab. Professor Regius, Vicarius Generalis Cantuariensis Provinciae sub Domino Richardo Bancroft, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, hic expectat Resurrectionem. Obiit undecimo die mensis Oct. Ann. Dom. 1611. i. e. John Cowell L.L.D. Master of this College, the King's Professor of Civil Law in this University of Cambridge, and Vicar General of the Province of Canterbury, under Richard Bancroft Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, waits here for the Resurrection. He died the eleventh day of October, in the year of our Lord 1611 (4).*

[I] *He wrote other things besides the Interpreter.* In 1605, he published *Institutiones juris Anglicani ad methodum & seriem institutionum Imperialium compositae & digestae. Cantab. 8vo. i. e. Institutes of the Laws of England in the same method as Justinian's Institutes (5).* He also composed 'A Tract *De Regulis Juris* [of the Rules of the Law] wherein his intent was, by collating the cases of both Laws to shew, that they both be raised of one Foundation, and differ more in Language and Terms than in substance, and therefore were they reduced to one method (as they easily might) to be attained (in a manner) with all one pains.' But it doth not appear that this last was ever published (6). M.

On the 27th of February, 1609-10, the Commons sent a message to the Lords, to acquaint them, 'That they had taken notice of a book lately published by one Dr. Cowell, which they conceive does contain matters of scandal and offence towards the High Court of Parliament, and is otherways of dangerous consequence and example: That being desirous there should be a joint examination of the offensive contents of the said Book, and some course taken for the punishment of the person who published the same; they therefore desire their Lordships to appoint a conference for that purpose.' To this message the Lords returned a very civil answer, declaring, 'That they were willing to join with them in any cause proper to maintain the honour of that High Court, and to cherish a mutual correspondence between both Houses, which together make the body of the Parliament, whereof his Majesty is the head.' Accordingly, a time and place were appointed for a conference, which having been held, the Report of it was made to the Peers on the third of March, when

(4) Pref. ubi supra.

(5) Wood, Fasti, vol. i. col. 160.

(6) See Pref. to the Reader, in the beginning of The Interpreter.

had been Fellow, to the Hall of which he was Master, and to the University of which he had been Governor.

the Lord Privy Seal (Henry Howard Earl of Northampton) informed them, 'That the Attorney General, in delivering the sense of the Lower House, did very modestly and discreetly lay open the offence taken against the party, and the dangerous consequence of the Book.' Afterwards, the Bishop of London (Dr. George Abbot) read the particular exceptions which the Commons had made to Dr. Cowell's work. These were, 1. On the word *Subsidy*; 2. On the word *King*; 3. On the word *Parliament*; 4. On the word *Prerogative*. On all these words Dr. Cowell had enlarged himself in so unadvised a manner, that the Commons regarded his assertions as very offensive, and likely to be productive of pernicious effects. When this report was made, the Lords, having taken a little time to consider of it, thought proper to send a message to the other House, to desire another conference concerning the Book; and in the mean while ordered their Clerk to search for Precedents with respect to the mode of proceeding in matters of this nature. The next day, the Lord Treasurer informed the Peers, that his Majesty had taken notice of the busi-

ness, and had lately perused the places in the book to which exceptions were taken; that he had called Cowell before him, and heard his answers; and that having duly considered of the errors committed by the Author, he was graciously pleased to deliver his Judgment and Resolution to the Lords, to be by them communicated to the Committee of the Commons. What the Resolution was doth not appear; for here the affair ended, so far as it stands upon the Journals of the House. The King's interference was undoubtedly intended to screen Dr. Cowell from the effects of Parliamentary Censure and Resentment. It is said that James the First had declared his approbation of the Doctor's Book; and that he had let fall some expressions at his Table, in Derogation of the Common Law of England, and highly extolling the Civil Law, as far preferable to the other. As the King had given sufficient indications of his love of arbitrary Government, it was wise in Parliament to seize every becoming opportunity of suppressing such a disposition in him, and of testifying their aversion to principles which were hostile to the freedom of the constitution (7).]

(7) Parliamentary Hist. vol. 5. p. 221—225. 2d. edit. K.

COWLEY (ABRAHAM), one of our best Poets of the XVIIth century, was born at London (in Fleet-street, near the end of Chancery-lane, in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West) in the year 1618, and fifteenth of King James I. His father, who was a Grocer, dying before the birth of this his son, his mother, by the interest of her friends, procured him to be admitted a King's Scholar in Westminster-school (a). His first, and early, inclination to Poetry was occasioned by accidentally reading Spenser's *Fairy Queen* [A], a Poem fitter for the examination of men, than the consideration of a child: but in him it met with a fancy the strength of which was not to be judged by the number of his years (b). In the sixteenth year of his age, being still at Westminster-school, he published a collection of Verses, under the title of *Poetical Blossoms* [B], in which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit [C]. It is remarkable of Mr. Cowley, what he himself tells us (c), that he had this defect in his memory, that

(b) Sprat's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, edit. Lond. 1721, 12mo. p. 3. (c) In his Essay on himself. See his Works, vol. ii. p. 718.

(a) Wood, Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 120.

[A] His first, and early, inclination to Poetry was occasioned by accidentally reading Spenser's *Fairy Queen*.] This we learn from our Poet himself. 'I believe,

(1) In his Essay on himself. See Mr. Cowley's Works, Lond. 1721, 12mo. vol. ii. p. 719.

' says he (1), I can tell the particular little chance ' that filled my head first with such chimes of verses, ' as have never since left ringing there: for I remem- ' ber when I began to read, and take some pleasure in ' it, there was wont to lye in my mother's parlour (I ' know not by what accident, for she herself never in ' her life read any book but of devotion) but there was ' wont to lye Spenser's Works: this I happened to fall ' upon, and was infinitely delighted with the stories of ' the knights, and giants, and monsters, and brave ' houses, which I found every where (though my ' understanding had little to do with all this) and by ' degrees with the tinkling of the rhyme, and dance ' of the numbers; so that I think I had read him all ' over before I was twelve years old, and was thus ' made a Poet as immediately as a child is made an ' eunuch.'

(2) Wood, Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 120. (3) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley, prefixed to his Works, p. 4.

[B] He published a collection of verses under the title of *Poetical Blossoms*.] They were published at London in 1633 (2), and consequently in Mr. Cowley's fifteenth year; so that Dr. Sprat is mistaken in saying (3) this book came out in the thirteenth year of his age. It contains among other pieces, *Antonius and Melida*, and *The tragical history of Pyramus and Thisbe*. The first is dedicated to Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, and the other to his master Mr. Lambert Osbaldeston. Before both is his picture, and his age set over it, viz. 13, but erroneous. There are prefixed some recommendatory verses by some of his school-fellows; and at the end are two *Elegies*, one on Dudley Lord Carleton, and the other on his kinsman Richard Clerk of Lincoln's-Inn; and *A Dream of Elysium* (4).

(4) Wood, *ibid*.

(5) In his Essay on himself, *ubi supra*, p. 718.

[C] — In which there were many things that might well become the vigour and force of a manly wit.] Mr. Cowley himself has given us (5) a specimen in the latter end of an Ode, written when he was but thirteen years of age. The beginning of it, says he, is boyish, but

of this part which I here set down, if a very little were corrected, I should hardly now be much ashamed.

IX.

This only grant me, that my means may lye,
Too low for envy, for contempt too high.
Some honour I would have
Not from great deeds, but good alone:
The unknown are better than ill known.
Rumour can ope' the grave:
Acquaintance I wou'd have, but when't depends
Not on the number, but the choice of friends.

X.

Books shou'd, not business, entertain the light,
And sleep, as undisturb'd as death, the night:
My house a cottage, more.
Than palace, and shou'd fitting be
For all my use, no luxury:
My garden painted o'er
With nature's hand, not art's; and pleasures yield,
Horace might envy in his Sabine field.

XI.

Thus wou'd I double my life's fading space,
For he that runs it well, twice runs his race.
And in this true delight,
These unbought sports, that happy state,
I wou'd not fear, nor wish my fate;
But boldly say each night,
To-morrow let my sun his beams display,
Or in clouds hide them, I have liv'd to day.

You may see by it, adds Mr. Cowley, I was even then acquainted with the Poets, for the conclusion is taken out of Horace; and perhaps it was the immature and immoderate love of them, which stamp'd first, or rather engraved, the characters in me: they were like letters cut in the bark of a young tree, which with the tree still grow proportionably.

his

his teachers could never bring him to retain the ordinary rules of grammar; the want of which however he abundantly supplied by an intimate acquaintance with the books themselves, whence those rules had been drawn. With these extraordinary hopes, he was removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge, being elected a Scholar of that House in 1636 (d). Here the continuance and progress of his wit gained him the love and esteem of the most eminent Members of that Society. His exercises of all kinds were highly applauded, with this peculiar praise, that they were fit, not only for the obscurity of an academical life, but to have appeared on the true theatre of the world. And here it was that he wrote, or at least laid the designs of most of those masculine works, which he afterwards finished. In 1638, he published his *Love's Riddle* [D], a pastoral comedy, and a Latin comedy intitled *Naufragium Jocularis* [E], or the *Merry Shipwreck*. The first occasion of his entering into business, was, an *Elegy* he wrote *On the death of Mr. William Harvey* [F]; which brought him acquainted with Mr. John Harvey, the brother of his deceased friend, from whom he received many offices of kindness through the whole course of his life (e). In 1643, being then Master of Arts, he was, among many others, ejected from his College and the University; whereupon, retiring to Oxford, he settled in St. John's College, and, that same year, under the name of a Scholar of Oxford, published a Satire (f), intitled *The Puritan and the Papist* [G]. His affection to the Royal Cause engaged him in the service of the King, and he was present in several of his Majesty's journeys and expeditions. By this means he gained an acquaintance and familiarity with the great men of the Court and the Gown, and particularly had the entire friendship of my Lord Falkland, one of the Principal Secretaries of State. During the heat of the Civil War, he was settled in the family of the Earl of St. Alban's [H], and accompanied the Queen-Mother, when she was obliged to retire into France. He was absent from his native country about ten years [I]; which were wholly spent either in bearing a share in the distresses of the Royal Family, or in labouring their affairs. To this purpose he took several dangerous journeys into Jersey, Scotland, Flanders, Holland, and elsewhere; and was the principal instrument in maintaining a constant correspondence between the King and his Royal Consort, whose letters he cyphered and decyphered with his own hand (g). His Poems intitled *The Mistress*, were published at London in 1647, and his comedy called *The Guardian*, afterwards altered and published under the title of *Cutter of Coleman-street* [K], in 1650 (h). In 1656 (i), it

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

(e) Sprat's Account, &c. ubi supra, p. 45.

(f) Wood, ubi supra.

(g) Life, &c. p. 5, 6, 7.
(h) Wood, ib.
(i) Id. ibid.

[D] *His Love's Riddle.* It was written at the time of his being a King's Scholar in Westminster-School, and dedicated by a Copy of Verses to Sir Kenelm Digby, to whom he thus apologizes for it:

Take it as early fruits, which rare appear,
Though not half ripe, but worst of all the year;
And if it please your taste, my muse will say,
The birch, which crown'd her then, is grown a bay.

(6) Account of Langbain pretends (6), it was first printed with his *Poetical Blossoms*, in 4to, London, 1633, and afterwards printed with the second volume of his works in folio 1681.

[E] *His Latin Comedy, intitled Naufragium Jocularis.* It was acted before the University of Cambridge by the members of Trinity-College, February the second, and printed the same year at London, in octavo (7).

(7) Id. ib. p. 86; and Wood, ubi supra, col. 121.
(8) See the *Elegy* among Mr. Cowley's *Miscellanies* in vol. i. p. 20.

[F] *His Elegy on the death of Mr. William Harvey.* There appears to have been the strictest and most intimate friendship between Mr. Cowley and that Gentleman (8):

He was my friend, the truest friend on earth;
A strong and mighty influence joyn'd our birth;
Nor did we envy the most sounding name
By friendship given of old to fame.

Their conversation was chiefly employ'd in the improvement of their minds:

Say, for you saw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we spent the nights,
'Till the Ledaean stars so fam'd for Love
Wonder'd at us from above?

We spent them not in toys, in lusts, or wine;
But search of deep philosophy,
Wit, Eloquence, and Poetry,
Arts which I lov'd, for they, my friend, were thine.

Mr. Cowley tells us, he communicated his poems, as fast as he wrote them, to Mr. Harvey, for his approbation:

To him my muse made haste with ev'ry strain,
Whilst it was new, and warm yet from the brain:
He lov'd my worthless Rhimes, and like a friend
Wou'd find out something to commend.

[G] *He publish'd a Satire, intitled The Puritan and the Papist.* It was printed in one sheet and a half in quarto, and re-published at London in 1682, in quarto, in a book intitled, *Wit and Loyalty revived in a Collection of some smart Satires in verse and prose on the late times*. The writer of the Preface to this book complains, that this Satire of Mr. Cowley's was not published by the Editor of his first Collection of Poems, for which he assigns two presumptive reasons. He wonders likewise, that the Poem called *Brutus*, and that upon the Bishop of Lincoln's *Enlargement from the Tower*, which he imagines not to have been written by Mr. Cowley (*), had met with such good fortune as to have a place there (9).

[H] *He was settled in the family of the Earl of St. Alban's.* Dr. Sprat tells us (10), Mr. Cowley was obliged for this settlement to Mr. John Harvey, brother of his deceased friend Mr. William Harvey (11). But Anthony Wood tells us (12), that when Mr. Cowley came to Paris, he fell into the acquaintance of Dr. Stephen Goffe, a brother of the Oratory, by whose means he was placed and preferred in that noble family.

[I] *He was absent from his native country about ten years.* I assign this space of time for Mr. Cowley's absence upon the authority of Mr. Wood, who assures us (13), he left Oxford a little before the surrender of that city to the Parliament; which being in the year 1646, and Mr. Cowley returning in 1656, he could not be absent a longer term; though the author of his *Life* pretends he was twelve years abroad.

[K] *His Comedy called The Guardian, afterwards altered and published under the title of Cutter of Coleman-street.* The *Guardian* was acted before Prince Charles at Trinity College in Cambridge, March the 12th, 1641, and printed at London, in 4to. in 1650 (14). Mr. Cowley, in the *Preface* to his *Poems* (15), complaining of the publication of some things of his without his consent or knowledge, and those so mangled

(*) They are inserted in all the editions of his Works.

(9) Wood, ubi supra.

(10) Life, &c. p. 5.

(11) See the remark [F].

(12) Ubi supra; and *Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 271.

(13) Ubi supra.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Printed after his return into England. See his Works, vol. i. p. 44.

(*) Life, &c.
p. 7.

it was thought proper by those, on whom Mr. Cowley depended, that he should come over into England, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, should give notice of the posture of affairs in this nation (k). Upon his return, he published a new edition of all his Poems, consisting of four parts; viz. I. *Miscellanies* [L]: II. *The Mistress, or Several Copies of Love-Verses* [M]: III. *Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the Style and manner of Pindar* [N]: IV. *Dauidis, a sacred Poem of the troubles of David, in four books.*

(16) It is printed together with the Epilogue, among his *Miscellanies*.

and imperfect, that he could neither with honour acknowledge, nor with honesty quite disavow them; adds: 'Of which fort was a Comedy called *The Guardian*, made and acted before the Prince, in his passage through Cambridge towards York, at the beginning of the late unhappy war; or rather neither made nor acted, but rough-drawn only and repeated: for the haste was so great, that it could neither be revised or perfected by the author, nor learned without book by the Actors, nor set forth in any measure tolerably by the Officers of the College.' This Mr. Cowley thought fit to acquaint the Prince with in the Prologue address'd to him (16), which concludes with these lines:

Accept our hasty zeal; a thing that's play'd
E'er 'tis a Play, and acted e'er 'tis made.
Our ignorance, but our duty too we show;
I would all ignorant people wou'd do so!
At other times expect our wit and art:
This comedy is acted by the heart.

And in the Epilogue:

But pow'r your grace can above nature give:
It can give pow'r to make abortives live:
In which if our bold wishes shou'd be crost,
'Tis but the life of one poor week 't has lost:
Though it shou'd fall beneath your mortal scorn,
Scarce cou'd it dye more quickly than 'twas born.

(17) Preface, ubi
supra, p. 44.

'After the representation, says our author (17) (which I confess, was somewhat of the latest), I began to look it over, and changed it very much, striking out some whole parts, as that of the *Poet* and the *Soldier*: but I have lost the copy, and dare not think it deserves the pains to write it again, which makes me omit it in this publication, though there be some things in it, which I am not ashamed of, taking the excuse of my age, and small experience in human conversation, when I made it. But, as it is, it is only the hasty first-fitting of a picture, and therefore like to resemble me accordingly.' This Comedy, Langbaine tells us (18), notwithstanding Mr. Cowley's modest opinion of it, was acted, not only at Cambridge, but several times afterwards privately, during the prohibition of the Stage, and, after the King's return, publicly at Dublin, and always with applause. It was this, probably, which put the author upon revising it; after which he permitted it to appear publicly upon the Stage, under a new title, as indeed it was in a manner a new Play, calling it *Cutter of Coleman Street*. Under this name, it was acted at his Royal Highness's theatre, and printed at London in 1663, in 4to. It met with some opposition at first from some, who envied the author's unshaken loyalty: but afterwards it was acted with universal applause, and was generally esteemed an excellent Comedy.

(18) Ubi supra,
p. 81.

(†) Ibid. p. 51.

[L] *His Miscellanies*.] 'Some of these, says our author (†), were made when I was very young, which it is perhaps superfluous to tell the reader. I know not by what chance I have kept copies of them; for they are but a very few in comparison with those I have lost, and I think have no extraordinary virtue in them, to deserve more care in preservation, than was bestowed upon their brethren; for which I am so little concerned, that I am ashamed of the arrogance of the word, when I said *I had lost them*.' This Collection consists of *Odes, Elegies, &c.* with some imitations of *Horace* and *Martial*; together with eleven *Anticreontiques*, or paraphractical imitations of *Anacreon*.

(19) Ibid.

[M] *His Mistress, or several Copies of Love-verses*.] Let us first hear what our Poet himself says of this part of his compositions. 'Poets, says he (19),

'are scarcely thought free-men of their company, without paying some duties, and obliging themselves to be true to love. Sooner or later they must all pass through that trial, like some Mahometan Monks, that are bound by their order, once at least in their life, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

'In furias ignemque ruunt, amor omnibus idem.

'But we must not always make a judgment of their manners from their writings of this kind, as the Romanists uncharitably do of Beza for a few lascivious Sonnets composed by him in his youth. It is not in this sense that Poésie is said to be a kind of painting: it is not the picture of the poet, but of things and persons imagined by him. He may be in his practice and disposition a philosopher, and yet sometimes speak with the softness of an amorous Sappho.

'Feret et rubus asper amomum.

'He professes too much the use of fable (though without the malice of deceiving) to have his testimony taken even against himself. Neither would I here be misunderstood, as if I affected so much gravity, as to be ashamed to be thought really in love. On the contrary, I cannot have a good opinion of any man who is not at least capable of being so. But I speak it to excuse some expressions (if such there be) which may happen to offend the severity of supercilious readers: for much excess is to be allowed in love, and even more in poetry, so we avoid the two unpardonable vices in both, which are, obscenity and profaneness, of which, I am sure, if my words be ever guilty, they have ill represented my thoughts and intentions.' What opinion Dr. Sprat had of Mr. Cowley's *Mistress* appears by the following passage (20). (20) See Life, &c. p. 15, 16. *If there needed any excuse to be made that his Love-verses take up so great a share in his works, it may be alledged, that they were composed when he was very young. But it is a vain thing to make any kind of apology for that sort of writings. If devout or virtuous men will superciliously forbid the minds of the young, to adorn those subjects about which they are most conversant, they would put them out of all capacity of performing graver matters, when they come to them. For the exercises of all mens wits must be always proper for their age, and never too much above it: and by practice and use in lighter arguments they grow up at last to excel in the most weighty. I am not therefore ashamed to commend Mr. Cowley's Mistress. I only except one or two expressions, which I wish I could have prevailed with those that had the right of the other edition, to have left out. But of all the rest I dare boldly pronounce, that never yet so much was written on a subject so delicate, that can less offend the severest rules of morality. The whole passion of Love is intimately described, with all its mighty train of hopes, and joys, and disquiets. Besides this amorous tenderness, I know not how in every copy there is something of more useful knowledge very naturally and gracefully insinuated, and every where there may be something found, to inform the minds of wise men, as well as to move the hearts of young men or women.*

[N] *His Pindarique Odes, written in imitation of the style and manner of Pindar*.] The occasion of Mr. Cowley's falling on the Pindaric way of writing, Dr. Sprat tells us (21), was, his accidentally meeting with Pindar's works, in a place where he had no other books to direct him. Having then considered at leisure the height of his invention, and the majesty of his style, he tried immediately to imitate it in English. And he performed it (says my author) without the danger that Horace presaged to the man who should dare

(21) Ibid. p. 16.

books [O]. Soon after his return, he was seized on, through a mistake, the search being intended

dare to attempt it. Dr. Sprat then vindicates the style and manner of Mr. Cowley's *Pindariques*. 'If any, says he, are displeased at the boldness of his metaphors, and length of his digressions, they contend not against Mr. Cowley, but Pindar himself, who was so much revered by all antiquity, that the place of his birth was preserved as sacred, when his native city was twice destroyed by the fury of two conquerors. If the irregularity of the numbers disgust them, they may observe, that this very thing makes that kind of poetry fit for all manner of subjects; for the pleasant, the grave, the amorous, the heroic, the philosophical, the moral, the divine. Besides this they will find, that the frequent alteration of the rhythm and feet affects the mind with a more various delight, while it is soon apt to be tired by the settled pace of one constant measure. But that, for which I think this inequality of numbers is chiefly to be preferred, is, its nearer affinity with prose; from which all other kinds of English verse are so far distant, that it is very seldom found, that the same man excels in both ways. But now this loose and unconfined measure has all the grace and harmony of the most confined. And withal it is so large and free, that the practice of it will only exalt, not corrupt, our prose: which is certainly the most useful kind of writing of all others; for it is the style of all business and conversation.' Mr. Cowley himself, speaking of his Pindaric Odes (22), tells us, he is in great doubt whether they will be understood by most readers, nay, even by very many, who are well enough acquainted with the common roads and ordinary tracks of poetry. *They either are, says he, or at least were meant to be, of that kind of style, which Dion Halicarnassus calls μεγαλοφώνη καὶ ῥῆμα περὶ δυνάμειος, and which he attributes to Alcæus. The digressions are many and sudden, and sometimes long, according to the fashion of all Lyriques, and of Pindar above all men living. The figures are unusual and bold, even to temerity, and such as I durst not have to do withal in any other kind of poetry. The numbers are various and irregular, and sometimes (especially some of the long ones) seem harsh and uncouth, if the just measures and cadencies be not observed in the pronunciation. So that almost all their sweetness and numerosity (which is to be found, if I mistake not, in the roughest, if rightly repeated) lies in a manner wholly at the mercy of the reader. Mr. Cowley adds: 'I have briefly described the nature of these verses, in the Ode intitled *The Resurrection*: and though the liberty of them may incline a man to believe them easy to be composed, yet the undertaker will find it otherwise:*

Ut sibi quivis
Speret idem, fudet multum, frustra que labore
Ausus idem.

The verses our author refers to are these:

Stop, stop, my muse, allay thy vigorous heat
Kindled at a hint so great.
Hold thy Pindarique Pegasus closely in,
Which does to rage begin,
And this steep hill wou'd gallop up with violent
course.
'Tis an unruly and a hard-mouth'd horse
Fierce and unbroken yet,
Impatient of the spur or bit:
Now prances stately, and anon flies o'er the place,
Disdains the servile law of any settled pace,
Conscious and proud of his own natural force:
'Twill no unskilful touch endure,
But flings writer and reader too that sits not sure.

Two of our greatest poets, at the same time that they allow Mr. Cowley to have been a very successful Imitator of Pindar, yet find fault with his numbers. Mr. Dryden, having told us (23), that our author brought Pindaric verse as near perfection as was possible in so short a time, adds: 'But if I may be allowed to speak my mind modestly, and without injury to his sacred

ashes, somewhat of the purity of English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness in the numbers, in one word, somewhat of a finer turn and more Lyrical verse is yet wanting.' And Mr. Congreve, having excepted against the irregularity of the measure of the English Pindaric Odes, yet observes (24), that the beauty of Mr. Cowley's verses are an atonement for the irregularity of his Stanzas; and that though he did not imitate Pindar in the strictness of his numbers, he has very often happily copied him in the force of his figures, and sublimity of his style and sentiments.

[O] His Davideis, a sacred Poem of the troubles of David in four books.] Our poet tells us himself (25), he design'd to have written this poem in twelve books, not for the sake of the twelve tribes, but after the pattern of Virgil, and to have closed it with that most poetical and admirable Elegy of David's on the death of Saul and Jonathan. 'This, says he, was the whole design, in which there are many noble and fertile arguments behind; as, The barbarous Cruelty of Saul to the Priests at Nob, the several flights and escapes of David, with the manner of his living in the wilderness, the Funeral of Samuel, the Love of Abigail, the sacking of Ziklag, the loss and recovery of David's wives from the Amalekites, the witch of Endor, the war with the Philistines, and the Battle of Gilboa; all which I meant to interweave upon several occasions, with most of the illustrious stories of the Old Testament, and to embellish with the most remarkable Antiquities of the Jews, and of other nations before or at that age. But I have had neither leisure hitherto, nor have appetite at present to finish the work, or so much as to revise that part, which is done, with that care, which I resolved to bestow upon it, and which the dignity of the matter deserves.' After displaying the great excellence and dignity of his subject, Mr. Cowley complains very pathetically of the great prostitution of poetry to mean and unworthy purposes, and recommends the choice of divine subjects in terms, which, surely, merit the serious consideration of every son of Apollo. 'It is not without grief and indignation, says he, that I behold that divine Science employing all her inextinguishable riches of wit and eloquence, either in wicked and beggarly flattery of great persons, or the unmanly idolizing of foolish women, or the wretched affectation of scurril laughter, or at best on the confused antiquated dreams of senseless fables and metamorphoses. Amongst all holy and consecrated things, which the devil ever stole and alienated from the service of the Deity, as, altars, temples, sacrifices, prayers, and the like, there is none that he so universally and so long usurped, as Poetry. It is time to recover it out of the tyrant's hands, and to restore it to the kingdom of God, who is the father of it. There wants, methinks, but the conversion of that, and the Jews, for the accomplishment of the kingdom of Christ.—I do not wonder that the old poets made some rich crops out of these grounds (*); the heart of the soil was was not then wrought out with continual tillage. But what can we expect now, who come a gleanings, not after the first reapers, but after the very beggars? Besides, though those mad stories of the Gods and Heroes seem in themselves so ridiculous, yet they were then the whole body (or rather chaos) of the Theology of those times. They were believed by all, but a few Philosophers; and perhaps some Atheists, and served to good purpose among the vulgar (as pitiful things as they are) in strengthening the authority of Law with the terrors of conscience, and expectation of certain rewards and unavoidable punishments. There was no other religion, and therefore that was better than none at all. But to us, who have no need of them, to us who deride their folly, and are wearied with their impertinences, they ought to appear no better arguments for verse, than those of their worthy successors the Knights-errant. What can we imagine more proper for the ornaments of wit and learning in the story of

(24) Preface to his Pindarique Ode to the Queen. See his Works, vol. iii. p. 344, 345, edit. Lond. 1716, 12mo.

(25) Preface, ubi supra, p. 53, 54.

(*) The fabulous Stories of Paganism.

(22) Preface, ubi supra, p. 52.

(23) Preface to the first Part of Miscellaneous Poems, Lond. 1716, 12mo. p. 32, 33.

tended after another gentleman of considerable note in the King's party. The Usurpers would fain have brought over Mr. Cowley to their interest, but, all their attempts proving fruitless, he was committed to a severe restraint, and with some difficulty at last obtained his liberty, upon the hard terms of a thousand pounds bail, which burthen Dr. Scarborough very honourably took upon himself. Under these bonds he continued till the general redemption; when, taking the opportunity of the confusions that followed upon Cromwell's death, he ventured back into France, and there remained in the same station as before, 'till near the time of the King's return (1). This account is a sufficient vindication (1) *Ibid.* of Mr. Cowley's unshaken loyalty, which some endeavoured to call in question [P]. During his stay in England, he wrote his *Two Books of Plants*, published first in 1662; to which he afterwards added *four books* more; and all six, together with his other Latin Poems, were printed at London in 1678 [2]. It appears by Mr. Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* that

* Deucalion, than in that of Noah? Why will not
* the actions of Sampson afford as plentiful matter as
* the labours of Hercules? Why is not Jephthah's
* daughter as good a woman as Iphigenia? and the
* friendship of David and Jonathan more worthy
* celebration, than that of Theseus and Pirithous? Does
* not the passage of Moses and the Israelites into the
* Holy Land, yield incomparably more poetical variety,
* than the voyages of Ulysses or Aeneas? Are the
* obsolete thread-bare tales of Thebes and Troy, half so
* stored with great, heroical, and supernatural actions
* (since verse will needs find, or make such) as the wars
* of Joshua, of the Judges, of David, and divers
* others? Can all the Transformations of the gods
* give such copious hints to flourish and expatiate on
* as the true miracles of Christ, or of his Prophets and
* Apostles? Why do I instance in these few particu-
* lars? All the Books of the Bible are either already
* most admirable and exalted pieces of Poësie, or are
* the best materials in the world for it.' Mr. Cow-

(26) *Life, &c.*
p. 18.

ley's Davideis was written, says Dr. Sprat (26), in
so young an age, that, if we shall reflect on the vastness
of the argument and his manner of handling it, he may
seem like one of the miracles, that he there adorns, like a
boy attempting Goliath.—This perhaps may be the reason,
that in some places there is more youthfulness and redun-
dant of fancy, than his ripper judgment would have al-
lowed—But for the main of it, I will affirm, that it is a
better instance and beginning of a Divine Poem, than
ever I yet saw in any language. The contrivance is
perfectly antient, which is certainly the true form of
heroic poetry, and such as was never yet out-done by any
new devices of modern wits. The subject was truly di-
vine, even according to God's own heart. The matter
of his invention, all the treasures of knowledge and his-
tories of the Bible. The model of it comprehended all the
learning of the East. The characters lofty and various:
the numbers firm and powerful: the digressions beautiful
and proportionable: the design, to submit mortal wit to
heavenly truths. In all there is an admirable mixture
of human virtues and passions, with religious raptures.

(27) *Ibid.* p. 19.

The truth is, adds the Lifewriter (27), methinks,
in other matters his wit excelled most other mens;
but in his Moral and Divine works it out-did itself.
And no doubt it proceeded from this cause, that,
in the lighter kinds of poetry, he chiefly represent-
ed the humours and affections of others; but in
these he sat to himself, and drew the figure of his
own mind. We have the *First Book* of the *Davideis*
translated out of English into very elegant Latin
verse by Mr. Cowley himself.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 8.

[P] Mr. Cowley's loyalty was called in question.]
This, Dr. Sprat tells us (28), was occasioned by a few
lines in the preface to one of his books. 'The ob-
jection, says he, I must not pass by in silence, be-
cause it was the only part of his life that was liable
to misinterpretation, even by the confession of those
that envied his fame. In this case perhaps it were
enough to alledge for him to men of moderate minds,
that what he there said was published before a book
of poetry, and so ought rather to be esteemed as a
problem of his fancy and invention, than as a real
image of his judgment. But his defence in this
matter may be laid on a surer foundation. This is
the true reason to be given of his delivering that
opinion. Upon his coming over, he found the state
of the royal party very desperate. He perceived
the strength of their enemies so united, that, 'till it

* should begin to break within itself, all endeavours
* against it were like to prove unsuccessful. On the
* other side, he beheld their zeal for his Majesty's
* cause to be still so active, that it often hurried them
* into inevitable ruin. He saw this with much grief;
* and though he approved their constancy as much as
* any man living, yet he found their unseasonable
* shewing it did only disable themselves, and give
* their adversaries great advantages of riches and
* strength by their defeats. He therefore believed
* that it would be a meritorious service to the king,
* if any man, who was known to have followed his
* interest, could insinuate into the usurpers minds
* that men of his principles were now willing to be
* quiet, and could persuade the poor oppressed Roy-
* alists to conceal their affections for better occasions.
* And as for his own particular, he was a close prisoner
* when he wrote that against which the exception is
* made; so that he saw it was impossible for him to
* pursue the ends for which he came hither, if he did
* not make some kind of declaration of his peaceable
* intentions. This was then his opinion; and the
* success of the thing seems to prove that it was not
* very ill grounded. For certainly it was one of the
* greatest helps to the King's affairs, about the latter
* end of that tyranny, that many of his best friends
* dissembled their counsels, and acted the same designs,
* under the disguises and names of other parties.*
This Sir, adds the Life-writer, addressing himself to
Mr. Martin Clifford, you can testify to have been the
innocent occasion of these words, on which so much cla-
mour was raised. Yet seeing his good intentions were
so ill interpreted, he told me, the last time that ever I
saw him, that he would have them omitted in the next
impression, of which his friend Mr. Cook is a witness.
However, if we should take them in the worst sense of
which they are capable, yet methinks, for his main-
taining one false tenet in the political philosophy, he
made a sufficient atonement by a continual service of
twenty years, by the perpetual loyalty of his discourse,
and by many of his other writings, wherein he has largely
defended and adorned the royal cause. And, to speak
of him not as our friend, but according to the common laws
of humanity, certainly that life must needs be very un-
blameable, which had been tried in business of the
highest consequence, and practised in the hazardous se-
crets of Courts and Cabinets; and yet there can nothing
disgraceful be produced against it, but only the error of
one paragraph, and a single metaphor.

[2] His *Books of Plants*, and his other Latin Po-
ems, &c.] The occasion of his choosing the subject
of his six books of *Plants*, Dr. Spratt tells us (29), was
this. When he returned into England, he was ad-
vised to dissemble the main intention of his coming
over, under the disguise of applying himself to some
settled profession: and that of Physic was thought most
proper. To this purpose, after many anatomical
dissections, he proceeded to the consideration of Sim-
ples; and having furnished himself with books of
that nature, he retired into a fruitful part of Kent,
where every field and wood might shew him the real
figures of those Plants of which he read. Thus he
speedily mastered that part of the Art of Medicine.
But then, as one of the Antients did before him in
the study of the Law, instead of employing his skill for
practice and profit, he presently digested it into that
form which we behold. The *two first* books treat of
Herbs, in a style resembling the Elegies of Ovid and
Tibullus,

(29) *Ibid.* p. 22.

(m) Vol. ii. col.
120.

(m), that our Poet was created Doctor of Physic at Oxford [R], December 2, 1657. After the King's restoration, Mr. Cowley, being then past the fortieth year of his age, the greatest part of which had been spent in a various and tempestuous condition, resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a studious retirement [S]. At first he was but slenderly provided for such a retreat, by reason of his travels, and the distresses of his party, which had put him quite out of the road of gain. But, upon the settlement of the peace of the nation, he obtained a plentiful estate through the favour of his principal patrons the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of St. Albans. Thus furnished for his retreat, he spent the last seven or eight years of his life in his beloved obscurity [T], and possessed that solitude, which from his very childhood he had most passionately desired (n). He chose for the seats of his declining life, two or three villages on the banks of the Thames (o); particularly Chertsey, where he had a lease of a farm held of the Queen (p). This great Poet died [U] at a house called

(n) Life, &c. p. 10, 11, 12.
(o) Ibid. p. 12.
(p) Ubi supra

Tibullus, in the sweetness and freedom of the verse, but excelling them in the strength of the fancy and vigour of the sense. The *third* and *fourth* discourse of *Flowers*, in all the variety of Catullus and Horace's numbers: for the last of which authors he had a peculiar reverence, and imitated him, not only in the numerous and stately pace of his Odes and Epodes, but in the familiar easiness of his Epistles and Discourses. The *two last* speak of *Trees*, in the way of Virgil's Georgicks. Of these the *sixth* book is wholly dedicated to the honour of his country. For, making the British Oak to preside in the Assembly of the Forest Trees, upon that occasion he enlarges on the history of our late troubles, the King's affliction and return, and the beginning of the Dutch War; and manages all in a style, that (to say all in a word) is equal to the greatness and valour of the English nation. Of Mr. Cowley's *Latin Poetry* in general the Life-writer gives this character (30), that in them 'he has expressed to admiration all the numbers of verse, and figures of poesy, that are scattered up and down amongst the antients;' and that 'there is hardly to be found in them any good fashion of speech, or colour of measure, but he has comprehended it, and given instances of it, according as his several arguments required either a majestic spirit, or a passionate, or a pleasant. This (*he observes*) is the more extraordinary, in that it was never yet performed by any single poet of the antient Romans themselves.'

(30) Life, &c.
p. 19.

[R] He was created Doctor of Physic at Oxford.] Anthony Wood pretends (31), Mr. Cowley had this degree conferred upon him by virtue of a *Mandamus* from the then government. 'Afterwards (says he) complying with the men then in power (which was much taken notice of by the Royal party) he obtained an order to be created Doctor of Physic.' Allowing this state of the fact to be true, though the Life-writer says not a word of it, Mr. Cowley's compliance with the men then in power could only be seemingly such, for the better carrying on the design of his coming over under the pretence of studying Physic.

(31) Ubi supra.

[S] He resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a studious retirement.] Anthony Wood (32) ascribes this resolution to disappointment, in not finding that preferment conferred upon him, which he expected, while others for their money carried away most places.

(32) Ibid.

But Dr. Sprat (33) represents his retirement as the effect of choice, not of discontent. 'He now thought, says that author, he had sacrificed enough of his life to curiosity and experience. He had enjoyed many excellent occasions of observation. He had been present in many great revolutions, which in that tumultuous time disturbed the peace of all our neighbour states, as well as our own. He had nearly beheld all the splendor of the highest part of mankind. He had lived in the presence of princes, and familiarly conversed with greatness in all its degrees, which was necessary for one that would condemn it aright: for to scorn the pomp of the world before a man knows it, does commonly proceed rather from ill manners than a true magnanimity. He was now weary of the vexations and formalities of an active condition. He had been perplexed with a long compliance to foreign manners. He was satiated with the arts of Court; which sort of life, though his virtue had made innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet. These were the reasons that moved

(33) Life, &c.
p. 10.

him to forego all public employments, and to follow the violent inclination of his own mind, which, in the greatest throng of his former business, had still called upon him, and represented to him the true delights of solitary studies, of temperate pleasures, and of a moderate revenue, below the malice and flatteries of fortune.'

[T] His beloved obscurity.] Mr. Cowley's Works, especially his *Essays in prose and verse*, abound with the praises of solitude and retirement. His three first Essays are on the subjects of *Liberty*, *Solitude*, and *Obscurity*; and most of the translations are of such passages of the Classic authors as relate to the pleasures of a country life: particularly, Virgil's *O fortunatos nimium*, &c. Horace's *Beatus ille qui procul*, &c. The same author's *Country Mouse*; Claudian's *Old Man of Verona*; and Martial's *Vitam quæ faciunt beatorem*, &c. To these are subjoined the following epitaph, by the author, on himself, while living.

Epitaphium Vivi Auctoris.

Hic, O Viator, sub Lare parvulo
Culeius hic est conditus, hic jacet
Defunctus humani laboris
Sorte, supervacuæque vita;
Non indecora pauperie nitens
Et non inerti nobilis otio,
Vanoque dilectis popello
Divitiis animosus hostis.
Possis ut illum dicere mortuum,
En terra jam nunc quantula sufficit!
Exempta sit curis, viator,
Terra sit illa levis, precare.
Hic sparge flores, sparge breves rosas,
Nam vita gaudet mortua floribus;
Herbisque odoratis corona
Vatis adhuc cinerem calentem.

[U] He died.] His solitude, from the very beginning, had never agreed so well with the constitution of his body, as of his mind. The chief cause of it was, that, out of haste to be gone away from the tumult and noise of the city, he had not prepared so healthful a situation in the country, as he might have done, if he had made his choice more at leisure. Of this he soon began to find the inconvenience at *Barn-elms*, where he was afflicted with a dangerous and lingering fever. After that he scarcely ever recovered his former health, though his mind was restored to its perfect vigour. Shortly after his removal to *Chertsey*, he fell into another consuming disease. Having languished under this for some months, he seemed to be pretty well cured of its ill symptoms. But, in the heat of the summer, by staying too long amongst his labourers in the meadows, he was taken with a violent defluxion, and stoppage in his breast and throat. This he at first neglected as an ordinary cold, and refused to send for his usual physicians, till it was past all remedies; and so, in the end, after a fortnight's sickness, it proved mortal to him (34). 'Who can here forbear exclaiming on the weak hopes, and frail condition of human nature? For as long as Mr. Cowley was pursuing the course of ambition, in an active life, which he scarce esteemed his true life, he never wanted a constant health and strength of body. But as soon as ever he had found an opportunity of beginning indeed to live, and to enjoy himself

(34) Ibid. p. 32.

(7) Life, &c. p.
32, 33; and
Wood, *ubi supra*.
(r) Life, &c. p.
34.

called The Porch-house, towards the West end of the town of Chertsey in Surrey, July 28, 1667, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body, accompanied by a great number of persons of the most eminent quality, was interred, the third of August following, in Westminster-Abbey, near the ashes of Chaucer and Spenser, the two most famous English Poets of former times (q). King Charles II. was pleased to bestow upon him the best epitaph, when, upon the news of his death, his Majesty declared, that *Mr. Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England* (r). A monument was erected to his memory, in May 1675, by George Duke of Buckingham, with a Latin inscription written by his friend Dr. Thomas Sprat [W], author of the *Account of Mr. Cowley's Life and Writings*, prefixed to his *Works*, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. Besides Mr. Cowley's *Works*, already mentioned, we have by the same hand, *A Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy* [X]; *A Discourse by way of Vision concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell* [Y]; and *Several Discourses by way of Essays in prose and verse* [Z]. Mr. Cowley had designed also a *Discourse concerning Style* [AA], and a *Review of the principles of the primitive Christian Church* [BB], but was prevented by death (s). A spurious piece, (s) *Ib.* p. 30, 31. entitled

(35) Life, &c. p.
32.

himself in security, his contentment was first broken by sickness, and at last his death was occasioned by his very delight in the country and the fields, which he had long fancied above all other pleasures (35). [W] An inscription on his monument, written by his friend Dr. Thomas Sprat.] It is this:

Abrahamus Couleius, Anglorum Pindarus, Flaccus, Maro, Deliciae, Decus, Desiderium, ævi sui, hic juxta situs est.

Aurea dum volitant late tua scripta per orbem,
Et fama æternum vivis, divine Poeta,
Hic placida jaceas requie: custodiat urnam
Cana Fides, vigilantque perenni lampade Musæ.
Sit sacer iste locus, nec quis temerarius ausit
Sacilega turbare manu venerabile bustum.
Intacti maneant, maneant per sæcula, dulcis
Couleii cineres, serventque immobile saxum.

Sic vovit, votumque suum apud posteros sacratum esse voluit, qui viro incomparabili posuit sepulchrale marmor, Georgius Dux Buckinghamiæ.

Excessit e vita anno ætatis suæ 49, et honorifica pompa elatus ex ædibus Buckinghamianis, viris illustribus omnium ordinum exequias celebrantibus, sepultus est die 3 M. Augusti, Anno Domini 1667.

(36) Works, &c.
vol. ii. p. 577.

[X] A Proposition for the advancement of Experimental Philosophy.] It is by a College, consisting of Professors, Scholars, Chaplains, and other officers. Their business, to use Mr. Cowley's own words (36), should be, to study the improvement and advantage of all other professions, from that of the highest General, even to the lowest artisan—to employ their whole time, wit, learning, and industry, to these four, the most useful that can be imagined, and to no other ends: First, to weigh, examine, and prove, all things of nature delivered to us by former ages; to detect, explode, and strike a censure through all false monies, with which the world has been paid and cheated so long, and, as I may say, to set the mark of the college upon all true coins, that they may pass hereafter without any farther trial: Secondly, to recover the lost inventions, and, as it were, drowned lands of the antients: Thirdly, to improve all arts, which we now have; and lastly, to discover others, which we yet have not.

[Y] A Discourse by way of Vision concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell.] Our author, having been a spectator of Cromwell's funeral procession (which, to his thinking, somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made: much noise, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly a great show, and yet, after all this, but an ill sight,) tells us, he was rocked asleep by the different motions and agitations of his mind, and at last fell into this vision. He finds himself on the top of a famous hill in the island of Mona, whence he had a prospect of Great Britain and Ireland. After some melancholy reflections, and a poetical complaint of the present unhappy condition of these kingdoms, he is interrupted by a strange and terrible apparition of the figure of a man, rising out of the earth, taller than any

giant. This phantom, which is there described at length, calls himself the North-West Principality, and Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and undertakes the defence of Cromwell's character and government, against the severe censures and keen invectives of the author, who represents both in the blackest and most detestable colours. At last, the Evil Angel's fury being raised, the author is in great danger, but is preserved by the descent of a good angel, the poetical description of which concludes the vision.

[Z] Several Discourses, by way of Essays, in prose and verse.] These, which are upon some of the gravest subjects that concern the contentment of a virtuous mind, he intended, Dr. Sprat tells us (37), as a real character of his own thoughts upon the point of his retiring (38). Accordingly, it is observable, that, in the prose of them, there is little curiosity of ornament; but they are written in a lower and humbler style than the rest, and, as an unfeigned image of the soul should be drawn, without flattery. He designed to have added many others to them, and to have dedicated them all to the Earl of St. Alban's, as a testimony of his entire respects to him, and a kind of apology for having left human affairs in the strength of his age, while he might still have been serviceable to his country.

[AA] He designed A Discourse concerning Style.] In this he had designed to give an account of the proper sorts of writing, that were fit for all manner of arguments; to compare the perfections and imperfections of the authors of antiquity with those of the moderns; and to accommodate the whole to the particular use of the English Genius and Language (39). This subject, adds Dr. Sprat, he was very fit to perform, it being most proper for him to be the judge, who had been the best practiser. But he scarce lived to draw the first lines of it. All the footsteps that I can find remaining of it, are only some indigested characters of antient and modern authors. And now for the future, I almost despair ever to see it well accomplished.

[BB]—and a Review of the principles of the primitive Christian Church.] Though Mr. Cowley was in his practice exactly obedient to the usages and precepts of the Church of England, nor was inclined to any uncertainty and doubt, as abhorring all contention in indifferent things, and much more in sacred; yet, beholding the divisions of Christendom, and observing how many controversies had been introduced by zeal and ignorance, and continued by faction; he had therefore an earnest intention, for the establishing his own mind in the faith he professed, to look back to the original principles of the primitive Church; believing that every true Christian had no better means to settle his spirit, than that which was proposed to Æneas and his followers, to be the end of their wanderings, *Antiquam exquirite matrem*. This examination he purposed should reach to our Saviour's and the Apostles lives, and their immediate successors, for four or five Centuries, till interest and policy prevailed over Devotion. He hoped to have absolutely compassed it in three or four years, and, when

intituled *The Iron Age*, was published under Mr. Cowley's name [CC], during his absence; and, in Mr. Dryden's *Miscellany Poems* (t), we find *A Poem on the Civil War*, said to be written by our author [DD], but not extant in any edition of his works. Dr. Sprat mentions, as very excellent in their kind, Mr. Cowley's *Letters to his private friends* [EE], none of which were published (u). That author gives us a most advantageous character of Mr. Cowley, both as a man [FF], and as a Poet [GG]. Mr. Addison has celebrated his

(t) P. iii. p. 225.
edit. 1716.

(u) Life, &c.
p. 23.

(40) Life, &c.
p. 31.

(41) In the Preface to his Poems. See his Works, vol. ii.

when that was done, there to have fixed for ever, without any shaking or alteration in his judgment (40). 'Indeed, adds Dr. Sprat, it was a great damage to our Church, that he lived not to perform it. For very much of the primitive light might have been expected from a mind that was endued with the primitive meekness and innocence. And besides, such a work, coming from one that was no Divine, might have been very useful for an age, wherein it is one of the principal cavils against religion, that it is only a matter of interest, and only supported for the gain of a particular profession.'

[CC] *A spurious piece*, intituled *The Iron age*, was published under Mr. Cowley's name.] He speaks of it himself (41), with some asperity and concern. 'I wondered, says he, how one, who could be so foolish to write such ill verses, should yet be so wise to set them forth as another man's rather than his own; though perhaps he might have made a better choice, and not fathered the bastard upon such a person, whose stock of reputation is, I fear, little enough for maintenance of his own numerous legitimate off-spring of that kind. It would have been much less injurious, if it had pleased the author to put forth some of my writings under his own name, rather than his own under mine. He had been in that a more pardonable Plagiary, and had done less wrong by robbery, than he does by such a bounty: for no body can be justified by the imputation even of another's merit: our own coarse cloaths are like to become us better than those of another man, though never so rich. But these, to say the truth, were so beggarly, that I myself was ashamed to wear them. It was in vain for me, that I avoided censure by the concealment of my own writings, if my reputation could be thus executed in effigy; and impossible it is for any good name to be safe, if the malice of witches have the power to consume and destroy it in an image of their own making. This indeed was so ill made, and so unlike, that I hope the charm took no effect.'

[DD] *A Poem on the Civil War*, said to be written by our author.] It was printed, first, at London, in quarto, in 1679 (42). The publisher tells us (43), that, meeting accidentally with this poem in manuscript, and being informed that it was a piece of the incomparable Mr. Abraham Cowley's, he thought it unjust to hide such a treasure from the world. 'I remembered, says he, that our author, in the Preface to his Works, makes mention of some poems, written by him on the late Civil Wars, of which the following is unquestionably a part. In his most imperfect and unfinished pieces you will discover the hand of so great a master. And (whatever his own modesty might have advised to the contrary) there is not one careless stroke of his, but what should be kept sacred to all posterity. He could write nothing that was not worth the preserving, being habitually a poet, and always inspired. In this piece the judicious reader will find the turn of verse to be his; the same copious and lively imagery of fancy, the same warmth of passion, and delicacy of wit, that sparkles in all his writings. And certainly no labour of a Genius so rich in itself, and so cultivated with learning and manners, can prove an unwelcome present to the World.' The passage of Mr. Cowley's Preface, here pointed at, is this. 'I have cast away all such pieces as I wrote during the time of the late troubles, with any relation to the differences that caused them; as among others, *Three Books of the Civil War* itself, reaching as far as the first Battle of Newbury, where the succeeding misfortunes of the party stopped the work.'

[EE] *His Letters to his private friends*.] Let us hear Dr. Sprat. 'In these he always expressed the native tenderness and innocent gaiety of his mind.'

VOL. IV.

'I think, Sir (*), you and I have the greatest collection of this sort. But I know you agree with me, that nothing of this nature should be published: and herein you have always consented to approve the modest judgment of our countrymen, above the practice of some of our neighbours, and chiefly of the French. I make no manner of question, but the English, at this time, are infinitely improved this way, above the skill of former ages, nay of all the countries round about us, that pretend to greater eloquence. Yet they have been always judiciously sparing in printing such composures, while some other witty nations have tired all their presses, and readers, with them. The truth is, the letters that pass between particular friends, if they are written as they ought to be, can scarce ever be fit to see the light. They should not consist of fulsome compliments, or tedious politicks, or elaborate elegancies, or general fancies: but they should have a native clearness and shortness, a domestic plainness, and a peculiar kind of familiarity; which can only affect the humour of those for whom they were intended. The very same passages which make writings of this nature delightful among friends, will lose all manner of taste, when they come to be read by those that are indifferent. In such letters the souls of men should appear undressed: and in that negligent habit they may be fit to be seen by one or two in a chamber, but not to go abroad into the streets' (44).

(*) Addressing himself to Mr. Clifford.

[FF] *His character, as a man*.] He had a perfect natural goodness, which neither the uncertainties of his condition, nor the largeness of his wit could pervert. Nothing vain or fantastical, nothing flattering or insolent, appeared in his humour. Nor was there any thing affected or singular in his habit, or person, or gesture. He understood the forms of good breeding enough to practise them, without burthening himself or others. He never had any emulation for fame, or contention for profit, with any man. His modesty and humility were so great, that, if he had not had many other equal virtues, they might have been thought dissimulation. His conversation was such, as was rather admired by his familiar friends, than by strangers at first sight. In his speech, neither the pleasantness excluded gravity, nor was the sobriety of it inconsistent with delight. He governed his passions with great moderation. Whatever he disliked in others, he only corrected it by the silent reproof of a better practice. His wit was so tempered, that no man had ever reason to wish it had been less. He never willingly recited any of his writings; and none but his intimate friends ever discovered he was a great poet by his discourse. His learning was large and profound, and sat exceeding close and handsome upon him: it was not embossed on his mind, but enamelled. He never guided his life by the whispers, or opinions of the world. He was a passionate lover of liberty, and freedom from restraint both in actions and words. But what honesty others receive from the direction of laws, he had by native inclination. He performed all his natural and civil duties with admirable tenderness. His friendships were inviolable: his thoughts never above nor below his condition. In a word, he was accomplished with all manner of abilities, for the greatest business, if he would but have thought so himself (45).

(44) Life, &c. p. 23, 24.

[GG] —as a Poet.] In all the several shapes of his style, there is very much of the likeness and impression of the same mind; the same unaffected modesty, and natural freedom, and easy vigour and chearful passions, and innocent mirth, which appeared in all his manners. If he was not wonderfully curious in the choice and elegance of his words, on the other side he had no manner of affectation in them, but took them as he found them made to his hands. If his verses in

(45) Ibid. p. 26, 37, 38.

his praises with a mixture of blame [HH]. Sir John Denham has given us a fine copy of verses on his death and burial among the antient Poets [II]; and Mr. Pope has

some places seem not as soft and flowing, as some would have them, it was his choice, not his fault. Where the matter required it, he was as gentle as any man; but where higher virtues were chiefly to be regarded, an exact numerosity was not then his main care. He had a perfect mastery in both the languages in which he wrote, and excelled both in prose and verse. Though his fancy flowed with great speed, he never runs his reader, nor his argument, out of breath, but always leaves off in such a manner, that it appears it was in his power to have said more. His invention is powerful, but seems all to arise out of the nature of the subject, and to be just fitted for the thing of which he speaks. The variety of arguments that he has managed is so large, that there is scarcely any particular of the passions of men, or works of nature and providence, which he has passed by undescribed: yet to all these matters, so wide asunder, he still proportions a due figure of speech, and a proper measure of wit (46). Whether Mr. Cowley's works have been always viewed in the same favourable light, will be seen in the following remark.

(46) *Ibid.* p. 13, 14, 15.

[HH] Mr. Addison celebrates his praises with a mixture of blame.] It is in his *Account of the greatest English Poets*, addressed to Mr. Henry Sacheverell, April 3, 1694 (47). The Lines are these.

(47) See Mr. Addison's Works, edit. 12mo. 1726, vol. i. p. 35.

Great Cowley then, a mighty Genius, wrote,
O'errun with wit, and lavish of his thought:
His turns too closely on the reader press;
He more had pleas'd us, had he pleas'd us less.
One glittering thought no sooner strikes our eyes
With silent wonder, but new wonders rise;
As in the milky way a shining white
O'erflows the heav'ns with one continued light;
That not a single star can shew his rays,
Whilst jointly all promote the common blaze.
Pardon, great poet, that I dare to name
Th' unnumber'd beauties of thy verse with blame.
Thy fault is only wit in its excess;
But wit like thine in any shape will please.
What Muse but thine can equal hints inspire,
And fit the deep-mouth'd Pindar to thy lyre?
Pindar, whom others in a labour'd strain,
And forc'd expressions, imitate in vain.
Well-pleas'd in thee he soars with new delight,
And plays in more unbounded verse, and takes a nobler flight.

Blest man! whose spotless life and charming lays
Employ'd the tuneful prelate in thy praise.
Blest man! who now shall be for ever known
In Sprat's successful labours and thy own.

In one of the notes on this author's translations from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (48), we have the following account of the nature of mixed wit, of which OVID, he tells us, among the antients, was the greatest admirer, as our COWLEY was among the moderns. 'Mr. Locke, in his *Essay of Human Understanding*, has given us the best account of wit in short that can any where be met with. Wit, says he, lies in the assemblage of Ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures and agreeable visions in the fancy. Thus does true wit, as this incomparable author observes, consist in the likeness of Ideas, and is more or less wit, as this likeness is more surprizing and unexpected. But as true wit is nothing else but a similitude in Ideas, so is false wit the similitude in words, whether it lies in the likeness of letters only, as in anagram and acrostic; or of syllables, as in Doggrel rhimes; or whole words, as Puns, Echo's and the like. Besides these two kinds of false and true wit, there is another of a middle nature, that has something of both in it: when in two Ideas, that have some resemblance with each other, and are both expressed by the same word, we make use of the ambiguity of the word, to speak that of one Idea included under it, which is proper to the other. Thus, for example,

(48) *Ib.* p. 248.

most languages have hit on the word which properly signifies Fire, to express Love by, (and therefore we may be sure there is some resemblance in the Ideas mankind have of them;) from hence the witty poets of all languages, when they have once called Love a Fire, consider it no longer as the passion, but speak of it under the notion of a real fire, and, as the turn of wit requires, make the same word in the same sentence stand for either of the ideas that is annexed to it. When Ovid's Apollo falls in love, he burns with a new flame; when the Sea-nymphs languish with this passion, they kindle in the water: the Greek Epigrammatist fell in love with one that flung a snow-ball at him, and therefore takes occasion to admire how fire could be thus concealed in snow. In short whenever the poet feels any thing in his love that resembles something in fire, he carries on this agreement into a kind of allegory: but if, as in the preceding instances, he finds any circumstances in his love contrary to the nature of fire, he calls his love a fire, and by joining this circumstance to it, surprises his reader with a seeming contradiction.'

Mr. Addison tells us elsewhere (49), that this sort of wit abounds in Cowley, more than in any other author that ever wrote; and he gives us some examples of it, all borrowed from our Poet's *Mistress*. He remarks, that 'Cowley, observing the cold regard of his mistress's eyes, and at the same time their power of producing love, in him, considers them as burning-glasses made of ice; and finding himself able to live in the greatest extremities of love concludes the torrid zone to be habitable. When his mistress has read his letter written in juice of lemon, by holding it to the fire, he desires her, to read it over a second time by love's flames. When she weeps, he wishes it were inward heat that distilled those drops from the limbeck. When she is absent, he is beyond eighty, that is, thirty degrees nearer the pole, than when she is with him. His ambitious love is a fire, that naturally mounts upwards; his happy love is the beams of heaven, and his unhappy love flames of hell. When it does not let him sleep, it is a flame, that sends up no smoke; when it is opposed by counsel and advice, it is a fire, that rages the more by the wind's blowing upon it. Upon the dying of a tree, in which he had cut his loves, he observes, that his written flames had burnt up and withered the tree. When he resolves to give over his passion, he tells us, that one burnt like him for ever dreads the fire. His heart is an *Ætna*, that instead of Vulcan's shop incloses Cupid's forge in it. His endeavouring to drown his love in wine, is throwing oil upon the fire. He would insinuate to his mistress, that the fire of love, like that of the sun (which produces so many living creatures) should not only warm, but beget. Love, in another place, cooks pleasure at his fire. Sometimes the poet's heart is frozen in every breast, and sometimes scorched in every eye. Sometimes he is drowned in tears, and burnt in love, like a ship set on fire in the middle of the sea.' The reader may observe, concludes Mr. Addison, in every one of these instances, that the poet mixes the qualities of fire with those of love; and in the same sentence speaking of it both as a passion and as a real fire, surprises the reader with these seeming resemblances or contradictions, that make up all the wit in this kind of writing. He acknowledges, however, that the poet, out of whom he had taken these examples of mixed wit, had as much true wit as any author that ever wrote, and indeed all other talents of an extraordinary genius.

(49) *Spectator*, vol. i. No. 62.

[II] Sir John Denham's verses on Mr. Cowley's death and burial among the antient poets.] They contain the following Elegy on our bard (50).

(50) Denham's Poems, p. 90.

Old mother wit, and nature gave
Shakespeare and Fletcher all they have;
In Spenser and in Jonson, Art
Of flower nature got the start.

But

has paid the tribute of verse to his memory, in his *Windsor-Forest* [KK].

But both in him so equal are,
None knows which bears the happiest share.
To him no author was unknown,
Yet what he wrote was all his own:
He melted not the antient gold,
Nor, with *Ben Jonson*, did make bold
To plunder all the Roman stores
Of Poets and of Orators.
Horace's wit, and *Virgil's* state
He did not steal, but emulate;
And when he wou'd like them appear,
Their garb, but not their cloaths, did wear.
He not from *Rome* alone, but *Greece*,
Like *Jason*, brought the Golden Fleece.
On a stiff gale (as *Flaccus* sings)
The *Theban* Swan extends his wings,
When thro' th' ætherial clouds he flies:
To the same pitch our Swan doth rise;
Old *Pindar's* flights by him new reach'd,
When on that gale his wings are stretch'd.

[KK] Mr. Pope has paid the tribute of verse to his memory, in his *Windsor-Forest*.] The lines are these (51):

Here his first lays majestic Denham sung;
There the last numbers flow'd from Cowley's tongue (ll).
O early lost! what tears the river shed,
When the sad pomp along his banks was led!
His drooping swans on ev'ry note expire,
And on his willows hung each Muse's lyre.
Since fate relentless stopp'd their heav'nly voice,
No more the forests ring, or groves rejoice.
Who now shall charm the shades, where Cowley strung
His living harp, and lofty Denham sung?

B.

.* [From the numerous lives which have been written of Cowley, there are very few facts to be collected that are not recorded in the preceding article. Almost the whole of what has been done by Dr. Johnson in this respect, is his having given, from the strength and sagacity of his mind, a new aspect to some of the occurrences which he relates. But before we enter into these circumstances, it will be proper to correct a mistake into which the Doctor has fallen by having recourse only to Bishop Sprat. Following that author, he hath asserted, that a volume of Cowley's Poems was not only written but printed in his thirteenth year. But it has been shewn by Wood, and the writers of the Great General Dictionary, as well as by our predecessor, in Note [B], that this was not the case.

Dr. Johnson hath treated with ridicule the account of Sprat, concerning Cowley's defect of memory at Westminster School being so great, that his teachers never could bring it to retain the ordinary rules of Grammar. "This is an instance," says the Doctor, "of the natural desire of man to propagate a wonder." "It is surely very difficult to tell any thing as it was heard, when Sprat could not refrain from amplifying a commodious incident, though the book to which he prefixed his narrative contained its confutation. A memory admitting some things, and rejecting others, an intellectual digestion that concocted the pulp of learning, but refused the husks, had the appearance of an instinctive elegance, of a particular provision made by nature for literary politeness. But in the Author's own honest relation, the marvel vanishes. He was, he says, such an enemy to all constraint, that his master could never prevail on him to learn the rules without book. He does not tell that he could not learn the rules, but that, being able to perform his exercises without them, and being an enemy to constraint, he spared himself the labour (52)."

Dr. Johnson unites with Sprat in vindicating Mr. Cowley from Anthony Wood's charge, of his having complied with the men in power, when he returned to England in 1656. The Doctor observes that even in Wood's representation not much wrong can be discovered. "How far Cowley complied with the

"men in power, is to be enquired before he can be blamed. It is not said that he told them any secrets, or assisted them by intelligence, or any other act. If he only promised to be quiet; that they in whose hands he was might free him from confinement, he did what no law of society prohibits (53)."

(53) *Ibid.* p. 17,

When Cowley's "Cutter of Coleman-Street" was first represented on the stage, it was treated with great severity; and was afterwards censured as a satire on the King's party. Dryden and Sprat were present at the exhibition; and upon their informing Cowley how little favour had been shewn him, he received the news of his ill success, not with so much firmness as might have been expected from so great a man.

"For the rejection of this play, says Dr. Johnson, it is difficult now to find the reason: it certainly has, in a very great degree, the power of fixing attention and exciting merriment. From the charge of disaffection he exculpates himself in his preface, by observing how unlikely it is that, having followed the Royal Family through all their distresses, "he should chuse the time of their restoration to begin a quarrel with them." It appears, however, from the Theatrical Register of Downes the prompter, to have been popularly considered as a satire on the royalists. That he might shorten this tedious suspense, he published his pretensions and his discontent, in an Ode called "The Complaint;" in which he styles himself the melancholy Cowley. This met with the usual fortune of complaints, and seems to have excited more contempt than pity. These unlucky incidents are brought, maliciously enough, together in some stanzas, written about that time, on the choice of a laureat; a mode of satire, by which, since it was first introduced by Suckling, perhaps every generation of poets has been teased.

"Savoy-missing Cowley came into the court,
Making apologies for his bad play;
Every one gave him so good a report,
That Apollo gave heed to all he could say:
Nor would he have had, 'tis thought, a rebuke,
Unless he had done some notable folly;
Writ verses unjustly in praise of Sam Tuke,
Or printed his pitiful Melancholy (54)."

(54) *Ibid.* p. 19,
20.

In the sixth Number of the Rambler, Dr. Johnson hath made some admirable reflections on Mr. Cowley's vehement desire of retirement. How unfortunately his retreat from the world succeeded, will be evident from the following letter, which has been preserved by Peck.

"To Dr. Thomas Sprat.

"Chertsey, 21 May, 1665.

"The first night that I came hither I caught so great a cold, with a defluxion of rheum, as made me keep my chamber ten days. And, two after, had such a bruise on my ribs with a fall, that I am yet unable to move or turn myself in my bed. This is my personal fortune here to begin with. And besides, I can get no money from my tenants, and have my meadows eaten up every night by cattle put in by my neighbours. What this signifies, or may come to in time, God knows; if it be ominous, it can end in nothing less than hanging. Another misfortune has been, and stranger than all the rest, that you have broke your word with me, and failed to come, even though you told Mr. Bois that you would. This is what they call *Monstri simile*. I do hope to recover my late hurt so farre within five or six days (though it be uncertain yet whether I shall ever recover it) as to walk about again. And then, methinks, you and I and the Dean might be very merry upon St. Anne's Hill. You might very conveniently come hither the way of Hampton Town, lying there one night. I write this in pain, and can say no more: *Verbum sapienti* (55)."

(55) *Ibid.* p. 22,
23.

If

(51) Pope's Works, 12mo. edit 1736, vol. i. p. 78.

(ll) Mr. Cowley died at Chertsey on the borders of the forest.

(52) Johnson's Lives of the most eminent English Poets, vol. i. p. 3, 4.

If Mr. Cowley thought that the Swains of Surrey had the innocence of those of Sydney's Arcadia, he was soon undeceived by the perverseness and debauchery of his own workmen, with whom, as we learn from Dr. Warton, it is said that he was some times so far provoked, as even to be betrayed into an oath. "His income was about three hundred pounds a year. Towards the latter part of his life, he shewed an aversion to the company of women, and would often leave the room if any happened to enter whilst he was present; but still he retained a sincere affection for Leonora." The ingenious and learned writer to whom we are indebted for these circumstances, has given us a new account of the cause of Mr. Cowley's death. It was occasioned, he says, by a singular accident. "He paid a visit on foot with his friend Sprat to a Gentleman in the neighbourhood of Chertsey, which they prolonged till midnight. On their return home they mistook their way, and were obliged to pass the whole night exposed under a hedge, where Cowley caught a severe cold, attended with a fever, that terminated in his death (56)." Dr. Warton hath not favoured the public with the authority on which this anecdote is grounded. This, however, would have been desirable; as the story is so very different from the account given by Dr. Sprat himself of the cause of Mr. Cowley's decease, and which is inserted in note [U].

(56) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 108—110. 1st. edit.

Sprat's inscription on the monument of his friend has not escaped criticism. An anonymous writer, in an Essay on Epitaphs, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, has expressed himself in the following terms. "All allusions to the heathen mythology are absurd, and all regard for the senseless remains of a dead man impertinent and superstitious. One of the first distinctions of the primitive Christians, was their neglect of bestowing garlands on the dead, in which they are very rationally defended by their apologist in Minutius Felix. *We lavish no flowers nor odours on the dead, says he, because they have no sense of fragrance or of beauty.* We profess to reverence the dead not for their sake but for our own. It is, therefore, always with indignation or contempt that I read the Epitaph on Cowley, a man whose learning and poetry were his lowest merits.—To pray that the ashes of a friend may lie undisturbed, and that the divinities that favoured him in this life, may watch for ever round him, to preserve his tomb from violation, and drive sacrilege away, is only rational in him who believes the soul interested in the repose of the body, and the powers which he invokes for its protection able to preserve it. To censure such expressions as contrary to religion, or as remains of Heathen superstition, would be too great a degree of severity. I condemn them only as uninteresting and unaffecting, as too ludicrous for reverence or grief, for Christianity and a temple (57)."

(57) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. x. p. 594. The whole Essay deserves to be read.

(58) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 24.

The moral character of Mr. Cowley appears, from every account of it, to have been very excellent. "He is represented by Dr. Sprat," says Dr. Johnson, "as the most amiable of mankind; and this posthumous praise may be safely credited, as it has never been contradicted by envy or by faction (58)."

Mr. Cowley's disposition of mind is well displayed in the following lines of the late Mr. Robert Lloyd.

"Nor, Cowley, be thy Muse forgot! which strays
In wit's ambiguous flowery maze;
With many a pointed turn, and studied art:
Tho' affectation blot thy rhyme,
Thy mind was lofty and sublime,
And manly honour dignified thy heart:
Though fond of wit, yet firm to Virtue's plan,
The Poet's trifles ne'er disgrac'd the Man.

"Well might thy morals sweet engage
Th' attention of the mitred sage,
Smit with the plain simplicity of truth.
For not ambition's giddy strife,
The gilded toys of public life,
Which snare the gay unstable youth,

"Could lure thee from the sober charms,
Which lapt thee in retirement's arms;
Whence thou, untainted with the pride of state,
Could'st smile with pity on the bustling great (59)."

(59) Lloyd's Poetical Works, vol. i. p. 152, 153.

Though Mr. Cowley's character is, in general, so well known, yet it is highly probable that we should have seen much more of the peculiar turn of his mind, if a number of his private letters had been given to the world. Dr. Sprat's opinion, expressed at large in note [EE], that *nothing of this nature should be published*, is remarkable; and the more so, as it is totally contrary to the sentiments of the present Age. Mr. Maſon and Mr. Knox have very justly declared their disapprobation of Dr. Sprat's notions and conduct in this respect (60). Indeed, the letters of eminent men are often instructive, interesting, and entertaining; in which case the publication of them is a benefit to the community. But to retail every epistle, and every scrap of a deceased author, however trifling and insignificant, can only be the result of a tasteless avidity, and only gratify a childish curiosity. We might enlarge upon the subject; but perhaps it may come more properly before us in the course of our future lucubrations.

(60) Maſon's Memoirs of his Life and Writings of Gray, p. 4, 2d. edit. Knox's Essays, vol. ii. p. 365.

While so little can be added with regard to the facts of Mr. Cowley's life, much hath been written concerning his genius and literary merit. Dryden's opinion of him, delivered at a period when he was still often spoken of with indiscriminate praise, is too sensible to be omitted. The name of Cowley is not, indeed, mentioned by Dryden; but there can be no doubt to whom he refers. "One of our late great Poets," says he, "is sunk in his reputation, because he could never forgive any conceit which came in his way; but swept, like a drag-net, great and small. There was plenty enough, but the dishes were ill sorted; whole pyramids of sweet-meats, for boys and women; but little of solid meat for men. All this proceeded not from any want of knowledge, but of judgment; neither did he want that in discerning the beauties and faults of other Poets; but only indulged himself in the luxury of writing; and perhaps knew it was a fault, but hoped the reader would not find it. For this reason, though he must always be thought a great Poet, he is no longer esteemed a good writer: and for ten impressions, which his works have had in so many successive years, yet at present a hundred books are scarcely purchased once a twelvemonth: for, as my last Lord Rochester said, though somewhat profanely, *not being of God, he could not stand* (61)."

(61) Johnson's Poets, vol. xv. p. 26, 27. This passage was pointed out to us by a learned Correspondent.

Later authors in general have estimated Cowley with more critical exactness than was commonly done in and a little after his own time; and some of them have detracted too much from his merit. Of this number we may reckon Mr. Hume. "Cowley," says this ingenious historian, "is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taste of his age; but had he lived in the purest times of Greece and Rome, he must always have been a very indifferent Poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verses are only known to be such by the rhyme, which terminates them. In his rugged untuneable numbers are conveyed sentiments the most strained and violent; long spun allegories, distant allusions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and force of thought, sometimes break out amidst these unnatural conceptions: a few Anacreontics surprise us by their ease and gaiety: his prose writings please, by the honesty and goodness which they express; and even by their spleen and melancholy. This author was much more praised and admired during his life-time, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton (62)." We are far from agreeing with Mr. Hume in his assertion, that if Cowley had lived in the purest times of Greece and Rome, he must always have been a very indifferent Poet. Such an assertion could only proceed from a want of candour or of judgment: for surely Cowley's genius would have enabled him to rise to no small degree of poetical excellence, had he not been misled by the false taste of the age.

(62) History of England, vol. vii. p. 354.

Another

Another author, almost as severe upon our Poet as Mr. Hume, is Mr. Knox.

"It was the lot, says this ingenious Essayist, of Cowley to be handed down to posterity by a writer who was famous in his day for eloquence. Dr. Sprat probably undertook the office of a biographer, with a design to display his talents in a species of oratory which the Roman rhetoricians called the demonstrative. He discharged it well as an artist, but failed as an accurate historian. By placing Cowley in the first rank of poets, he has in effect degraded him from the subaltern station which he had else preserved unmo-
lest. Dr. Sprat owed much of his own fame to the Poet who had compared his style to the gentle and majestic current of the Thames; and returned the compliment, perhaps from other motives than those of gratitude; for the higher Cowley was exalted, the greater honour was reflected on those whom he had commended. Of this celebrated Bishop of Rochester, Lord Orrery has said, few men have gained a greater character for elegance and correctness, and few men have deserved it less. And of the Poet whom he praised, the great Dryden has with diffidence remarked, that somewhat of the purity of English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness in the numbers; in one word, somewhat of a finer turn and more lyrical verse, is yet wanting.

"Whatever are his defects, no poet has been more liberally praised. Lord Clarendon has said, he made a flight above all men; Addison, in his account of the English Poets, that he improved upon the Theban bard; the Duke of Buckingham upon his Tombstone, that he was the English Pindar, the Horace, the Virgil, the Delight, the Glory, of his Times. And with respect to the harshness of his numbers, the eloquent Sprat tells us, that if his verses in some places seem not as soft and flowing as one would have them, it was his choice, and not his fault.

"Such is the applause lavished on a writer who is now seldom read. That he could ever be esteemed as a pindaric poet, is a curious literary phenomenon. He totally mistook his own genius, when he thought of imitating Pindar. He totally mistook the genius of Pindar, when he thought his own incoherent sentiments and numbers bore the least resemblance to the wild, yet regular sublimity of the Theban. He neglected even those forms, the strophe, antistrophe, and epode, which even imitative dulness can copy. Sublime imagery, vehement pathos, poetic fire, which constitute the essence of the Pindaric Ode, are incompatible with witty conceits, accurate antitheses, and vulgar expression. All these imply the coolness of deliberate composition, or the meanness of a little mind; both of them most repugnant to the truly Pindaric Ode, in which all is rapturous and noble. Wit of any kind would be improperly displayed in such composition; but to increase the absurdity, the wit of Cowley is often false.

"If the end of poetry is to please, harmony of verse is essential to poetry, for, without it, poetry cannot please. It is not possible, that any whose ear has been attuned to the melody of good composition, should read a single ode of Cowley without being shocked with discord. There is often nothing left but the jingle at the end to distinguish poems renowned for their sublimity, from affected prose. Such poetry may justly incur the ridiculous title of Prose run mad.

"Yet is there sometimes interwoven a purple patch, as Horace calls it; a fine expression, a truly poetical thought, an harmonious couplet; but it occurs not often enough to repay the reader for the toilsome task of wading through a tedious assemblage of disproportioned and discordant stanzas. Of such consist his Pindarics; which, though they procured him the greatest share of his reputation, deserved it least. Many of his other poems, if we consider the rude state of versification, and the bad taste of the times, have great merit; and had he made Tibullus his model, instead of Pindar, his claim to the first rank of poets had not been called in question. The tenderness of love, and the soft language of complaint, were adapted to his genius. But he chose to tread in the footsteps of Alcæus, as he says himself, who, according to the Halicarnassian, combined the μεγαλοφύης καὶ ἡδύς, or adopted the grand, as well as the sweet.

Vol. IV.

"That he had a taste for Latin poetry, and wrote in it with elegance, the well-known Epitaph on himself, upon his retirement, and an admirable imitation of Horace, are full proofs. But, surely, his rhetorical biographer makes use of the figure hyperbole, when he affirms that Cowley has excelled the Romans themselves. He was inferior to many a writer of less fame in the *Musæ Anglicanæ*. But still he had great merit; and I must confess I have read his Latin verses with more pleasure, than any of his English can afford (63)."

To Cowley's compositions in prose Mr. Knox hath paid a very honourable testimony. He says that in this department he is an elegant, a pleasing, a judicious writer; and that it is much to be lamented that he did not devote a greater part of his time to a kind of writing which appeared natural to him, and in which he excelled (64).

Dr. Joseph Warton observes, that it is no caricature of Cowley, to represent him as being possessed of a strained affectation of striving to be witty upon all occasions. "It is painful," adds this excellent critic, "to censure a writer of so amiable a mind, such integrity of manners, and such a sweetness of temper. His fancy was brilliant, strong, and sprightly; but his taste false and unclassical, even though he had much learning. In his Latin compositions, his six books on plants, where the subject might have led him to a contrary practice, he imitates Martial, rather than Virgil, and has given us more epigrams than descriptions (65)." This opinion concerning Cowley's Latin Poetry, is not consonant to that of Dr. Johnson. "If the Latin performances," says the Doctor, "of Cowley and Milton be compared, for May I hold to be superior to both, the advantage seems to lie on the side of Cowley. Milton is generally content to express the thoughts of the ancients in their language; Cowley, without much loss of purity or elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions (66)." In one respect, Dr. Warton pays a tribute to the ability of Cowley in Latin composition. "I do not remember, says he, to have seen it observed, that Cowley had a most happy talent of imitating the easy manner of Horace's epistolary writings: I must, therefore, insert a specimen of this his excellence.

"Ergo iterum versus? dices. O Vane! quid ergo
"Morbum ejurasti toties, tibi qui insidet altis,
"Non evellendus, vi vel ratione, medullis?
"Numne poetarum (merito dices) ut amantum
"Derisum ridere deum perjuriam censes?
"Parcius hæc sodes, neve inclementibus urge
"Infelicem hominem dictis; nam fata trahunt me
"Magna reluctantem, et velut equum in vincula
"minacem.
"Helleborum sumpsi fateor, pulchreque videbar
"Purgatus morbi; sed luna potentior herbis
"Insanire iterum jubet, et sibi vendicat a-
"grum (67)."

Dr. Beattie has characterized Cowley in the following terms. "I know not whether any nation ever produced a more singular genius than Cowley. He abounds in tender thoughts, beautiful lines, and emphatical expressions. His wit is inexhaustible, and his learning extensive; but his taste is generally barbarous, and seems to have been formed upon such models as Donne, Martial, and the worst parts of Ovid: nor is it possible to read his longer poems with pleasure, while we retain any relish for the simplicity of ancient composition. If this author's ideas had been fewer, his conceits would have been less frequent; so that in one respect learning may be said to have hurt his genius. Yet it does not appear that Greek and Latin did him any harm; for his imitations of Anacreon are almost the only parts of him that are now remembered or read. His Davideis, and his translations of Pindar, are destitute of harmony, simplicity, and every other classical grace. Had his inclinations led him to a frequent perusal of the most elegant authors of antiquity, his poems would certainly have been the better for it (68)." Dr. Beattie, in his last remark, is undoubtedly mistaken.

(63) Knox's
Essays, vol. ii.
p. 363—365.

(64) *Ibid.*

(65) Warton, *ubi
supra*, p. 104,
105.

(66) Johnson,
ubi supra, p. 17.

(67) Warton, *ubi
supra*.

(68) Beattie's
Essays, p. 742.

It is evident from Mr. Cowley's writings, that no man could be more conversant with the most elegant authors of antiquity; but, notwithstanding this, he was led astray by the false taste of the age in which he flourished.

The fate of Cowley's Pindaric Odes is a curious circumstance in our literary history. We have seen, in the preceding quotations, how much they are now condemned; and Dr. Warton's censure of them may be added, who says, that they cannot be perused with common patience by a lover of antiquity (69). And yet, for nearly a century, they were received with almost boundless admiration; and they were as foolishly imitated as they were extravagantly praised. For a long time, the world was over-run with irregular compositions, under the name of Pindaric Odes. "This lax and lawless versification," says Dr. Johnson, "so much concealed the deficiencies of the barren, and flattered the laziness of the idle, that it immediately overspread our books of poetry; all the boys and girls caught the pleasing fashion, and they that could do nothing else could write like Pindar. The rights of antiquity were invaded, and disorder tried to break into the Latin. A Poem on the Sheldonian Theatre, in which all kinds of verse are shaken together, is unhappily inserted in the *Musæ Anglicanæ* (70)." Dr. Watts is an eminent instance of the seduction produced by Cowley's example; for the poetical works of that ingenious and pious Divine abound with irregular Odes. Congreve had the good sense to see and to represent how contrary such Odes are to the whole mode of composition which was made use of by Pindar; but his observations, though approved of by the learned and the judicious, did not meet with all the attention they deserved. It was reserved for Mr. Gilbert West entirely to dispel the delusion, and to set the matter in so clear a light as to produce a general reformation. Since that time, some Odes have appeared, in the true spirit, as well as in the form of Pindar; and since that time, other Odes have been published, which, while they have marched on in the regular order of Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, have not been eminently Pindaric.

So many of Cowley's productions being now esteemed scarcely worthy of a perusal, while others of them are distinguished by their beauty, Dr. Hurd (the present Bishop of Worcester) thought proper to make a selection of them, which he published, in 1772, under the title of "Select Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley; in two Volumes: with a Preface and Notes by the Editor." The preface is as follows:

"It would be using most writers of name very ill, to treat them with that freedom, which I have presumed to take with Mr. Cowley. But every thing he wrote, is either so good or so bad, that, in all reason, a separation should be made; lest the latter, which, unhappily, is the greater part, should, in the end, stifle and overlay the former.

"The reason of this striking difference in the compositions of the same man, whose genius and learning are unquestionable, is, That he generally followed the taste of his time, which was the worst imaginable; and rarely his own, which was naturally excellent: as may be seen in the few pieces of his poetry, here selected from the rest; and especially, in his prose works, which (except the notes on his *Pindaric Odes*, and *Davidis*) are given entire, and have no common merit.

"But the talents, by which he is distinguished, as a polite writer, are the least of his praise. There is something in him, which pleases above his wit, and in spite of it. It is that moral air, and tender sensibility of mind, which every one perceives and loves in reading Mr. Cowley. And this character of his genius, though it be expressed, indeed, in his other writings, comes out especially, and takes our attention most, in some of his *smaller poems and essays*; which, therefore, it seemed to be for the Author's credit, and the convenience of his Readers, to draw near to each other, and place together in one view. I have said — *for the convenience of his Readers*: for, though all are capable of being entertained, perhaps instructed, by the image of a good mind, when set before them, yet few will be at the pains to seek that instruction or entertainment for themselves, through

the scattered works of so unequal and voluminous a Writer.

"To do justice to the memory of Mr. Cowley, in these two respects, I mean, in his capacity both of a polite and moral Writer, is the sole end of this publication. Every man of taste and virtue will read it with pleasure. There are, indeed, many lines dispersed through his other poems, which deserve praise. But, on the whole, it is enough if this small collection go down to posterity: in that case, neither they, nor the Author, will have any great loss, though the rest be forgotten (71)."

In the account of this publication, which was given in the *Monthly Review*, Dr. Hurd's conduct was strongly objected to, and various reasons were urged against taking such liberties with eminent writers. What the Critic has advanced with regard to Cowley in particular, is so ingenious, and throws so much light on some of his now neglected beauties, that it deserves to be transcribed.

"All that can be said in favour of the liberties Dr. Hurd has taken with Mr. Cowley's works, is, that he has, in general, shewn a proper judgment in his selection, and that he does not by any means hold forth this publication as a precedent for others of the like nature. The opening of his preface declares against it.

"When Mr. Pope asks,

"Who now reads Cowley?"—

He assigns such reasons as occur to him, why he is still read, viz. his moral, and the language of his heart.

"Who now reads Cowley? if he pleases yet,
His moral pleases, not his pointed wit.
Forgot his Epic, nay Pindaric art,
Yet still, we love the language of his heart."

"Dr. Hurd likewise, following Mr. Pope in his idea, ascribes Mr. Cowley's power of pleasing to that moral air, and tender sensibility of mind, which are discoverable in his writings; and both the poet and the critic are right so far, that Mr. Cowley's writings do bear those agreeable characteristics. But the real cause why they still please is what Mr. Pope could not judge of, because he was a stranger to it. It is enthusiasm; the genuine spirit of enthusiasm that breathes through all those pages, where the poet is not professedly in chace of wit.

"In that fine poem to the memory of Mr. William Harvey there are strong traits of it. On perusing this poem we could not but wonder that his Editor, who is likewise his Annotator, should take no notice of that striking passage in the thirteenth stanza, which has such a peculiar felicity in the idea, that nothing in the poet's whole writings could be more worthy of his observation:

"So strong a wit did nature to him frame,
As all things, but his judgment, overcame;
His judgment, like the heav'nly moon, did show,
Temp'ring that mighty sea below."

There cannot be any thing, either in ancient or in modern poetry, superior to the image conveyed in the two last lines. It is equally just, simple, and sublime. The unruly ebullitions of wit are most happily represented by a tumultuous sea; and judgment is no less beautifully depicted by a serene moon that seems to temper its inquietude. But though this distinguished passage has been honoured with no stricture by the Annotator, he has let fall an observation, at the end of the poem, which might easily have been dispensed with. Cowley says of his departed friend,

"Thou dost with holy pity see
Our dull and earthly poesy,
Where grief and misery can be join'd with verse."

The Critic says, the Poet here meant 'to insinuate the preposterous levity and vanity of earthly poets, who can afford to be witty even on their own miseries.' Now, with his good leave, the Poet certainly never meant to insinuate the impropriety of a thing for

(69) Warton,
ubi supra, p. 106.

(70) Johnson,
ubi supra, p. 73.

(71) Select
Works, Preface,
p. v—viii.

for which no man was more notorious than himself. All he intended was, to lament the comparative inferiority of the earthly poetry, which was made the vehicle of sorrow, while the heavenly poetry must be employed only on themes of happiness.—Does the Critic mean, by poets being witty on their own miseries, that there is an absurdity in the idea of elegiac poetry? That, we presume, he can hardly intend; for nothing can be more obvious than that there is a species of poetry, as well as of music, adapted to the expression both of melancholy and of misery. Indeed, if the learned Editor had in view only those elegiac poets who are distinguished for

“ —Flowery grief and impotence of pain,

his censure is not unjust, otherwise it is certain that there are many circumstances and subjects where, without any impropriety,

“ — Grief and misery may be join'd with verse.

“ Dr. Hurd has thought proper to preserve Mr. Cowley's imitation of Martial's *Si Tecum mihi*, &c. which, the first six lines excepted, is so much inferior to the original. Indeed, the latter part of it is both idle and absurd. Cowley complains to his friend, in imitation of the Roman poet, that, for want of a proper allotment of their time, and employing it, among other objects, with

“ A gentle Mistress and a gentle Muse,
They saw good funs, of which they were to give
A strict account, set and march thick away.

The Poet was led into this absurdity of being called to a *strict account*, for want of employing his time with a *gentle Mistress*, most probably, by Martial's *imputantur*, which he had construed *charged to his account*, instead of *reckoned in the tale of life*. His Editor would have done well to have saved him the discredit of it.

“ But with respect to what Dr. Hurd has admitted, we have much less reason to be dissatisfied than for what he has rejected. Every thing in that collection of poems, which we have under the denomination of *the Mistress*, is thrown out of this edition. It is true, that in those poems are many exceptionable, many loose and nugatory pieces, which could not possibly do honour to Cowley, in the idea of any age; but then there are many beautiful parts which might have been selected, many marks of tenderness, ingenuity, and enthusiasm that might have been preserved, independently of the title, and the licentious idea of *the Mistress*. The severity of the Editor's virtue appears, in this matter, to have prevailed over his judgment. For he has published some poems, among the rest, *the Praise of Pindar*, &c. which ought to have given place to many extracts from *the Mistress*.

“ Wherefore should posterity, by any arbitrary decision, be contented to lose (what the Editor says would be no loss) the native enthusiasm and poetical beauties of

THE WISH.

I.

“ Well then, I now do plainly see
This busy world and I shall ne'er agree;
The very honey of all earthly joy
Does, of all meats, the soonest cloy.
And they, methinks, deserve my pity
Who for it can endure the stings
The crowd, and buz, and murmurings,
Of this great hive, the city.

II.

“ Ah! yet, ere I descend the grave,
May I a small house, and large garden have!
And a few friends, and many books, both true,
Both wise, and both delightful too.
And since love ne'er will from me flee,
A Mistress moderately fair
And good as guardian angels are,
Only belov'd and loving me!

III.

“ Oh! Fountains, when in you shall I
Myself eas'd of unpeaceful thoughts, espy?
O fields! O woods! when, when shall I be made
The happy tenant of your shade?
Here's the spring-head of pleasure's flood,
Where all the riches lie that she
Hath mark'd and stamp'd for good.

IV.

“ Pride and ambition here
Only in far-fetch'd metaphors appear;
Here nought but winds can hurtful murmurs scatter,
And nought but Echo flatter.
The gods, when they descended, hither
From heaven did always chuse their way;
And therefore we may boldly say,
That 'tis the way too thither.

V.

“ How happy here should I
And one dear she live, and embracing die?
She, who is all the world, and can exclude
In desarts solitude!
“ And should we suffer nothing by losing such a
poem as

THE DESPAIR.

I.

“ Beneath this gloomy shade,
By Nature only for my sorrows made,
I'll spend this voice in cries,
In tears I'll waste these eyes
By love so vainly fed!
“ *Ah wretched youth!* said I,
“ *Ah wretched youth!* twice did I sadly cry:
“ *Ah wretched youth!* the fields and floods reply.

II.

“ When thoughts of love I entertain,
I meet no words but *never*, and *in vain*.
Never, alas! that dreadful name
Which fewels the internal flame.
Never, my time to come must waste;
In vain, torments the present and the past.
In vain! In vain! said I,
In vain, In vain, twice did I sadly cry;
In vain, In vain, the fields and floods reply.

III.

“ No more shall fields, or floods do so;
For I to shades more dark and silent go:
All this world's noise appears to me
A dull, ill acted comedy:
No comfort to my wounded sight,
In the sun's busy and impertinent light.
Then down I laid my head,
Down on cold earth, and for awhile was dead,
And my freed soul to a strange *somewhere* fled.

IV.

“ Ah, foolish soul! said I,
When back to its cage again I saw it fly;
Fool to resume her broken chain
And row her galley here again.
Fool, to that body to return,
Where it condemn'd, and destin'd is to burn!

“ There is in the two last stanzas something so strongly picturesque and expressive of the subject, something so morally mournful, that it could not possibly escape the celebrated Richardson, who has given them a place in his *Clarissa*.

“ Should the harmony, the delicious sweetness of the following stanza in *THE CHANGE* be for ever forgot?

“ Love in her sunny eyes does basking play;
Love walks the pleasant mazes of her hair;
Love does on both her lips for ever stray,
And sows and reaps a thousand kisses there.

" Something of the same beautiful image, in Mrs. Greville's ode to Indifference, where she says that her heart

" ——— like the needle true,
Turns at the touch of joy, or woe,
But, turning, trembles too——

we find in that poem in Cowley's *Mistress*, called, *Resolved to be beloved*,

" The needle trembles so, and turns about,
Till it the northern pole find out.

" The late very ingenious Mr. Gray, too, has frequently borrowed from Cowley, and it is not in vain he has read this line in *The Mistress*,

" Words that weep, and tears that speak.

He has almost copied it in one of his odes.—Will it bear a question, whether treasures such as these, from which the best and greatest poets have so freely drawn, should be consigned to oblivion? If men of their taste could be pleased with, and copy their beauties, what should we think of that criticism which would pronounce "the total loss of them to be no loss to the world?"

" And is "*The Heart fled again*" likewise to be lost, because it is found in the *Mistress*?

I.

" False, foolish heart, didst thou not say,
That thou wouldst never leave me more?
Behold, again 'tis fled away!
Fled as far from me as before!
I strove to bring it back again,
I cried and hallooed after it in vain.

II.

" Even so the gentle Tyrian dame,
When neither grief, nor love prevail,
Saw the dear object of her flame,
Th' ingrateful Trojan hoist his sail:
Aloud she call'd to him to stay,
The wind bore him, and her lost words away.

III.

" The doleful Ariadne so,
On the wide shore forsaken stood:
False Theseus, whither dost thou go?
Afar false Theseus cut the flood.
But Bacchus came to her relief;
Bacchus himself's too weak to ease my grief.

IV.

" Ah senseless heart, to take no rest,
But travel thus eternally:
Thus to be scorched in every breast!
And froze in every eye!

" The Editor has preserved very few verses equal to the many beautiful lines in this little poem. But when he who reads Cowley's *Mistress*, finds that, in this edition, the poems *for Hope* and *against Hope*, are omitted, he will conclude all further objections to its reception unnecessary, and recollect at the same time, not without some concern, what poor Cowley himself says of that *Mistress*,

" Then shall thy name through all my verse be spread,
Thick as the flowers in meadows lie,
And when, in future times, they shall be read,
(As SURE I THINK THEY WILL NOT DIE)
If any CRITIC doubt that they be mine—

Cætera desiderantur (72)."

(72) Monthly
Review, vol.
xlviii, p. 13—18.

Another writer, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who has drawn a "Literary Portrait of Dr. Hurd," has likewise disapproved of the Bishop's selection from Cowley. "Sure I am, too," says this Critic, "that his Lordship's "Select Works of Cowley" have "prevented us from acknowledging the superiority

of his judgment upon that author. Though he has cleared the works from many false thoughts, ill-placed wit, and great puerilities, yet surely he has deprived us of many flights of true poetry, and of some peculiar marks which distinguish him (Cowley) from every other Poet (73)."

(73) *Gentleman's Magazine*,
vol. 46, p. 115.

On this occasion, the Bishop was not without a zealous and able advocate. A writer, in the same publication, made the following remarks upon the "Literary Portrait." "If the Painter of the Literary Portrait, in your Magazine for March, had really entertained a regard for the critic and the scholar, he would never have censured an edition so critical and so scholar-like as that of Cowley by Dr. Hurd. That edition evinces in no small degree the critical acumen of the Editor, and is in every respect such a selection as a judicious admirer of Cowley would wish to be given to the world. I hesitate not to affirm, that there is no composition of Cowley's, The Cutter of Coleman-street excepted, sufferable as a whole, which is not preserved in this edition. How, then, does the Editor's judgment stand impeached? and where are the marks of its inferiority to be found? That there are many lines in the entire Cowley, written in the true spirit of poetry, which have no place in this selection, I am so far from denying, that it was with pleasure I committed them to my Common Place Book; and nothing but the want of your approbation, Mr. Urban, shall prevent my transferring them to your miscellany. But, in every work, it is indispensably necessary to regard the Writer's end; and had it been any part of his Lordship's to detach splendid passages, the remark, that "he has deprived us of many flights of true poetry," would have been well founded: as it was not, it appears wanton and insidious, and will therefore fall to the ground. But wantonness of censure is not the only fault in this literary portrait. The author, unfortunate alike in censure and in praise, gives Hurd credit for what he never once attempted to perform. That he has detected many false thoughts, much ill-placed wit, and many puerilities, I am ready to acknowledge: but that he has cleared them of these deformities I am constrained to deny. In justice, therefore, to his Lordship, the more discriminating traits in whose literary character your correspondent seems either destitute of genius to pencil or taste to espy, you will allot a portion of your approved collection to this free-will offering from Elidurus (74)."

(74) *Ibid.* p. 267.

Mr. Knox's sentiments are in unison with these remarks. "A Critic, says he, whose genius and judgment keep pace with each other, and who illuminates every subject on which he treats, has allotted Cowley his just species of praise, and has given the world, in a judicious selection of his works, all that they possessed of real value (75)."

(75) Knox's
Essay, vol. ii. p.
366.

Though the concluding assertion of this passage is not sufficiently guarded, we cannot but express our general agreement with the two preceding writers, in their approbation of Bishop Hurd's selection. That selection is all that, for our own part, we ever wish to read again of Cowley. Nevertheless, it may not be amiss for young persons to peruse, once at least, the whole of his poems, that they may judge for themselves, and be sensible of the occasional beauties that are dispersed amidst his most defective compositions.

But of all the criticisms on Cowley, those of Dr. Johnson are entitled to the principal regard. His life of this celebrated Poet is written with particular attention, and is only exceeded in importance by the articles of Milton, Dryden, and Pope. The Doctor's account of the metaphysical Poets is uncommonly ingenious and curious; and what he has advanced upon the subject in general we shall lay before our readers. "Cowley, says he, like other poets who have written with narrow views, and instead of tracing intellectual pleasure to its natural sources in the mind of man, paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praised, and too much neglected at another. Wit, like all other things subject by their nature to the choice of man, has its changes and fashions, and at different times takes different forms. About the beginning of the seventeenth century appeared a race

of

of writers that may be termed the metaphysical poets; of whom, in a criticism on the works of Cowley, the last of the race, it is not improper to give some account.

"The metaphysical poets were men of learning, and to shew their learning was their whole endeavour; but, unluckily resolving to shew it in rhyme, instead of writing poetry, they only wrote verses, and very often such verses as stood the trial of the finger better than of the ear; for the modulation was so imperfect, that they were only found to be verses by counting the syllables. If the father of criticism has rightly denominated poetry *τέχνη μιμητική*, an imitative art, these writers will, without great wrong, lose their right to the name of poets; for they cannot be said to have imitated any thing; they neither copied nature nor life; neither painted the forms of matter, nor represented the operations of intellect. Those however who deny them to be poets, allow them to be wits. Dryden confesses of himself and his contemporaries, that they fall below Donne in wit, but maintains that they surpass him in poetry. If Wit be well described by Pope, as being "that which has been often thought, but was never before so well expressed," they certainly never attained, nor ever sought it; for they endeavoured to be singular in their thoughts, and were careless of their diction. But Pope's account of wit is undoubtedly erroneous: he depresses it below its natural dignity, and reduces it from strength of thought to happiness of language. If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be considered as Wit, which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is, upon its first production, acknowledged to be just; if it be that, which he that never found it, wonders how he missed; to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets have seldom risen. Their thoughts are often new, but seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found. But Wit, abstracted from its effects upon the hearer, may be more rigorously and philosophically considered as a kind of *discordia concors*; a combination of dissimilar images, or discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently unlike. Of wit, thus defined, they have more than enough. The most heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art are ransacked for illustrations, comparisons, and allusions; their learning instructs, and their subtilty surprises; but the reader commonly thinks his improvement dearly bought, and though he sometimes admires is seldom pleased. From this account of their compositions it will be readily inferred, that they were not successful in representing or moving the affections. As they were wholly employed on something unexpected and surprising, they had no regard to that uniformity of sentiment which enables us to conceive and to excite the pains and the pleasure of other minds: they never enquired what, on any occasion, they should have said or done; but wrote rather as beholders than partakers of human nature; as Beings looking upon good and evil, impassive and at leisure; as Epicurean deities making remarks on the actions of men, and the vicissitudes of life, without interest and without emotion. Their courtship was void of fondness, and their lamentation of sorrow. Their wish was only to say what they hoped had been never said before. Nor was the sublime more within their reach than the pathetic; for they never attempted that comprehension and expanse of thought which at once fills the whole mind, and of which the first effect is sudden astonishment, and the second rational admiration. Sublimity is produced by aggregation, and littleness by dispersion. Great thoughts are always general, and consist in positions not limited by exceptions, and in descriptions not descending to minuteness. It is with great propriety that Subtlety, which in its original import means exility of particles, is taken in its metaphorical meaning for nicety of distinction. Those writers who lay on the watch for novelty could have little hope of greatness; for great things cannot have escaped former observation. Their attempts were always analytick; they broke every image into fragments; and could no more represent, by their slender

Vol. IV.

conceits and laboured particularities, the prospects of nature, or the scenes of life, than he, who dissects a sun-beam with a prism, can exhibit the wide effulgence of a summer noon. What they wanted however of the sublime, they endeavoured to supply by hyperbole; their amplification had no limits; they left not only reason but fancy behind them; and produced combinations of confused magnificence, that not only could not be credited, but could not be imagined. Yet great labour, directed by great abilities, is never wholly lost: if they frequently threw away their wit upon false conceits, they likewise sometimes struck out unexpected truth: if their conceits were far-fetched, they were often worth the carriage. To write on their plan, it was at least necessary to read and think. No man could be born a metaphysical poet, nor assume the dignity of a writer, by descriptions copied from descriptions, by imitations borrowed from imitations, by traditional imagery, and hereditary similes, by readiness of rhyme, and volubility of syllables. In perusing the works of this race of authors, the mind is exercised either by recollection or inquiry; either something already learned is to be retrieved, or something new is to be examined. If their greatness seldom elevates, their acuteness often surprises; if the imagination is not always gratified, at least the powers of reflection and comparison are employed; and in the mass of materials which ingenious absurdity has thrown together, genuine wit and useful knowledge may be sometimes found, buried perhaps in grossness of expression, but useful to those who know their value; and such as, when they are expanded to perspicuity, and polished to elegance, may give lustre to works which have more propriety, though less copiousness of sentiment. This kind of writing, which was, I believe, borrowed from Marino and his followers, had been recommended by the example of Donne, a man of very extensive and various knowledge, and by Jonson, whose manner resembled that of Donne more in the ruggedness of his lines than in the cast of his sentiments. When their reputation was high, they had undoubtedly more imitators, than time has left behind. Their immediate successors, of whom any remembrance can be said to remain, were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Cleveland, and Milton. Denham and Waller sought another way to fame, by improving the harmony of our numbers. Milton tried the metaphysical stile only in his lines upon Hobson the Carrier. Cowley adopted it, and excelled his predecessors, having as much sentiment, and more musick. Suckling neither improved versification, nor abounded in conceits. The fashionable stile remained chiefly with Cowley; Suckling could not reach it, and Milton disdained it (76)."

These critical remarks Dr. Johnson has admirably illustrated by a variety of examples (77); after which he proceeds to examine particularly the works of Cowley, who was almost the last of the metaphysical race of poets, and undoubtedly the best. As it would extend this article too far to follow our great Biographer minutely through his several observations, we must content ourselves with adverting to a few passages, which occur in the course of his criticism.

Of Cowley's Miscellanies Dr. Johnson says, that such an assemblage of diversified excellence no other Poet has hitherto afforded. Speaking of the "Chronicle," the Doctor asserts that it is a composition unrivalled and alone. "Such gaiety of fancy, such facility of expression, such varied similitude, such a succession of images, and such a dance of words, it is in vain to expect except from Cowley. His strength always appears in his agility; his volatility is not the flutter of a light, but the bound of an elastic mind. His levity never leaves his learning behind it; the Moralist, the Politician, and the Critic mingle their influence even in this airy frolic of genius. To such a performance Suckling could have brought the gaiety but not the knowledge; Dryden could have supplied the knowledge, but not the gaiety."

"The Verses to Davenant," says Dr. Johnson, "which are vigorously begun, and happily concluded, contain some hints of criticism very justly conceived and happily expressed. Cowley's critical

5 E

"abilities

(76) Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 25—32.
(77) Ibid. p. 32—53.

"abilities, have not been sufficiently observed: the few decisions and remarks which his prefaces and his notes on the Davideis supply, were at that time accessions to English literature, and shew such skill as raises our wish for more examples."

Of the "Anacreontiques" Dr. Johnson observes, that "these little pieces will be found more finished in their kind than any other of Cowley's works. The diction shews nothing of the mould of time, and the sentiments are at no great distance from our present habitudes of thought. Real mirth must be always natural, and nature is uniform. Men have been wise in very different modes; but they always laughed the same way.—The Anacreontiques, therefore, of Cowley give now all the pleasure which they ever gave. If he was formed by nature for one kind of writing more than for another, his power seems to have been greatest in the familiar and the festive."

Concerning Cowley's "Mistress," the Doctor remarks, that she has "no power of seduction; she plays round the head, but comes not at the heart. Her beauty and absence, her kindness and cruelty, her disdain and inconstancy, produce no correspondence of emotion. His poetical account of the virtues of plants, and colours of flowers, is not perused with more sluggish frigidity. The compositions are such as might have been written for penance by a hermit; or for hire by a philosophical rhymist who had only heard of the other sex; for they turn the mind only on the writer, whom, without thinking on a woman but as the subject for his task, we sometimes esteem as learned, and sometimes despise as trifling, always admire as ingenious, and always condemn as unnatural."

After a particular examination of the Pindarique Odes, Doctor Johnson comes to the following conclusion. "The Pindarique Odes have so long enjoyed the highest degree of poetical reputation, that I am not willing to dismiss them with unabated censure; and surely, though the mode of composition be erroneous, yet many parts deserve at least that admiration which is due to great comprehension of knowledge, and great fertility of fancy. The thoughts are often new, and often striking; but the greatness of one part is disgraced by the littleness of another; and total negligence of language gives the noblest conceptions the appearance of a fabric august in the plan, but mean in the materials. Yet surely those verses are not without a just claim to praise, of which it may be said with truth, that no man but Cowley could have written them."

The silence and neglect with which the Davideis has been treated, our biographical Critic shews to have arisen partly from the choice of the subject, and partly from the performance of the work. After making several very judicious observations upon it in both these respects, not greatly to its honour, he says: "In the perusal of the Davideis, as of all Cowley's works, we find wit and learning unprofitably squandered. Attention has no relief; the affections are never moved; we are sometimes surprised, but never delighted; and find much to admire, but little to approve. Still, however, it is the work of Cowley; of a mind capacious by nature, and replenished by study."

In taking a general review of Cowley's Poetry, Dr. Johnson displays his usual sagacity. "It will be found, says the Doctor, that he wrote with abundant fertility, but negligent or unskilful selection; with much thought, but with little imagery; that he is never pathetic, and rarely sublime, but always either ingenious or learned, either acute or profound."

Cowley's prose is distinguished by a high encomium. "After so much criticism on his Poems, the Essays which accompany them must not be forgotten. What is said by Sprat of his conversation, that no man could draw from it any suspicion of his excellence in poetry, may be applied to these compositions. No author ever kept his verse and his prose at a greater distance from each other. His thoughts are natural, and his style has a smooth and placid equability, which has never yet obtained its due commendation. Nothing is far-sought, or hard-laboured; but all is easy without feebleness, and familiar without grossness."

We shall finish this long addition to the article of our learned predecessor, with Dr. Johnson's concluding paragraph in respect to Cowley. "It may be affirmed, without any encomiastic fervour, that he brought to his poetic labours a mind replete with learning, and that his passages are embellished with all the ornaments which books could supply; that he was the first who imparted to English numbers the enthusiasm of the greater ode, and the gaiety of the less; that he was qualified for sprightly sallies, and for lofty flights; that he was among those who freed translation from servility, and, instead of following his author at a distance, walked by his side; and that if he left versification yet improvable, he left likewise from time to time such specimens of excellence as enabled succeeding poets to improve it (78)."

(78) *Ibid.* p. 53.
56, 57, 59, 60.
63, 64, 74, 86.
99, 100.

* * [COWPER (WILLIAM), Earl Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain, was descended from an antient family [A], and son to Sir William Cowper, Baronet [B], who was Member of Parliament for the town of Hertford, in the reigns of Charles

[A] *Descended from an antient family.* "He was descended from John Cowper of Strode, in the county of Suffex, who lived in the time of Edward IV. William, one of his ancestors, was first a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and afterwards created a Baronet of England by King Charles I. He was the first of the family that was possessed of Hertford-Castle, where he ended his days in peace, after he had been imprisoned in Ely-House in Holborn, for his loyalty to King Charles I (1)." This Gentleman was great grandfather to Earl Cowper.

[B] *Son to Sir William Cowper, Bart.* This Gentleman "was chosen one of the Members for Hertford, in the two last Parliaments called by Charles II. and was one, who, with the Earls of Shaftesbury and Huntingdon, with other Lords, presented reasons to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, June 16, 1680, for the indictment of James, Duke of York, for not coming to Church. He also served in Parliament for the town of Hertford, in the first year of King William and Queen Mary, and in two other Parliaments in the reign of King William (2)." He married Sarah, daughter to Sir Samuel Holled, of London, by whom he had two

sons, William, the subject of this article, and Spencer Cowper, Esq; who, "on the accession of George I. to the Throne, was appointed Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, and on July 12, 1717, constituted Chief Justice of Chester. In 1727, he was made Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster; and on October 14 following, called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, and afterwards made one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He first married Pennington, daughter of John Goodere, Esq; secondly Theodora, widow of John Stepney, Esq; and departed this life at his Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, on December 10, 1728, leaving issue, by his first wife, three sons, 1. William Cowper, Esq; Clerk of the House of Lords, who died at his house in the Old Palace Yard, Westminster, in Feb. 1739-40;—2. The Rev. Mr. John Cowper, Rector of Great Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, and one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty; and 3. Ashley Cowper, Esq; Counsellor at Law, and Clerk of the House of Lords (3)."

Spencer Cowper, Esq; brother to the Chancellor, who has been just mentioned in this note, was permitted, by the particular favour of the King, to hold

(3) *Ibid.*

(1) Chronological Diary, in the Historical Register for the Year 1723, p. 46.

(2) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 352. edit. 1779.

Charles II. and William III. He is supposed to have been born in the Castle of Hertford, of which his family had been a considerable time in possession; but of the place, or time of his birth, or where he was educated, we have not been able to obtain any certain information [C]. It appears, however, that being brought up to the study of the law, he made so great a proficiency in it, that, soon after he was called to the Bar, he was chosen Recorder of Colchester (a). His eloquence, and skill in his profession, rendered him very conspicuous in it; and in the reign of King William, he was appointed one of his Majesty's Council learned in the law (b). In 1695, he was chosen one of the representatives in Parliament for the town of Hertford [D]; his father, at the same time, being elected the other Member for that borough (c). The following year, he appeared as Council for the Crown on the trials of Sir William Perkins (d), Brigadier Rookwood (e), Major Lowick (f) and Charles Cranburne (g), who were convicted of high treason, for being concerned in the plot to assassinate King William. The same year, he was also Council for the Crown on the trial of Captain Thomas Vaughan, for high treason on the high seas (h); and he likewise supported, in Parliament, the Bill of Attainder against Sir John Fenwick (i) [E]. In 1704, he made a Speech in the House of Commons, in the famous case of Ashby and White, in which he maintained, that an action did lie at common law, for an elector, who had been denied his vote for Members of Parliament (k). His practice and reputation continued greatly to increase; on the accession of Queen Anne he was again appointed one of the Counsel to the Crown; and on the 11th of October, 1705, he was constituted Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England [F] (l). Bishop Burnet, speaking of this promotion, expresses himself in the following terms: 'The seals being sent for, they were given to Cowper, a Gentleman of a good family, of excellent parts, and of an engaging deportment, very eminent in his profession; and who had for many years been considered, as the man who spoke the best of any in the House of Commons. He was a very acceptable man to the Whig party. They had been much disgusted with the Lord-Treasurer, for the coldness he expressed, as if he would have maintained a neutrality between the two parties; though the one supported him, while the other designed to ruin him. But this step went a great way towards the reconciling the Whigs to him (m).' A few days after Mr. Cowper's promotion, Queen Anne addressed both Houses of Parliament in a Speech, which was well received, and which was said to be written by the new Lord-keeper (n) [G].

hold to the end of his life the office of one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, together with the office of Chief Justice of Chester. Before his promotion to either of these offices, he had been tried for murder at Hertford Assizes, but was acquitted. Vid. State Trials, Vol. v. p. 232. Mr. William Cowper, afterwards the Chancellor, attended this trial as a witness in behalf of his brother, as did also his Lady.

[C] *We have not been able to obtain any certain information.* We travelled to Hertford, merely with a view of procuring some information about Lord Chancellor Cowper, his birth, &c. and were surprised to find, that not the least memorial had been preserved of him, by a family which owes to him so much of its splendour, in Hertingfordbury Church, near Hertford, in which he was interred. In that Church is a splendid mausoleum for the family, in which is a very fine monument to the memory of the second Earl Cowper, the Chancellor's son, and a smaller one in memory of Judge Cowper, the Chancellor's brother; but not the least inscription in memory of the Chancellor himself, who was by much the most distinguished person of the family.

We examined also the parish Registers of the two Churches at Hertford, but could find no entry of the Chancellor's birth. In the Church-yard of Hertingfordbury is a monument to the memory of his mother, Sarah, Lady Cowper, who died in 1719, aged seventy-six. The monument was erected by her two sons, the Chancellor and the Judge.

[D] *Chosen one of the Representatives in Parliament for the town of Hertford.* It has been observed, that on the very first day he sat in the House of Commons, he had occasion to speak three times, and came off with universal applause (4).

[E] *The Bill of Attainder against Sir John Fenwick.* There seems little reason to doubt, but that Sir John Fenwick was really guilty of the treasonable practices with which he was charged; but as there was not legal evidence sufficient for his conviction, the proceedings against him, in a legal and constitutional point of view, appear to have been extremely indefensible. Mr. Cowper, however, was led, like many others, by his zeal for the Revolution, to support the establish-

ment which then took place, in a manner not perfectly consistent with the principles which gave rise to that great event.

[F] *Constituted Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.* He succeeded Sir Nathan Wright, of whose removal the Duchess of Marlborough expresses herself in the following terms: 'I prevailed with her Majesty to take the Great Seal from Sir Nathan Wright, a man despised by all parties, of no use to the Crown, and whose weak and wretched conduct in the Court of Chancery, had almost brought his very office into contempt. His removal, however, was a great loss to the Church, for which he had ever been a warm stickler. And this loss was the more sensibly felt, as his successor, my Lord Cowper, was not only of the Whig party, but of such abilities and integrity, as brought a new credit to it in the nation (5).'

Dr. Smollett, speaking of Cowper's promotion, says, he was 'a Lawyer of good extraction, superior talents, engaging manners, and eminence in his profession. He was staunch to Whig principles, and for many years had been considered as one of their best Speakers in the House of Commons (6).'

Mr. Cunningham, in his "History of Great Britain," says, 'Mr. Cowper, a man highly renowned for his masterly eloquence and skill in the law, and who was naturally inclined to readiness, justice, and moderation, was first made Lord-keeper of the Great Seal, and afterwards Lord Cowper, and Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom (7).'

[G] *Said to be written by the new Lord-Keeper.* Mr. Macpherson says, 'The Queen addressed to the two Houses a Speech, penned by Cowper, the new Lord-Keeper, which, though suitable to the times, shewed that the measures of the Court were no longer guided by Tory principles. She urged, with earnestness, the necessity of prosecuting the war, to restore the balance of power, which, she said, the possession of Spain by the House of Bourbon had

(a) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 352. edition 1779.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) Whitworth's Succession of Parliaments, p. 107.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 708, 709.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 687, 689.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 132, 133.

(m) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 426. edit. folio, 1734.

(n) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 718. edit. fol. 1751.

(d) State Trials, vol. iv. p. 641.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 654, 674.

(h) State Trials, vol. v. p. 22, 23.

(k) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 89—98.

(l) Collins, *ubi supra*, p. 353.

(5) Account of the Conduct of the DowagerDuchess of Marlborough, p. 147.

(6) Hist. of England, from the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 61.

(*) Hist. of Gr. Britain, vol. i. p. 458.

(†) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 79.

(4) Chronol. Diary, in the Historical Register for the year 1723, p. 43.

The following year, Commissioners having been appointed for England and Scotland, to treat concerning an Union of the two kingdoms [H], they met, for the first time, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the 16th of April; when the Lord-Keeper Cowper, who had been appointed one of the Commissioners for England, made a Speech to the Lords Commissioners for Scotland, in which he observed to their Lordships, that the Parliament of England were actuated by the strongest desire to attain that Union, which had been so long thought necessary, by all that wished well to the prosperity of both nations; and that the English Commissioners now met those for Scotland, with hearts fully resolved to use their utmost endeavours to remove all difficulties in the treaty, and to prevent all misunderstandings; to have the general and joint good of both kingdoms solely in their view, and not the separate interest of either; and determined to act as if they were already united in interest, and had nothing left to consider, but what settlements and provisions were most likely to conduce to the common safety and happiness of the whole island of Great Britain (o). He attended a variety of other meetings in the management of this important business; and on the 23d of July waited upon the Queen, at St. James's, with the articles agreed upon between the Commissioners of both kingdoms, as the terms or conditions upon which the intended Union was to take place. He was accompanied by the other Commissioners; and, in their names, made a Speech to her Majesty on the occasion (p). Another Speech was afterwards made, by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in behalf of the Commissioners for that kingdom, who attended at the same time: and the Articles of Union, agreed upon by the Commissioners, with some few alterations, were afterwards ratified by the Parliaments both of England and Scotland.

(o) Defoe's Hist. of the Union, p. 115. edit. 1786.

(p) Ibid. p. 194, 195.

Before that event had taken place, an extraordinary manœuvre of the Tories in Parliament, had thrown the Whigs, at least such of them as were in power, into some degree of embarrassment. A motion was made by the Tory party in the House of Peers, that an address should be presented to the Queen, requesting her Majesty to invite the Princess Sophia, as presumptive Heir to the Crown, to come and reside in England. The Tories knew, that if the ministry supported this measure, they would give great offence to the Queen; and if they opposed it, they would probably be suspected of being enemies to the Protestant succession. The motion was, however, opposed by the Whigs; and rejected by a great majority. But two Bills were afterwards brought in, and passed, which were deemed a great security to the Protestant succession. By the first, a Regency was appointed [I] on the event of the Queen's death; and the second was a Bill for the naturalization of the Princess Sophia, and the issue of her body, being Protestants (q). When these Bills had received the Royal Assent, the Earl of Halifax was sent with them to the Court of Hanover; and he also carried with him letters from the leaders of the Whig party, and in particular one from the Lord-Keeper to the Elector [K], expressive of the sincerity of his attachment to the Protestant succession (r).

(q) Macpherson's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 332. Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 25; and Smollet's Hist. of England from the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 62, 63. (r) Macpherson's Original Papers, ubi supra, p. 32.

(7) History of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 331, 2d. edit.

(8) Historical Register for the Year 1723, Chron. Diary, p. 43.

(9) History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 334.

' had destroyed. She demanded the necessary supplies, for supporting the operations of the allies, as well as for exerting the force of her own kingdoms. She informed them of the act passed in Scotland, for treating concerning a Union; and she concluded, with taking an obvious part with the Whigs, by declaring that the Church was in no danger; a circumstance urged with vehemence by the Tories, to arm the prejudices of the populace to favour their own designs. This Speech was so suitable to the sentiments of the prevailing party, and the subject in general so popular, that an address of thanks was voted by the commons, without either debate, or one dissenting voice (7).'

[H] Commissioners—to treat concerning an Union of the two kingdoms.] It has been asserted of the Lord-Keeper Cowper, that 'his prudence and dexterity shone in the management of the famous Treaty of Union between England and Scotland; the whole weight of which arduous affair he sustained almost alone, on the part of the English Commissioners (8).'

[I] By the first, a Regency was appointed, &c.] Mr. Macpherson remarks, that 'this Bill, by forming an eventual Regency, of the First Officers of State, upon the death of the Queen, effectually secured the kingdom, by providing a continuation of legal government, till the successor should arrive, and assert his own authority (9).'

[K] One from the Lord-Keeper to the Elector.] The letter was as follows:

London, April 11, 1706.

' May it please your Electoral Highness,

' When I was first, by her Majesty's great goodness, raised to the station I am now in, I could not

' persuade myself, that a subject of so little importance, would have then excused my presumption in troubling your Electoral Highness in this manner upon that occasion, though with the sincerest assurances, that my heart should ever continue most firmly devoted to the service of your E. H. and your E. H. serene house. But now, since I hope it is allowable for me, to express to your E. H. the very great satisfaction I have, with every good Englishman, received from the effectual securities lately provided by the Parliament, for the Protestant succession to the Crown of England; I beg leave humbly to present to your E. H. at the same time, his most faithful promise of a most ardent zeal for your E. H.'s. prosperity, and promise never to neglect any thing in my little power, that may possibly conduce to it; being fully persuaded, it is impossible to be in the true interest of England, and not to be a fast friend to that succession, which the sense of the kingdom hath so often declared to be its only defence from the most deplorable condition a people can be reduced to. I was one of those, who have had the honour, for a long time past, constantly to have adhered to that opinion, for excluding a Romish successor, even while it was unfashionable, and decried by those that were in authority; and, therefore, that the same persons should now continue firm to the same, when it is owned by the legislative authority, and the general bent of the people, can admit, I think, of no question. This I chose to mention, as an evidence of my sincerity in what I profess, rather than multiply expressions, which are in every one's power to make; not that I am at all apprehensive of those endeavours, which have been used to render your E. H. and your E. H. serene

In consideration of the Lord-Keeper's merit and services, he was advanced, on the 9th of November, 1706, to the dignity of a Peer of this kingdom, by the style and title of Lord Cowper, Baron Cowper of Wingham in Kent (s); and on the 4th of May, 1707, her Majesty in Council declared him Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain (t). When the second Parliament of Great Britain assembled, on the 16th of November, 1708, which was soon after the death of Prince George of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord-Chancellor Cowper, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Master of the Horse, were appointed to represent her Majesty in Parliament; and on this occasion both Houses were addressed in a Speech by Lord Cowper (u). On the first of March, 1708-9, by order of the House of Peers, he returned thanks to the Duke of Marlborough, who had then returned from abroad, and taken his place in the House, for the important services performed by him during the preceding campaign (w); and the following year his Lordship presided at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell. The same year, in consequence of the intrigues of Harley and Mrs. Masham, the Earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the Duke of Marlborough, was removed from the office of Secretary of State; and it being apprehended, that this event would give so much disgust to that great general, that he might be induced to quit the command of the army, a joint letter was sent to his Grace by Lord Cowper, the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, Lords Somers, Oxford, and Halifax, and Mr. Henry Boyle, then Secretary of State, in which they conjured him, in the strongest terms, not to quit his command [L]. But soon after, on the 8th of August, 1710 (x), the Earl of Godolphin

(s) Collins, *ubi supra*, p. 353.
(t) *Ibid.*

(u) Tindal's Continuation, vol. iv. p. 105, 106.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 117.

(x) Salmon's Chronological Historian, p. 304.

serene house disgusted, with those who have the truest concern for your service; since it is impossible, that so excellent a judgment as that of your E. H. should ever prefer the surprizing starts of a sudden unaccountable zeal, contrary to known principles, affected merely for popularity, and shewing itself in one particular only, (while all other means tending to the same are neglected) to a steady, uninterrupted, and uniform course of acting for the Protestant succession, and flowing from principles, that were owned, when most discountenanced. But these endeavours in me to give your E. H. any satisfaction of this kind, are perfectly unnecessary, since my Lord Halifax, who is so able and thoroughly versed in all the affairs of this kingdom, and so acquainted with the inclinations and practices of all men in business here, is to be for some time in your E. H.'s Court, where none can so well disperse all unfair representations of facts; and when that is done, your E. H. cannot but make the wisest conclusion, and such as next, under the blessing of God, may best tend to make yet more effectual, those prudent provisions which the wisdom of this kingdom hath, on mature deliberation, thought fittest to be made for the interest and honour of your E. H.'s serene house and the public happiness.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM COWPER (10).

(10) Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 32, 33.

To this letter his Electoral Highness wrote an answer, of which the following is a translation:

My Lord, June 20, 1706.
I am very much obliged to you for the letter which you were at the trouble of writing to me; and for the assurances which it contains of your affection for me, and of your zeal for the interests of my family. I approve, more than any one, of the choice which the Queen made of a man of your merit, for an employment so considerable as that which she trusted to you. I am already sufficiently acquainted with your principles, and with the constancy with which you followed them in the most difficult times, to be persuaded that her Majesty could not place that employment in better hands. You are in the right to believe, that it will be always easy for me to distinguish those who are truly zealous for the Protestant succession. I know the rank which you hold among them, and the confidence which they place in you; and I shall be always very happy to find opportunities of shewing you how much I am,

My Lord, &c (11).

(11) *Ibid.* p. 54.

[L] They conjured him, in the strongest terms, not to quit his command.] In this letter was the following passage: 'We are fully convinced, that it is impossible

VOL. IV.

sible for your Grace to quit the service at this time, without the utmost hazard to the whole alliance. And we must therefore conjure you, by the glory you have already obtained, by the many services you have done your Queen and country, by the expectation you have justly raised in all Europe, and by all that is dear and tender to you at home, whose chief dependance is upon your success, that you would not leave this great work unfinished, but continue at the head of the army. This we look upon as the most necessary step that can be taken to prevent the dissolution of this Parliament. Your Grace's compliance with this our earnest request would be the greatest obligation to us, and all that wish well to our country (12).'

It has been asserted, that a scheme was formed to make the Duke of Marlborough General for life, and that it was prevented only by the refusal of Lord Cowper to put the Great Seal to the commission. Dr. Johnson, speaking of Dean Swift's "Conduct of the Allies," which was published in 1712, says, 'That is now no longer doubted, of which the nation was then first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have continued without end, if he could have continued his annual plunder. But Swift, I suppose, did not yet know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn which would have appointed him general for life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of Lord Cowper, who refused the seal (13).' The account given by Swift, to which Johnson alludes, is as follows: 'Upon the admission of these men (the Whig ministry) into employments, the Court soon ran into extremity of Low Church measures; and although, in the House of Commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and some others, made great and bold stands in defence of the constitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority. It was, I think, during this period of time, that the Duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or the rash counsels of his wife the Duchess, made that bold attempt of desiring the Queen to give him a Commission to be General for life. Her Majesty's answer was, "That she would take time to consider of it;" and, in the mean while, the Duke advised with the Lord Cowper, then Chancellor, about the form in which the Commission should be drawn. The Chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair; and protested, "he would never put the Great Seal to such a Commission (14)." It appears from this quotation, that Dr. Johnson's statement from Swift is not quite accurate; and that no such Commission was drawn, it being merely, supposing Swift's account to be true, a project

(12) Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, p. 258, 259.

(13) Biographical Prefaces, vol. viii. Swift, p. 32. 1st. edit.

(14) Swift's Works, vol. xv. p. 16. edit. 8vo. 1775.

Godolphin was removed from the post of Lord-Treasurer, and the other Whig Ministers resigned [M]. The Queen signified her inclination, notwithstanding the change of ministry, that Lord Cowper should still continue in the post of Chancellor: but he also resigned, as he did not choose to remain in office, when an administration was formed, consisting of men whose political sentiments and views were totally different from his own [N]. Soon after the new Ministry came into office, Mr. Harley being at the head of the Treasury, some inquiries were set on foot in order to criminate the late Administration; and a vote of censure was passed relative to the management of the war in Spain. Lord Cowper took an active part in the debates occasioned by these inquiries [O]; and he joined

ject of the Duke himself; and it is perfectly conformable to Lord Cowper's character, that he should firmly refuse to put the Great Seal to so illegal and unconstitutional a Commission.

[M] *The other Whig Ministers resigned.* Dr. Smollet says, 'There was not one Whig left in any office of State, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had not he been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation (15).'

(15) History of England, from the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 178.

[N] *He did not choose to remain in office, &c.* It is said by one writer, that in the high station of Lord-Chancellor of Great Britain, Lord Cowper's 'integrity, moderation, candour, humility, and disinterestedness, gained him the esteem of all good men, and the particular regard and favour of his Royal Mistress, who found in him the greatest comfort she had among all her servants, upon the loss of her dear comfort. The Queen had so high an opinion of his virtue and merit, that when, by a train of Court-intrigues, and an insuperable aversion to the Earl of Sunderland, she had fixed a resolution to change her Ministers, and call a new Parliament, she used all endeavours to bring the Lord Cowper into her measures. But his Lordship rightly foreseeing, that the new scheme not only tended to the making a peace derogatory from the engagements of the grand alliance, but likewise to the weakening of the settlement of the Protestant succession, which he ever had firmly at heart, resisted all temptations, and voluntarily resigned the Seals; and, in the most difficult and dangerous junctures, acted with the utmost vigour, in concert with the staunchest sticklers for the most serene House of Hanover (16).'

(16) Chron. Diary, in the Historical Register for the Year 1723. p. 43, 44.

(17) History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 464.

(18) Vid. Hist. vol. ii. p. 531. 596; and Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 380. 482. 489.

(19) Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 25.

Mr. Macpherson says, that "the Queen signified her inclination, that the Lord Cowper should continue Chancellor. He derived, perhaps, this favour from his insignificance (17)." The idea of Lord Cowper's insignificance seems never to have entered the head of any man, but that of Mr. Macpherson. Few circumstances are better ascertained in the history of this period, than that Lord Cowper was in high estimation with his own party. Mr. Macpherson's representation is undoubtedly contrary to the real state of things; and, indeed, inconsistent with the facts stated in his own history (18). But this writer seems to have conceived a great prejudice against this Nobleman, of whom he says in another place, that he was "a man of heavy and confused parts (19)." He appears to have no other ground for this assertion, but Cowper's letter to the Elector of Hanover, which has been given in note [K]. That letter is not entitled to much commendation; but a formal letter of that kind is too slight a foundation for making such a statement of the abilities of the writer. His Lordship's letters to Mr. Hughes, as published by Mr. Duncombe, exhibit him in a very amiable light, and are written with perspicuity and good sense. It may be admitted, that Lord Cowper's abilities were not of the first rate; but they have certainly been very improperly and unjustly degraded by Mr. Macpherson. This nobleman was personally known to Bishop Burnet and Sir Richard Steele; and Burnet says of him, that he was considered, for many years, as the best Speaker in the House of Commons; and Steele, speaking of Lord Cowper, in the 130th number of the *Tatler*, says, 'Who is not pleased to see a person in the highest station in the law, who was the most eminent in his profession, and the most accomplished Orator at the Bar?' Is it credible, that a Nobleman, who is spoken of in such terms, by

Burnet and by Steele, could be "a man of heavy and confused parts?"

[O] *Took an active part in the debates occasioned by these inquiries.* Lord Galway and Lord Tyrawley were both examined before the House of Peers, concerning the management of the war in Spain. Lord Galway readily answered the questions that were put to him, and gave in an account of his conduct in Spain to the House in writing; but Lord Tyrawley declined answering, desiring previously to be informed whether there was any accusation against him. His Lordship insisted, that no man was obliged to accuse himself; and that if he were accused, he ought to make his defence according to the forms of Courts of Judicature. Lord Cowper maintained, that 'the House ought to declare, clearly and plainly, whether there was, or was not, any accusation against the Lords Galway and Tyrawley. That the reputation of men of honour was their liberty and property; and that if the inquiry that was instituted tended to censure the reputation of the Lords Galway and Tyrawley, by what name soever it might be called, it was an accusation. They, therefore, had a right to require it in writing, and ought to be allowed time to make good their answers.' He added, 'That he did not speak this so much in favour of those two Gentlemen, as for the honour of that illustrious Assembly (20).' His Lordship also asserted, in a subsequent debate, that, in that House, 'in things essential to justice, the ordinary form of Courts of Judicature ought to be observed (21).'

A resolution being afterwards moved by the Earl of Scarfdale, importing, that the design of an offensive war in Spain had been approved and directed by the Cabinet Council, which had contributed to the misfortunes in Spain; and the words *Cabinet-council* in the motion being afterwards altered to *ministers*, and this alteration giving rise to some debate, Lord Cowper said, 'That the word *ministers* was of an uncertain signification, and *Cabinet-council* a phrase unknown in our law. That if that august Assembly proceeded to a censure upon men, the world ought to know who they were. That he hoped the Lord who proposed this question would explain himself; and hoped, at the same time, that if any body were accused, it would appear to be without ground. That he had the honour to be one of the Ministry, and did not know whether it was designed to involve him in the same censure; but he protested, with the utmost sincerity, that, while he was in that post, he gave his advice, and acted to the best of his understanding, and with an honest intention to serve the Queen and his country (22).'

A vote of censure having been proposed against the late Ministry, on account of their having supported an offensive war in Spain, Lord Cowper said, that it was at that time the popular opinion; 'every body in England being then for an offensive war. That he wished every Member of that august Assembly would lay his hand upon his heart, and say, in conscience, whether he would not have been of the same opinion? That to have advised a lingering, expensive, defensive war, would, no doubt, have now been more criminal than this charge. That the raising the siege of Toulon could not, in reason, be imputed to the offensive war in Spain, and to the loss of the battle of Almanza; but rather to the expedition to Naples, the slow march of the German recruits through the country of the Grisons, and other unforeseen accidents, which attend all human affairs. But if this question should pass into a resolution, it will be the comfort of those on whom

(20) Parliamentary Debates, vol. v. p. 347. Hist. and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. ii. p. 301.

(21) Parliamentary Debates, *ubi supra*, p. 359.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 375.

(y) History and
Proceedings of
the House of
Lords, vol. ii. p.
331, 333, 344,
345.

in several protests against the determinations of the House of Peers concerning the conduct of that war (y). When Prince Eugene was in England, he is said to have been consulted about some dangerous schemes formed by that Prince and the Duke of Marlborough [P]. It may reasonably be questioned, whether any such schemes were ever really formed

(23) *Ibid.* p. 383.

whom the censure will fall, that the world will judge, that it is founded on strained deductions, and forced consequences, foreign from the premises. My Lords, all Englishmen love action: it is their temper and inclination (23).²

(24) History of
England, *ubi*
supra, p. 182.

The vote against the late Ministry, however, passed, by the influence of the new Ministry, united with the Tory party; but even Dr. Smollet acknowledges, that these resolutions "were not the proceedings of candour and national justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity (24)."

[P] *Some dangerous schemes formed by that Prince and the Duke of Marlborough.* Of the nature of these schemes it may be here proper to give some account. Mr. Macpherson says, that the Prince of Savoy had formed no doubt of being able to defeat the Treaty of Peace, by embarrassing the British Ministry with splendid offers of advantage for continuing the war. He had resolved to propose, in the name of the Emperor, to leave Great Britain in absolute possession of the Commerce of Spain and America; to induce the King of Denmark and the Czar of Muscovy to join in the grand confederacy; to make up the Imperial forces in Spain to thirty thousand men; to pay one million of crowns, out of four, to be expended in the military operations on that side. Should either House of Parliament accept these terms, in opposition to the Ministry, the Elector of Hanover was to have passed into Great Britain with an army. A revolution to be made in favour of that Prince would enable him to carry on the war to the last extremity against the House of Bourbon. But when Prince Eugene perceived, that the Commons were firm in the support of the Ministry; that a majority had been secured in the House of Lords; that the Duke of Marlborough was disgraced, and rendered incapable to second his views; that the Whigs, though obstinate in their opposition, were divided in their Councils; that men of influence and property were inclined to a peace; that the mob of London were only clamorous for war; he resolved to spare no sort of violence to accomplish his views.

In forming his measures, the Prince of Savoy resolved to consult chiefly the Duke of Marlborough and the Baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian Envoy at the Court of London. The Duke, at their first interview, chided the Prince for the unfortunate delay in his journey. His arrival, he said, might have been of great advantage to the party, about a month before. He ascribed his dilatoriness to that Austrian gravity, which had been often fatal to the affairs of the Imperial family. He told him, that, at the opening of the Session, their friends had a majority in the House of Lords. That they could have sent two or three of the opposite party to the Tower, without any difficulty. That their vacant places might be supplied with men willing to continue the war. That now the whole state of affairs was changed; that twelve new Peers had been created; that the Scottish Peers were arrived; that they must have recourse to violence, or drop altogether their design; that three or four persons, together with the Lord-Treasurer, who possessed the confidence of a *silly woman*, and governed her at pleasure, must be removed. That the Prince must, in the mean time, behave himself with great moderation and discretion. That he should endeavour to gain the good opinion of the Minister, and induce the Commons to grant ample supplies; and that the whole party should watch such accidents as might arise in the progress of time.

The Duke descended from these particular facts to reflections more general. He affirmed, that the state of the kingdom at present resembled its situation at the late Revolution; that the disorders were similar, and demanded the same remedies; that

should a Prince of the Electoral Family appear in Great Britain, under the cover of a manifesto, setting forth, that the Pretender was coming with a Popish army, the mob might be deceived, and Queen Anne, like her father, would steal away to France. That then the Crown might be settled by the Whigs, and the war be carried on with redoubled vigour. These observations devolved the discourse on the Baron de Bothmar. He averred, that though the disorders might be the same, the same remedies were impracticable; that the nation was not sufficiently prepared for a revolution; that the prejudices of the vulgar, the great engine in such daring enterprizes, were still upon the side of the enemy; that though the Queen was suspected of favouring a Popish successor, she herself was a strict Protestant; that the jealousy concerning religion was too feeble, on account of the distance of the danger; that though circumstances had even been more favourable, the experiment would be extremely dangerous; that a miscarriage would inevitably ruin the undertaking, load the Family of Hanover with the public hatred, and exclude them from the succession to the Crown. The Duke of Marlborough suffered himself to be argued out of his observations by the eloquence of the Baron de Bothmar. But he is said to have proposed another project, more safe, and equally effectual. He suggested, that bands of ruffians should be sent through the streets by night, to insult the inhabitants, to raise disturbances, and to excite mobs. That, should people become accustomed to these nocturnal alarms, there would be no difficulty in assassinating such persons as the party might wish to remove, and to throw the whole blame on a licentious band.

Though Prince Eugene rejected this project, his own was not distinguished with more humanity. He proposed to set fire to London, in different places, in the night; particularly to the Palace of St. James's, where the Queen resided. He shewed, that the proper time for the execution of this design was when the Guards on duty were commanded by an officer whom the party could trust. That, in the midst of the confusion, the Duke of Marlborough should appear at the head of a party in arms. That he should first possess himself of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer. That then he should seize the person of the Queen, force her to dissolve the Parliament, to call a new representative, to make a free inquiry into the clandestine correspondence with France, to punish the guilty with death. The Lords Somers, Cowper, and Halifax, were consulted upon this scheme. They refused at first to declare their own opinion; but they at last absolutely rejected the violent proposal of the Prince. They signified their inclination to proceed in the legal and ordinary way (25).³

In support of these extraordinary conversations, which in themselves are certainly not very credible, and which ought not to be admitted without good evidence, Mr. Macpherson refers his readers to Torcy's Memoirs, and to the Stuart Papers published in his own collection. As to the Marquis de Torcy, he has pretended to give an account of conversations between the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, at which he certainly was not present, and of which it is extremely improbable that he could be authentically informed of the particulars. Torcy, perhaps, received his information from Plunket; for it appears, from Macpherson's papers (26), that Plunket sometimes communicated information to Torcy: but the hearsay stories of such a man ought not to be received as historic evidence. Indeed, it is manifest from some passages in Torcy's Memoirs, that he was himself conscious, that he could not depend upon the truth of some of the facts mentioned by him. After

(25) History of
Great Britain,
vol. ii. p. 528,
529, 530, 531.

(26) Original
Papers, vol. ii.
p. 296.

formed by those great men; but however that be, it is allowed on all hands, that they received no countenance or approbation from Lord Cowper.

On the 6th of June, 1712, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and made a Speech to both Houses, in which she stated the terms upon which her Ministers were about to conclude a Treaty with the French at Utrecht. The following day, when the House of Lords took her Majesty's Speech into consideration, the Duke of Marlborough, who was now removed from the command of the army, asserted, "That the measures, which had been pursued for a year past, were directly contrary to her Majesty's engagements with her allies; that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign; and would render the English name odious to all nations." The Earl of Strafford said, "That some of the allies would not have shewn such backwardness to a peace, as they had hitherto done, had it not been for some Members of that illustrious Assembly, who had maintained a secret correspondence with them, and endeavoured to persuade them to carry on the war, feeding them with hopes that they should be supported by a strong party here." Lord Strafford, who had been some time abroad, expressing himself in but indifferent English, Lord Cowper said, "That the noble Lord had been so long abroad, that he had almost forgotten, not only the language, but the constitution of his own country. According to our laws, it could never be considered as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any Member of that august Assembly, to hold correspondence with our allies: such allies especially, whose interest her Majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her Speech at the opening of this Session. Whereas it would be a hard matter to justify, and to reconcile, either to our own laws, or to the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies (z)."

(z) *Ibid.* p. 375.

The part which Lord Cowper took, in opposition to the administration of the Earl of Oxford, occasioned him to be attacked by Dean Swift, with much virulence, in the *Examiner* [2]; and some reflections were thrown out against him, relative to his private

mentioning a proposal pretended to have been made by the Duke of Marlborough, he says, "To the honour of Prince Eugene, it is said, he rejected so odious a project; yet a much bolder scheme, and of a more detestable nature, is laid to his charge. It consisted, if we can depend upon the relations of some people, who perhaps were misinformed, in setting fire to different parts of the City of London, and pitching upon a time to put that purpose in execution, when the Guards upon duty were commanded by an Officer whom they could trust. Marlborough, at the head of a strong party in arms, should appear when the fire was spreading its devastation widest; then seize on the Tower of London; next on the Queen's person; afterwards oblige her to dissolve the Parliament, and call a new one, in order to make a free inquiry into the correspondencies and negotiations established with France, and to punish with the utmost severity those who had been concerned in them (27)." After considering the whole of what is said respecting these pretended plots of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, we are of opinion, that these charges against these great men ought not to be admitted, without better evidence is produced in their support, than has been exhibited by Mr. Macpherson.

(27) *Memoirs*,
vol. iii. p. 273,
274.

[2] *In the Examiner.* Particularly in Numbers 18, 23, and 27. In No. 23, folio edition, is the following passage relative to *Will Bigamy*, a name which is given to Lord Cowper in these papers. "This Gentleman, knowing that marriage fees were a considerable perquisite to the Clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the good of the Church. His invention was to marry a second wife while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness by such arguments, as he did not doubt would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up in writing, with intention to publish for the general good; and it is hoped he may now have leisure to finish them."

Swift has also drawn an unfavourable character of Lord Cowper, in his "History of the Four last Years of the Queen." It is as follows: "The Lord Cowper—was considerable in the station of a practising Lawyer; but as he was raised to be a Chancellor and a Peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times hath been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of Government, or the true interests of Princes, farther than the Municipal or Common

Law of England, his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the Council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the Guardian of the Queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily over-ruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs, wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself (*)." But Swift's characters, of those who were of the opposite party to himself in politics, are written with such a manifest disregard to equity and candour, that they seem entitled to very little credit. In one of Lord Chesterfield's letters to the Bishop of Waterford, is a passage, in which he gives a character of Swift's "History of the Four last Years of the Queen," and also makes some reference to the stories propagated relative to Prince Eugene, and of which we have treated in note [P]. He says of Swift's work, "It is a party pamphlet, founded on the lie of the day, which, as Lord Bolingbroke who had read it often assured me, was coined and delivered out to him, to write *Examiners*, and other political papers upon. That spirit remarkably runs through it. Macartney, for instance, murdered Duke Hamilton; nothing is false, for though Macartney was very capable of the vilest actions, he was guiltless of that, as I myself can testify, who was at his trial in the King's Bench, when he came over voluntarily to take it, in the late King's time. There did not appear even the least ground for a suspicion of it, nor did Hamilton, who appeared in Court, pretend to tax him with it, which would have been in truth accusing himself of the utmost baseness, in letting the murderer of his friend go off from the field of battle, without either resentment, pursuit, or even accusation, till three days afterwards. This lie was invented to inflame the Scotch nation against the Whigs; as the other, that Prince Eugene intended to murder Lord Oxford, by employing a set of people called Mohocks, which society, by the way, never existed, was calculated to enflame the mob of London. Swift took those hints *de la meilleure foi du monde*, and thought them materials for history. So far he is blameless (†)."

(*) *History of the Four last Years of the Queen*, p. 22, 23.

(†) *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Chesterfield*, vol. ii. p. 498, 499.

character,

character, which is said to have been somewhat licentious with respect to women [R].

As a public man, he continued to adhere steadfastly to the Whigs [S]; and when a debate took place relative to the Catalans, on the 2d of April, 1714, it was observed by Lord Cowper, and some other Lords, that the Crown of Great Britain having drawn in the Catalans to declare for the House of Austria, and engaged to succour and support them, those engagements ought to have been made good; and Lord Cowper moved for an address to her Majesty, importing, 'That her Majesty's endeavours for preserving to the Catalans the full enjoyment of their liberties, having proved ineffectual, their Lordships made it their humble request to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to continue her interposition, in the most pressing manner, in their behalf (a).' An address to this purpose, though with some alterations, was afterwards agreed to; but to which the Queen returned a very evasive answer. Lord Cowper strongly opposed giving any Parliamentary approbation to the Peace of Utrecht [T], in which he appears to have acted according to the full conviction of his own mind; and, indeed, though peace was at that time, as at all others, a very desirable object, it is manifest, from the manner in which the Treaty of Utrecht was commenced and concluded, that a due attention was not paid to the honour or interest of Great Britain; and that the chief object of those by whom the Treaty was negotiated, on the part of England, was not the interest of their country, but the promotion of their own private views.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 411.

On the 5th of June following, when a debate took place concerning the Schism Bill [U], that

[R] *Somewhat licentious with respect to women.* The reflections that have been thrown out against Lord Cowper on this subject may, perhaps, receive some light from the following passage, in a book called the *English Traveller*, vol. ii. p. 315. 'Hertingfordbury, by some esteemed one of the pleasantest villages in England. The seat of the Earl Cowper here, called *Hertingfordbury Park*, was the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Culling, who lies buried in the Church-yard. This Lady, having two natural children by that Lord, a son and daughter, the former dying soon after he came of age, the young Lady, his sister, sold this estate, in the year 1720, to her father's brother, the late Judge Cowper, for fifty year's purchase at least, and he again disposed of it to his brother, the late great Lord Cowper, Lord High Chancellor of England.' It has been said, that, in the early part of his life, a pretended marriage, without the forms of law, took place between Mr. Cowper, afterwards the Chancellor, and the Lady here mentioned, Mrs. Elizabeth Culling; and hence probably originated the story of the Chancellor having two wives, and the name given him by Swift of *Will Bigamy*.

[S] *Continued to adhere steadfastly to the Whigs.* In one of Plunket's letters, extracts from which are given in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. ii. p. 390, it is said, that 'Cowper, the late Chancellor, if he could get off handsomely from the Whigs, would join with Princess Anne (meaning the Queen) in all her measures.' There is not the least probability in this assertion of Plunket's, as no man appears to have attached himself more firmly to the Whig party than Lord Cowper. But the vague assertions of this Irish Jesuit and spy are too often considered as evidence in Mr. Macpherson's History; and his surmises, insinuations, and hearsay stories, received with a degree of credit to which they are in no respect entitled.

It may also be remarked, that it is not unusual for Mr. Macpherson to state facts in his History, which are not supported by his own authorities. Of this an instance occurs in an account of a Speech pretended to have been made by the Duke of Marlborough, Hist. vol. ii. p. 502. as an authority for which he refers to the Stuart Papers, Nov. 3, 1711; but those who will take the pains to examine the Speech given in these papers, by the Agents of the House of Stuart, will find that it materially differs from the Speech made for the Duke by Mr. Macpherson. It may likewise be observed, that manifest inconsistencies are not very uncommon in this gentleman's History. Thus he says of the Earl of Wharton, in one place, that he possessed "distinguished talents;" and in another, that "with talents which could scarce gain him bread in any other line, he became considerable in politics (28)."

VOL. IV.

[T] *Lord Cowper strongly opposed giving any Parliamentary approbation to the Peace of Utrecht.* 'A motion was made for taking into consideration the state of the nation, in relation to the Treaties of Peace and Commerce, and some Speeches were made on both sides thereupon, after which the Debate was adjourned to Friday the 16th of April. That day, the Whig Lords being apprehensive, that if any Debate arose about the Spanish Treaty, the other party would propose an Address to the Queen, approving of the said Treaty, they therefore agreed to say nothing against the Treaty that might draw them into a Debate. The Lord North and Grey stood up first, and said, that if any Lord had any objection against the Spanish Treaty, he was ready to answer them: and so, in a challenging manner, skirmished for some time. After he sat down, there was a silence for a quarter of an hour; and then the Lord Clarendon stood up, and said, "My Lords, since no objections can be raised against the Spanish Treaty, we should address her Majesty to return her our most humble thanks, for having by a safe, honourable, and advantageous Peace with Spain, delivered these nations from a long consuming land war, and to desire her Majesty, notwithstanding any obstructions that may be thrown in her way, to proceed to the settlement of Europe, according to the principles laid down in her Majesty's most gracious Speech." Lord Cowper now rose, and said, "My Lords, This is the most barefaced attempt that ever was made by this, or any other Ministry, to secure themselves by endeavouring to get the sanction of this House. My Lords, are not the Ministry themselves jealous, that their actions stand in need of the sanction of this House? Else why this endeavour at an Address, to make their act the act of the House? The noble Lord that spoke first, acting like a soldier, would by skirmishing have drawn on a general engagement; the troops, however, are too well disciplined, to fall into an ambuscade of his laying; but I cannot remove my finger from the original of our misfortune, the *cessation of arms*. We were then told, that if a blow had been struck, it would have ruined the peace. Would to God it had ruined this peace (29)."

If Lord Cowper had lived to the present times, he would not have thought it any thing unusual, or extraordinary, that a Ministry should endeavour to procure a Parliamentary sanction to a Treaty of Peace.

[U] *The Schism Bill.* By this arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive Bill, which passed both Houses, and received the Royal Assent, and which was entitled, 'An Act to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the farther Security of the Churches of England and Ireland, as by law established,' it was enacted,

5 G

That

(28) Hist. vol. ii. p. 456.

(29) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vi. p. 165, 166.

that Bill was very strongly opposed by Lord Cowper, who observed, that 'No man was more ready than himself to do every thing that should be necessary to attain the seeming intention of that Bill, namely, the preventing the growth of Schism, and the farther securing of the Church of England; but that the enacting part would be so far from answering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to Church and State. Instead of preventing Schism, and enlarging the pale of the Church, this Bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion.' In support of this idea of the tendency of the Bill, his Lordship farther remarked, 'That in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar-schools, were chiefly supported by the Dissenters, not only for the instruction and benefit of their own children, but likewise of those of the poor Churchmen; so that the suppressing of those schools would, in some places, suppress the reading of the Holy Scriptures (b).' He also opposed that clause in the Bill, by which Justices of the Peace were empowered finally to hear and determine offences against it (c). The Bill, however, passed both Houses, and received the Royal Assent; but a protest against it was entered, signed by Lord Cowper, twenty-six other Peers, and five Bishops (d); and in the subsequent reign the Act was repealed.

On the demise of Queen Anne, Lord Cowper was nominated one of the Lords Justices of the kingdom, till the arrival of King George I. from Hanover. On the 29th of August, 1714, he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Great Britain (e); and shortly after Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Hertford (f). When a new Parliament was assembled, on the 27th of March, 1715, King George I. declared from the Throne, "That he had ordered the Lord Chancellor to declare the causes of calling this Parliament, in his Majesty's name and words." He then delivered his Speech into Lord Cowper's hands, who read it to both Houses (g). On the 6th of February, 1716, his Lordship was appointed Lord High-steward for the trial of the Rebel Lords (h); as he was also, the following year, at the trial of the Earl of Oxford [W], to whom he behaved

That every person who should, from and after the first day of August following, keep any public or private school or seminary, or teach or instruct any youth as Tutor or Schoolmaster, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, before such person or persons should have made a declaration before the Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary of the Diocese, that they would conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and received a licence from the Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary, in consequence of such declaration, they should be committed to the common Gaol of such county, riding, city, or town corporate, in which they should be convicted, there to remain without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months, to commence from the time that such person or persons should be received into the said gaol. It was also enacted, that no Licence should be granted by any Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary, unless the person or persons who should sue for the same, should produce a certificate of his or their having received the Sacrament, according to the usage of the Church of England, in some parish Church, within the space of one year before the grant of such Licence, under the hand of the Minister, and one of the Churchwardens of the said parish; and that any person who should have obtained a Licence, and subscribed the declarations required, and should at any time after, during the time of his or their keeping any public or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as Tutor or Schoolmaster, knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at, any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, for the exercise of religion in any other manner, than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England, should be liable to the penalties in this Act, and should from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any public or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth, as Tutor or Schoolmaster. It was also farther enacted, that it should be lawful for the Bishop of the Diocese, or other proper Ordinary, to cite any person or persons whatsoever, keeping school or seminary, or teaching without licence, and to proceed against and punish them by Ecclesiastical censure; and that if any person licensed, as aforesaid, should teach any other Catechism than the Catechism set forth in the book of Common Prayer, the licence of such person should from thenceforth be void, and such person should be liable to the penalties of this Act. A clause, however, was added, that this

Act should not extend to any person, who as a tutor or school-master should instruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning only, so far as such mathematical learning related to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and so as such reading, writing, arithmetic, or mathematical learning, should be taught in the English tongue only.

Petitions were presented to Parliament against this Bill from the Dissenters and Quakers, and from the Dutch and French Protestant Churches in England; and it was strongly opposed in both Houses. In the House of Commons it was remarked, that this Bill 'tended to raise as great a persecution against our Protestant brethren, as the Primitive Christians ever suffered from the Heathen Emperors, particularly Julian the Apostate (30).' Queen Anne died on the day in which this act took place, which was the first of August, 1714; and the Ministry of King George the First had no inclination to put the Act in force; so that from them it received little countenance; and in the fifth year of that Prince's reign it was repealed (31).

[W] *At the trial of the Earl of Oxford.* Of the manner of his going to Westminster-hall on this occasion, the following account is given: 'About ten o'clock in the morning, (June 24, 1717), the Lord High Chancellor Cowper, in quality of Lord High Steward of Great Britain, appointed by his Majesty for the trial of the Earl of Oxford, was attended from his house by all the Judges of his Majesty's Courts in Westminster-hall, in their robes; as also by Garter King of Arms, and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, to whom his Majesty had delivered the white wand to be carried before his Lordship; and set forward in his coach towards Westminster, sitting at the hinder end thereof; Garter, and the Gentleman who bore the Great Seal, sitting both uncovered at the other end; one of the Serjeants at Arms, with his mace, being placed on the right side of the coach, and the Usher of the Black rod carrying the white wand on the left; the Judges, and his Lordship's Gentlemen, following after in several coaches. Being thus come to the stairs-foot, ascending to the House of Peers, the Judges went up two and two together, the juniors first, next the Lord High Steward's Gentlemen, after them the Serjeant at Arms with his mace, and the Seal-bearer; and lastly, the Gentle-

(c) *Id. ibid.*

(d) *Ibid.* p. 428
—430.

(e) *Chronolog.*
Diary in the
Hist. Register,
for the Year
1714, p. 8.
(f) *Ibid.* p. 15.
38.

(g) *Torbuck's*
Parliamentary
Debates, vol. vi.
p. 311.
(h) *Collins, ut*
supra.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 202.

(31) *Neal's Hist.*
of the Puritans,
vol. ii. p. 382.
edit. 4^{to}. 1754.

on that occasion with great politeness [X]. When a Bill was brought in by Lord Stanhope, "for strengthening the Protestant interest," which included in it a repeal of the Schism Act, some clauses of the Bill were opposed by Lord Cowper (i), who thought they too much interfered with the Test and Corporation Acts: for though his Lordship had strongly opposed the Schism Bill in the preceding reign, he appears not to have been sufficiently enlightened on the subject of Toleration. A change taking place in the Ministry in the beginning of March, 1718, Lord Cowper resolved to resign the Great Seal; but, before his resignation, the King, on account of his great merit and services, on the 18th of that month, raised him to the dignity of a Viscount and Earl, by the title of Viscount Fordwich, in the county of Kent, and Earl Cowper (k). The preamble to his Patent was drawn up by Mr. Hughes [Y]. He resigned the Great Seal [Z] in the month of April;

(i) Hist. and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. iii. p. 103, 101.

(k) Collins, ut supra.

Lords

man Usher of the Black Rod, bearing the white wand, Garter King of Arms going on his right; then his Lordship alone, his train borne by one of his Gentlemen. In this manner entering the House of Peers, he found all the Lords in their scarlet robes, also the Bishops in their rochets, and took his place upon the uppermost wool-pack. This done, and prayers ended, his commission for Lord High Steward was read: and then the Lords adjourned themselves into the erected Court in Westminster Hall, where the Managers, and other Members of the House of Commons, in a grand committee, had, by this time, taken their respective places. The King, the Prince, and Princess of Wales, were also seated in the boxes prepared for the Royal Family; as were also the foreign Ministers in the seats appointed for them; and the other part of the Amphitheatre was filled up with a vast number of Gentlemen, Ladies, and other persons of distinction (32).

[X] *To whom he behaved on that occasion with great politeness.* At the beginning of the trial, Lord Cowper addressed Lord Oxford in the following terms:

Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer,
It has been usual, before the Commons proceed, to say something from this place to persons in your Lordship's present condition; partly by way of exhortation to a reasonable confidence in the great honour, justice, wisdom, integrity, and candour of their Judges, their peers, the House of Lords in Parliament assembled, and partly by way of direction, to assist them in their behaviour and conduct during the course of their trial. But, considering the many great offices your Lordship has borne in the State, your long experience and known learning in all Parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think it would seem improper for me to be speaking to your Lordship in that manner. Wherefore I proceed barely to acquaint your Lordship, and others whom it may concern, with such orders as the Lords have made, which it is fit should be taken notice of thus early in this trial, &c (33).

[Y] *The preamble to his Patent was drawn up by Mr. Hughes.* It is as follows:

Quemadmodum semper erit nobis in primis gratum, viros verè dignos titulis ornare, qui virtute fulgente, & claris animi dotibus, honores quos accipiunt decorant; statuimus perquam fidelem & dilectum nostrum GULIELMUM Dominum COWPER, Baronem de Wingham, Cancellarium Magnæ Britanniae, in omni tempore optimè de nobis & de republicâ meritum, ad provectiorem nobilitatis gradum vocare. Quem, maximè in arduis regni consiliis judicium, diu conspecta probitas, semper inconcussa fides, summa legum peritia, & æquibonique studium, sapientiæ non parum, multum eloquentiæ, non magis nobis quam patriæ suæ dilectum reddidit. Regnante Annâ, vir tantis virtutibus præcellens, ad munus Cancellarii Magnæ Britanniae maturè accersitus est. Florente republicâ, omnia implevit consiliiarii solertis, subditi fidelis, bonique civis officia; periclitante postea libertate, otium honestum summis dignitatibus præposuit. Nec tamen destitit in senatu iniquitati temporum quantum potuit obviam ire, hostesque patriæ, & perditâ consilia, fortiter, sagaciter, diligenter oppug-

nare. Quum verò res nostræ, pene labefactatæ, in solido rursus locatæ sunt, ut primum, providentiâ divinâ, ad regnum nostrum pervenimus, merito revocandus erat ad priora munera sustinenda. Ex eo tempore satis superque est nobis conspectum, quantum meruit & meretur, & quam bene honores magis ampli, non tam quæsitum quam parti, summis virtutibus largiundi sunt. Quapropter, &c (34).

[Z] *He resigned the Great Seal.* On this occasion Mr. Hughes wrote his Lordship the following letter:

My Lord,
London, May 1718.
Though I cannot help joining with the general voice in lamenting, with much concern, the loss the public has sustained in your Lordship's quitting that great trust, which never has, nor can be placed in more worthy hands than your Lordship's; yet I think it my duty, at the same time, to congratulate your Lordship on your being honourably eased from a very great burden; the constant fatigue of which must have made it uneasy, and might have proved prejudicial to your health. Your Lordship has been seen to act in every thing with that prudence, mature thought, and equal temper, that, I am sure, the resolution you had taken must have been founded on the best reasons; and I most zealously and sincerely wish your Lordship all the satisfaction in the consequences of it, which you can expect or desire.

I never can express to your Lordship the half of what I feel, as often as I think of your very generous and distinguished favours to me; all the circumstances of which will ever leave on my mind the most grateful impressions. I esteem that short space of my life, in which I had the honour to attend your Lordship, as one of the happiest parts of it; and if I cannot avoid, on this occasion, having a proportionable concern, yet to your Lordship, who has shewn so very humane and tender a regard to my welfare, I think myself obliged in duty to declare, that I have no regret for any consequences to myself, so much as that of being deprived of the sanction of being near your Lordship, and the frequent opportunities of being honoured with a conversation filled with goodness and condescension, and every thing that could render it valuable and agreeable.

I wish your Lordship increase of health and happiness, and with the most dutiful regards to your Lordship and my Lady Cowper,

I am, &c.

JOHN HUGHES (35).

Lord Cowper very generously patronized Mr. Hughes, and appears to have had a great regard for him; and he, on his part, had a high sense of his Lordship's kindness to him. During the time that Lord Cowper held the Great Seal, Mr. Hughes addressed the following Ode to him:

O D E

To the Lord Chancellor COWPER. In allusion to Horace, Book II. Ode 20.

I.

"I'm rais'd, transported, chang'd all o'er!
Prepar'd, a tow'ring swan, to soar
Aloft; see, see the down arise,
And cloath my back, and plume my thighs!"

My

(32) Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. vi. p. 490, 491.

(33) Hist. and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.

(34) Hughes's Letters, &c. published by Mr. Duncombe, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xxxvi.

(35) Hughes's Correspondence, ut supra, p. 188, 189, 190.

Lords Commissioners were appointed for a few days; after which Lord Parker was appointed Chancellor.

(1) Proceedings
of the House of
Lords, *ut supra*,
p. 112, 119.

After his resignation, Lord Cowper diligently attended the public business in the House of Peers, and frequently opposed the measures of the Court. He spoke and voted against the Peerage Bill (1); and the famous South-sea scheme also received from him a very powerful opposition. Of the extraordinary infatuation which then prevailed in the kingdom, and which seems never to have been sufficiently accounted for, he appears in some degree to have foreseen the pernicious consequences. For when a motion was made, that the South-sea Bill should be referred to a Committee of the whole House, he observed, "That, like the Trojan horse, the Bill was ushered in, and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy; but it was contrived for treachery and destruction (m)." He advanced a variety of arguments against the Bill [AA], but it was carried by a large majority, and was productive of great national evils. Lord Cowper also opposed a Bill which was brought in "for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness [BB];" by which persons were to be subjected to penalties, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, or the inspiration of the Scriptures; and by which any preachers, who should deny any of "the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion," were to be deprived of the benefit of the Act of Toleration. The Bill was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, and by other Bishops and some Lay-lords (n); but, after a debate, was rejected by the House.

(m) Torbuck's
Parliamentary
Debates, vol. vii,
p. 299.

(n) Torbuck's
Parliamentary
Debates, vol. vii,
p. 48, 49.

On the 13th of December, 1721, Lord Cowper made a motion in the House of Peers, that a Bill should be brought in, for repealing so much of an Act, which had passed the preceding Session, relative to the plague, as gave a power to remove to a lazaretto, or pest-house, any persons whatsoever infected with the plague [CC], or healthy persons out of an infected family, from their habitations, though distant from any other dwelling; and also so much of the said Act, as gave power for drawing lines or trenches round any city, town, or place infected. His Lordship observed, that the powers given by the Act in question were altogether unknown to our excellent constitution, inconsistent with the lenity of our free government, and such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; and they were the more odious, because they seemed to be copied from the arbitrary government of France, and could not be executed but by a military force (o). The motion was seconded by Lord Trevor, and supported by several other Lords; but was rejected by a majority. A protest was entered against the rejection of the motion [DD], signed

(o) Proceedings
of the House of
Lords, *ut supra*,
p. 199.

My wings shoot forth; I now will try
New tracts, and boldly mount the sky,
Nor envy, nor ill fortune's spite,
Shall stop my course, or damp my flight.

II.

"Shall I, obscure, or disesteem'd,
Of vulgar rank henceforth be deem'd?
Or vainly toil my name to save
From dark oblivion and the grave?
No—he can never wholly die,
Secure of immortality,
Whom Britain's COWPER condescends
To own, and numbers with his friends.

III.

"'Tis done—I scorn mean honours now;
No common wreaths shall bind my brow.
Whether the muse vouchsafe t'inspire
My breast with her celestial fire;
Whether my verse be fill'd with flame,
Or I deserve a poet's name,
Let fame be silent; only tell
That generous COWPER loves me well.

IV.

"Through Britain's realms I shall be known
By COWPER's merit, not my own:
And when the tomb my dust shall hide,
Stripp'd of a mortal's little pride,
Vain pomp be spar'd, and every tear;
Let but some stone this sculpture bear,
"Here lies his clay, to earth consign'd,
"To whom great COWPER once was kind (36)."

(36) *Ibid.* p. 260,
261.

[AA] He advanced a variety of arguments against the Bill.] Earl Cowper urged, that in all public bargains the individuals in the Administration ought to take care, that they shall be more advantageous to the State than to private persons; but that a contrary method had been followed in the contract made with the South-sea Company; for, should the

stocks be kept at the advanced price to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-juggling, either that Company or its principal Members would gain above thirty millions, of which no more than one-fourth part would be given towards the discharge of the national debts. He apprehended, that the re-purchase of annuities would meet with insuperable difficulties: and, in such case, none but a few persons who were in the secret, who had bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would in the end be gainers by the project (37).

(37) Smollet, *ad
supra*, p. 362.

[BB] A Bill which was brought in for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy, &c.] Among others who opposed this Bill was the Earl of Peterborough, who said, "That though he was for a Parliamentary King, yet he did not desire to have a Parliamentary God, or a Parliamentary Religion; and if the House were for such a one, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen a Cardinal; for he had rather fit in the conclave, than with their Lordships upon those terms (38)." The Bishop of Peterborough also spoke on the same side, and said, "That neither himself, nor, he hoped, any of that Bench, would be executioners of such a law, which seemed to tend to the setting up of an Inquisition (39)."

(38) Torbuck's
Parliamentary
Debates, vol. vii,
p. 48, 49.

(39) *Id. ibid.*

[CC] Any persons whatsoever infected with the plague.] The plague which broke out in the year 1720, at Marseilles, seems to have given rise to this act.

[DD] A protest was entered against the rejection of the motion.] It was observed in this protest, that in the plague with which England was visited in 1665, though none of the methods prescribed by the late Act were made use of, much less authorized by Parliament, yet the infection, however great, was kept from spreading itself into the remoter parts of the kingdom; nor did the city of London, where it first appeared, and chiefly raged, suffer so long or so much, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as other cities and towns in France had suffered, where those cruel experiments had been tried (40).

(40) *Ibid.* p. 183.

by

(p) Proceedings
of the House of
Lords, *ut supra*,
p. 201.
(q) *Ibid.* p. 230.

by Lord Cowper, and many other Lords (p). He also signed a protest against the rejection of the Bill, for the better securing the freedom of election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament (q). This protest, which was signed by twenty-three Lay-Lords, and two Bishops, though it contained much truth and good sense, gave so much offence, that a vote was passed for expunging it [EE] from the Journals (r); and another vote was afterwards passed, at the motion of the Earl of Sunderland, for limiting the time allowed for entering protests (s).

(r) *Ibid.* p. 232.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 236.

When an inquiry was instituted, in 1722, relative to the great increase of the Navy Debt, Earl Cowper repeatedly spoke upon that subject, arraigned the proceedings of Government in that business, and signed several protests (t). He opposed the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a year [FF]; as he did also the commitment of the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower, on the suspicion of High Treason (u). A protest against the commitment of that Nobleman was also signed by Lord Cowper, and several other Peers (w). On the 20th of February, this year, his Lordship made a motion, in the House of Peers, relative to the National Debt. He remarked, that the National Debt had been greatly increased for several years past, as appeared by the state of the Public Debt, extracted from the books of the Treasury, and this without any visible occasion; since every thing that had been asked of the Parliament, had been readily granted and provided for, every one of those years. He, therefore, moved, that it should be resolved by the House, "That it appeared by the state of the Public Debt before that House, that

(t) *Ibid.* p. 188,
189, 190, 191,
193, 194, 195,
&c.
(u) *Ibid.* p. 249.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 250,
251, 252.

"the same, exclusively of the Debt of the Navy, was increased between the 31st of December, 1717, and the 31st of December, 1720, at least the sum of 2,300,000*l.* notwithstanding that the Sinking Fund had produced within that time 1,910,385*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*" This motion was seconded by Lord Bathurst, and supported by several other Lords, but was rejected by the majority (x). A protest was entered on the occasion, signed by Lord Cowper, and others, but which was expunged by a subsequent Order of the House. Another motion was afterwards made, that it should be resolved by the House, "That the lessening the Public Debt annually, by all proper methods, was necessary to the restoring and preserving the Public Credit." But the Ministerial party evaded this motion, by putting the previous question (y).

(x) *Ibid.* p. 234.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 235.

In the year 1723, Christopher Layer, who had been convicted of High Treason, underwent a long examination before a Secret Committee of the House of Commons, relative to a conspiracy for raising the Pretender to the Throne. The Report of this examination was printed by order of the House of Commons; and it appeared from this Report, that Layer, in the course of his examination, had mentioned a club of disaffected persons, of which, he said, John Plunket had told him, that Lord Cowper was one. This occasioned his Lordship to remark in the House of Peers, that after having on so many occasions, and in the most difficult times, given undoubted proofs of his hearty zeal and affection for the Protestant Succession, and of his attachment to his Majesty's person and government, he had just reason to be offended, to see his name bandied about in a list of a chimerical club of disaffected persons, printed in the Report of the Secret Committee, on the bare hearsay of an infamous person, notoriously guilty of prevarication [GG]; and who, in the opinion even of the Secret Committee, "in order to magnify the number of the Pretender's friends, did, in several lists, insert the names of persons as well affected to the Pretender's service, without having the least authority for so doing:" which alone was sufficient to give an air of fiction to the whole conspiracy. But, in justice to his own character, he thought it necessary to move, That John Plunket, from whom Layer pretended to have received the list of the club, mentioned in the Report of the Committee, should be immediately sent for to the Bar of that House, to be there examined (z). This motion, after some debate, was rejected by the majority; and it was observed by Lord Townshend, that as the Secret Committee had declared, that they were entirely satisfied of Lord Cowper's innocence, his Lordship's reputation could not have suffered upon that account (a). Lord

(z) *Ibid.* p. 266,
267.

(a) *Id. ibid.*

[EE] *A vote was passed for expunging it.* Perhaps few things can be more absurd, in any body of men whatever, than admitting a right of entering protests, with reasons for such protests, against the proceedings of the majority, and yet at the same time supposing, that the majority can have any right to expunge such protests.

[FF] *He opposed the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a year.* The Earls of Anglesey, Cowper, Strafford, and Coningsby, the Lords Trevor, Bathurst, and Bingley, represented, That the Habeas Corpus Act being, on all hands, admitted to be the greatest and strongest bulwark of English liberty, it did not consist with the wisdom of Parliament, to suspend it without an absolute necessity. That, indeed, in cases of actual rebellion, or intended invasion, that Act had been, at

times before, suspended; but yet this was done sparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term of six months. That this consideration put them under a very melancholy apprehension for the very being or effect of that excellent law; since the suspension of it for a year, might be as good a precedent for suspending it, on another occasion, for the term of two years, as any former precedent was now for the present suspension (41).

[GG] *Notoriously guilty of prevarication.* It had been resolved by the House of Commons, That it appeared to that House, that Christopher Layer, in his several examinations before the Lords of the Council, and the Committee of that House, had grossly prevaricated, suppressed the truth, contradicted himself, &c. (42).

(41) Torbuck's
Parliamentary
Debates, vol. viii.
p. 244.

(42) Hist. Reg.
vol. x. p. 150.

Cowper, however, thought proper to make a public declaration of his innocence [HH].

On the 15th of May, this year, Earl Cowper made a long Speech in the House of Peers, in opposition to the Bill for inflicting pains and penalties on Bishop Atterbury (b). He urged a variety of arguments to shew, that the evidence against the Bishop was extremely insufficient; and he pointed out the danger of such a precedent, as that of inflicting pains and penalties on a man without law, and without proper evidence against him. His Lordship strongly objected to the distinction that had been made in the debate, between *real* evidence, and *legal* evidence; and maintained, that the law required only "such real and certain proof, as ought, in natural justice and equity, to be received."—"The wisdom and goodness of our law, my Lords," said he, "appear in nothing more remarkably, than in the perspicuity, certainty, and clearness of the evidence it requires, to fix a crime upon any man, whereby his life, his liberty, or his property, might be concerned. Herein we glory and pride ourselves, and are justly the envy of all the neighbouring nations. Our law, in such cases, requires evidence so clear and convincing, that every by-stander, the instant he hears it, must be fully satisfied of the truth of it. It admits of no surmises, innuendoes, forced consequences, or harsh constructions, nor any thing else to be offered as evidence, but what is real and substantial, according to the rules of natural justice and equity. These are the rules the Judges go by, nor have they any other in determining what is, or what is not to be admitted as evidence before them; and, therefore, to say, that the law refuses such evidence as is real, and ought in natural justice and equity to be admitted, is to cast an imputation upon the law, which is not only unjust, but entirely groundless (c)."

(b) Proceedings of the House of Lords, *ut supra*, p. 383—398.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 388 389.

The last public transaction, in which we find Earl Cowper engaged, was opposing the Bill for taxing the Papists; which he represented as an impolitic and indefensible measure. He remarked, that it might afford a pretext to some foreign Princes for treating their Protestant subjects with severity; and he observed, that no state had ever got any thing by persecuting its subjects. In France, he said, persecution had been the means of driving away the wealthiest of their merchants, and their most industrious artificers; and this Bill might also force the English Roman Catholics to leave the kingdom, and carry eight or nine hundred thousand pounds into foreign countries (d). The Bill, however, passed; but Lord Cowper, and several other Lords, signed a protest against it (e). His Lordship lived but a few months after; for he died at his seat at Colne Green, in Hertfordshire [II], on the 10th of October, 1723; and on the 19th of that month, he was interred in Hertfordbury Church, in the same county (f). A Pindaric Ode, occasioned by his death, was published by Mr. Ambrose Philips [KK].

(d) *Ibid.* p. 403.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 404.

(f) Collins, *ut supra*.

The

[HH] *A public declaration of his innocence.*] It was as follows:

"The declaration of William Earl Cowper, shewing that the matters contained in some hearsays, relating to him, in the examination of Christopher Laver, are false and groundless.

March 20, 1722-3.

"Though hearsay does not affect any one, either in law, or reason, yet it deserves contradiction, where the truth will bear it, especially if printed: and, therefore, finding that Laver, in his examinations of the 19th of January and 4th of February last, hath said, that one Plunket told him, (as explaining what was meant by *Burford's club*), that Lord Orrery was Chairman; and that Lord Cowper, and seven other Lords, and six Commoners named, were of that club; and that this club met monthly; as he, Laver, thought, at one another's houses; and not doubting but my averment will be believed before any hearsay, especially from one in Laver's sad circumstances; I do hereby declare and affirm upon my honour, That I do not know, or believe, and never heard, before the said examinations were talked of, that there was any such club, or meeting: That as to three of the Commoners named, viz. Sir Henry Goring, Mr. Dawkins, and Mr. Shippen, I do not know them so much as by sight; and as for two of the remaining three Commoners, viz. Sir Constantine Phipps, and General Webb, I have not been in their, or either of their companies, at any time within sixteen years last past: and as to the Lords, I never met them, or any of them, but either accidentally, on visits of ceremony, or in the time of Parliament, and that, with other Lords, on the business of Parliament only. And for one of the said Commoners, whom I am acquainted with, viz. Mr. Hutcheson, I never once was at any meeting with him, together with any of the said Lords or Commoners. And

whereas Laver, in his examination of the 19th of September last, said, that Lord Orrery told him, that Lord Cowper told him (Lord Orrery), that two hundred Tories, and ninety Grumbletonians, would try their last effort in the House of Commons; and in another examination of the 21st of the same month, Laver repeats the same, except that he uses the words *angry Whigs*, instead of the word *Grumbletonians*: I do hereby declare, and affirm upon my honour, that I never said so to Lord Orrery, nor to that effect, nor any thing like it: and I do therefore verily believe, that Lord Orrery never said that I did.

"COWPER (43)."

(43) Hist. Reg. for the Year 1723, p. 255, 256.

[II] *At his seat at Colne-green, &c.*] At this seat, now the property of the present Earl Cowper, which we lately visited, we saw three portraits of the first Earl Cowper, one at full length, in his robes as Chancellor; another in his robes, three quarters; and a third in an undress. From these portraits he appears to have been a very handsome man, with an open and intelligent countenance.

In one of the rooms at this seat are hung up, in glass cases, the purses that contained the Great Seals when he held them; namely, the last Great Seal of England, the first Great Seal of Great Britain, and the Great Seal that he held after the accession of King George I. and which are severally inscribed, *Sigillum Angliæ Ultimæ*, *Sigillum Britanniae Primæ*, *Sigillum Britanniae Restitutæ*.

[KK] *A Pindaric Ode, occasioned by his death, &c.*] From this Ode we shall select two or three stanzas.

Here we come, and hence we go,
Shadows passing to and fro;
Seen a while, forgotten soon:
But thou, to fair distinction born,
Thou COWPER, beamy in the morn
Of life, still brightening to the pitch of noon,
Scarce

The eloquence and abilities of Earl Cowper were highly celebrated in his own time; he made a very conspicuous figure at the Bar; he was a distinguished Member of both Houses of Parliament; his general character as a public man appears to have been extremely respectable; and in his conduct in the Court of Chancery he displayed great disinterestedness. He opposed the frequency and facility with which private bills passed in Parliament; and refused the New Year's Gifts, which it had been customary to present to those who held the Great Seal [LL]. Dr. Smollet observes, that England, by his death, 'lost a worthy Nobleman, who had twice discharged the office of Lord-chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful (e).' Mr. Tindal says of him, that he 'was eminent for his integrity in the discharge of the office of Lord-chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been Chancellors of more extensive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quick, and yet solid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble [MM] (f).' Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son (g), represents Earl Cowper as more distinguished, as a Speaker, by the elegance of his language, and the gracefulness of his manner, than by the force of his arguments. He says, 'The late Lord-chancellor Cowper's strength as an Orator, lay by no means in his reasoning, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But such was the purity and elegance of his style, such the propriety and charms of his elocution, and such the gracefulness of his action, that he never spoke without universal applause. The ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and the understanding of the audience.'

(e) Hist. of England, *ut supra*, p. 399.

(f) Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 676.
(g) Letter 173.

(b) Collins, *ut supra*.

Earl Cowper was one of the Governors of the Charter-house, and a Fellow of the Royal Society (b). He was twice married. By his first wife, Judith, who was daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Booth, of London, Knight, he had one son, who died young. Mary, his second wife, who did not long survive him, was daughter of John Clavering, Esq; of Chopwell, in the Bishopric of Durham. By this Lady he had issue two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, William, succeeded him in his titles and estate; and his second

' Scarce verging to the steep decline,
' Hence summon'd while thy virtues radiant shine;
' Thou singled out, the fosterling of fame,
' Secure of praise, nor less secur'd from blame,
' Shalt be remember'd with a fond applause,
' So long as Britons own the same indulgent laws.'

* * * * *
' Hear him speaking, and you hear
' Reason tuneful to the ear!
' Lips, with thymy language sweet,
' Distilling on the hearer's mind
' The balm of wisdom, speech refin'd,
' Celestial gifts!—Oh, when the nobles meet,
' When next, thou sea-surrounded land,
' Thy nobles meet at Brunswick's high command,
' In vain they shall the charmer's voice desire!
' In vain those lips of eloquence require;
' That mild conviction which the soul assails
' By soft alarms, and with a gentle force prevails.

' To such persuasion, willing, yields
' The liberal mind, in freedom train'd;
' Freedom, which, in crimson'd fields,
' By hardy toils our fathers gain'd;
' Inheritance of long descent!
' The sacred pledge so dearly priz'd
' By that blest spirit, we lament.
' Grief-easing lays, by grief devis'd,
' Plaintive numbers, gently flowing,
' Soothe the sorrows to him owing.'

* * * * *
' Winning aspect! winning mind!
' Soul and body aptly join'd;
' Searching thought, engaging wit,
' Enabled to instruct, or please.
' Uniting dignity with ease,
' By nature form'd for every purpose fit;
' Endearing excellence!—O, why
' Is such perfection born, and born to die?
' Or, do such rare endowments still survive,
' As plants remov'd to milder regions thrive
' In one eternal spring? And we bewail
' The parting soul, new-born to life that cannot fail (44).'

(44) Ode (in the manner of Pindar) on the Death of the Right Hon. W. Earl Cowper, by Mr. Philips, fol. 1723, p. 3. 5. 8.

[LL] *And refused the New Year's Gifts, which it had been customary to present to those who held the Great Seal.* Bishop Burnet observes, that there was a general complaint made of Private Acts of Parliament, that they passed 'through both Houses too easily, and in so great a number, that it took up a great part of the Session to examine them,' though in a cursory manner, which was found very inconvenient. But, he says, the fees that were paid for these, 'to the Speakers and Clerks of both Houses, inclined them to favour and promote them.' Lord Somers proposed such a regulation concerning them, as it was supposed would prove beneficial for the future: and Lord Cowper, the Bishop adds, 'did very generously obstruct these Private Bills, as much as his predecessor, (Sir Nathan Wright), had promoted them. He did another thing of a great example. On the first day of the year, it was become a custom, for all those who practised in Chancery, to offer a New Year's Gift to the Lord who had the Great Seal. These grew to be so considerable, that they amounted to 1,500*l.* a year. On this New Year's Day (1706), which was his first, he signified to all who, according to custom, were expected to come with their presents, that he would receive none, but would break that custom. He thought it looked like the insinuating themselves into the favour of the Court; and that if it was not bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it. This contributed not a little to the raising of his character. He managed the Court of Chancery with impartial justice, and great dispatch; and was very useful to the House of Lords, in the promoting of business (45).'

(45) Burnet, *ut supra*, p. 439.

[MM] *His manner graceful and noble.* His manner was celebrated by Pope. In his imitation of the Second Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, (l. 133, 134.) he introduces two Serjeants at Law complimenting each other in the following terms:

'Twas, "Sir, your law;"—and "Sir, your eloquence,"
' "Yours, Cowper's manner,—and yours, Talbot's sense."

son,

(i) Collins, *ubi supra*.

son, Spencer, became Dean of Durham (i). His eldest daughter, Lady Sarah Cowper, who is said to have been "distinguished for her sense and accomplishments (k)," died unmarried in 1758. His youngest, Lady Anne, was married, in 1731, to James Edward Colleton, Esq; of Haynes-hill in Berkshire, and died in 1750 (l).

(k) Hughes's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 65.
(l) Collins, *ut supra*.

William, the second Earl Cowper, was twice married; in 1732, to Lady Henrietta, youngest daughter and coheir of Henry D'Auverquerque Earl of Grantham; and in 1750, to Lady Georgina, daughter to Earl Granville, and widow of the Hon. John Spencer, Esq; by whom she was mother of John Earl Spencer. By Lady Georgina, Lord Cowper had no issue; but by his first Countess, who died in 1747, he was father of George Nassau, now Earl Cowper, and of Lady Caroline, who was married, in 1753, to Henry Seymour, Esq; who was only son and heir of Francis Seymour, Esq; of Sherborne, in the county of Dorset, brother to Edward, the eighth Duke of Somerset of that family. The present Earl Cowper was created, in 1778, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire (m); and has resided some years at Florence.]

(m) *Ibid.*

T.

(a) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Lond. 1730, vol. ii. p. 359. among the Bishops of Ely.

(d) Downes, *ubi supra*; and Wood, *Fasti*, vol. i. col. 40.

(e) Wood, *Atben. ubi supra*; now swallowed up into Christ-church.

(f) *Idem*, *Fasti*, vol. i. col. 40.

(g) *Idem*, *Atb.* col. 203.

(b) Downes, as above, p. 115, 116.

(k) Wood, *Atb. ubi supra*.

(l) Willis, as above, p. 374.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 376.

(p) Willis, *ubi supra*, p. 403.

(s) Wood, *Festi*, vol. i. col. 71. He held it till the year 1552.

C O X (RICHARD), a learned Bishop in the XVIth century, was born at Whaddon in Buckinghamshire, of mean parentage (a), in the year 1499 (b). He had, probably, his first education in the small priory of Snellshall in the parish of Whaddon; but being afterwards sent to Eton-school, he was thence elected into a Scholarship at King's-college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow in the year 1519 (c). Having the same year taken his Bachelor of Arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of those bright Scholars, who were invited to Oxford by Cardinal Wolsey, to fill up his new foundation (d). He was accordingly preferred to be one of the Junior Canons of Cardinal-college (e); and on the 7th of December, 1525, was incorporated Bachelor of Arts at Oxford, as he stood at Cambridge (f). Soon after, performing his exercises, he was, on the 8th of February following, licensed to proceed in Arts, in which he took the degree of Master, July 2, 1526 (g). He was reputed one of the greatest Scholars of his age; and his poetical compositions were in great esteem among the best judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the respect of all impartial persons. But shewing himself averse to many of the Popish superstitions, and declaring freely for some of Luther's opinions, he incurred the displeasure of the Governors of the University, who stripped him of his preferment, and threw him into prison on suspicion of heresy (h). When he was released from his confinement, he left Oxford; and, some time after, was chosen Master of Eton-school, which was observed remarkably to flourish under his vigilant and industrious care (i). In 1537, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge (k). And on the 4th of December, 1540, was made Archdeacon of Ely (l); as he was also appointed in 1541, the first Prebendary in the first stall of the same Cathedral, upon the new building of it by King Henry VIII. on the 10th of September 1541 (m). He was likewise, the 3d of June 1542, presented by the same King to the Prebend of Sutton with Buckingham in the Church of Lincoln, and installed the 11th of that month. But this he surrendered up in 1547 (n). In the year 1543, he supplicated the University of Oxford, that he might take place among the Doctors of Divinity there, which was unusual, because he was not then incorporated into that University, as Doctor in Divinity; nor was he so till June 1545 (o). When a design was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Bishoprick [A], Dr. Cox was nominated Bishop of it (p). On the 8th of January 1543-4, he was made the second Dean of the new-erected Cathedral of Osney near Oxford; and in 1546, when that See was translated to Christ-church, he was also made Dean there (q). These promotions he obtained by the interest of Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Goodrich, to the last of whom he had been Chaplain; and, by their recommendation, he was chosen Tutor to the young Prince Edward, whom he instructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early sense of his duty, both as a Christian and a King (r). On that Prince's accession to the Throne, he became a great favourite at Court, and was made a Privy-Counsellor, and the King's Almoner [B]. The 21st of May, 1547, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford (s); installed July 16, 1548, Canon of Windsor; and, the next year, made Dean of Westminster (t). About the same time he was appointed one of the Commissioners to visit the University of Oxon (u), in which he is ac-

(b) Life of Bishop Cox, by S. Downes; prefixed to Sparrow's Rational. p. 115.
(c) Willis, as above; and Wood, *Atben.* edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 203. He was admitted in King's College in 1518. Fuller's Worthies, in Buckinghamshire, p. 131.

(i) *Ibid.*

(n) *Ibid.* p. 248.

(o) Wood, *Festi*, vol. i. col. 68, 70.

(q) Wood, *Atb.* col. 203; & *Hist. & Antig. Univ. Oxon.* lib. ii. p. 253. He was made Dean of Christ-church, Nov. 4.
(r) Downes, *ubi supra*, p. 116.
(s) *Idem*, *Atben.* col. 203.
(t) *Idem*, *Hist. & Antig. Univ. Oxon.* l. i. p. 269, 270, &c.

[A] When a design was formed, of converting the Collegiate Church of Southwell into a Bishoprick, &c.] For, after the dissolution of the Monasteries, besides the six new erected Bishopricks of Oxford, Peterburgh, Gloucester, Bristol, Chester, and Westminster, the King intended to have erected new Bishopricks; at Dunstable in Bedfordshire, with 1140l. 5d. yearly revenue; Colchester in Essex with 1003l. 5d. Shrewsbury in the county of Salop; Bodmin with Launceston in Cornwall; and Southwell in Nottinghamshire. But, either the King's luxury and extravagance,

or the greediness of his courtiers, swallowed up the revenues wherewith they were to be endowed (1).

[B] And the King's Almoner.] This office was granted him *durante beneplacito*, during the King's pleasure: and he had afterwards a farther grant made him, of all the Goods and Chattels of Felons, as well within liberties as without, for the augmentation of the King's alms. *In augmentationem Eleemosynæ suæ, omnia Bona & Catalla Felonum de se tam infra Libertates quam extra, infra Regnum Angliæ habendi. quamdiu in Officio prædict. steterit* (2).

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; vol. ii. p. 42, 403, in Oxford.

(2) Dyer's Reports, f. 77.

cused

cused of having much abused his commission [C]. In 1550, he was ordered to go down into Suffex, and endeavour, by his learned and affecting sermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been disturbed by the factious preaching of Day Bishop of Chichester, a violent Papist (w): and when the noble design of reforming the Canon Law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the Commissioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act passed for giving all Chantries, Colleges, &c. to the King, through Dr. Cox's powerful intercession, the Colleges in both Universities were excepted out of that act (x). (x) *Ibid.* Soon after Queen Mary's accession to the Crown, he was stripped of his preferments; and on the 15th of August 1553, committed to the Marshalsea. He was indeed soon discharged from this confinement (y); but foreseeing the inhuman persecution likely to ensue, he resolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to some place, where he might enjoy the free exercise of his religion, according to the form established in the reign of King Edward (z). He went first to Strasburgh in Germany, where he heard with great concern of the rash proceeding of some of the English exiles at Franckfort (a), who had thrown aside the English Liturgy, and set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models [D]. On the 13th of March 1555, he came to Franckfort in order to oppose this innovation, and to have the Common-Prayer-Book settled among the English congregation there (b), which he had the satisfaction to accomplish [E]. Then he returned

(a) A brief Discourse of the troubles begonne at Franckfort, Anno Domini 1544. Printed in 1575, 4to. p. 6, 7.

[C] *In which he is accused of having much abused his commission.* For he, and the rest of the Commissioners, made a dreadful havock among the Libraries; destroying, burning, or selling for the vilest uses, all the illuminated books, such as had in them mathematical figures or other diagrams, under pretence that they tended to Popery or Conjurat[i]on: and also books of School-Divinity; and, in general, sparing very few that had been composed by Roman-Catholic authors (3).

[D] *Set up a form of their own, framed after the French and Geneva models.* Of which we have this account, 'After having perused the English Liturgy, it was concluded amongst them, That the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used; the litany, surplice, and many other things also omitted, because in the reformed Churches abroad such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the Minister, in the room of the English Confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed according to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and Scottish Churches: that done, the Minister to pray for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, and so to proceed to the Sermon. After the sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and for England, was also devised: at the end of which prayer was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the Articles of the Belief; which ended, the people to sing another psalm as afore. Then the Minister pronouncing this blessing, The peace of God, &c. or some other of like effect, the people to depart. And as touching the ministrat[i]on of the Sacraments, fundry things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous (4).'

[E] *Which he had the satisfaction to accomplish.* The particulars of these remarkable transactions, were as follow. After the settling of the Form and Discipline mentioned in the last note, the Exiles advertised their dispersed countrymen at Strasburgh, Zurich, Weisfel, Emden, &c. of the singular benefit they enjoyed, of having a Church granted them, and endeavoured to persuade them, to come and join with them. Those at Strasburgh answered, That they had considered the contents of their letter, and perceived the effect of it was, to have one or two take the chief government of the congregation: and in case they could get Dr. Poinet, Mr. Scory, Dr. Bale, or Dr. Cox, or two of them, they should be well provided; if not, they would appoint one at Strasburgh, and another should come from Zurich. Accordingly, Mr. Grindall wrote to Mr. Scory at Emden, to desire him to accept of the office; but before his answer came, the congregation had chosen Mr. Knox, Had-don, and Lever, for their Ministers; not liking to have any Superintendent, as those at Strasburgh proposed, but to be governed by two or three Ministers of equal authority (5). In the mean time, several

members of the congregation were for retaining the English Liturgy, and did not approve of the Form set down in the last Note. This occasioning very great contention, it was at length agreed, on the 6th of February 1554, That another Form should be drawn up out of the English Liturgy, with some additions, to be used till the last day of April following. But Dr. Cox, and some others coming to Franckfort on the 13th of March, resolved to stand up for the English Liturgy. Accordingly, they answered aloud after the Minister; for which being reproved by the Seniors of the Congregation, they made answer, That they would do as they had done in England, and would have the face of an English Church. On the Sunday following, one of Dr. Cox's company going up into the pulpit without the consent of the congregation, read the Litany, whilst Dr. Cox and his company made the responses aloud. The same Sunday in the afternoon, Knox preaching, and reflecting upon these proceedings, was by Dr. Cox sharply rebuked for it. The Tuesday following was appointed to talk of these things more at large. When they were assembled, request was made, that Dr. Cox and his company should be admitted to have votes in the congregation. The others answered, That matters still in dispute amongst them ought first to be determined; and Dr. Cox and his friends subscribe to the Discipline, as the rest had done, before they were admitted into the congregation (6). Knox at last began to make intreaty, that they might have votes among the rest; to which some yielding, the majority came thereby to be on their side, and they were accordingly admitted. But immediately after, Dr. Cox forbade Mr. Knox to meddle any more in that congregation (7). The next day, complaint of this being made to one of the Magistrates, he ordered, That two on each side should consult and agree upon some good order for divine service, and make report of it to him. For that purpose, Dr. Cox and Mr. Lever were chosen on one side, and Mr. Knox and Whittingham on the other. But, when they came to a Conference, before they had gone through the Morning-service (Dr. Cox being very earnest for restoring the Liturgy, and the others as violent against it) they parted without coming to an agreement. The Puritans thereupon addressed the Senate, highly complaining of the others for endeavouring to force the English Liturgy upon them; and so far prevailed, that the Magistrates ordered the Congregation to agree with the French Church both in Doctrine and Ceremonies. Dr. Cox not being able to withstand the torrent, said, 'He had read the French order, and thought it to be both good and godly in all points, and therefore desired the congregation to obey the Magistrates commandment.' Requesting the magistrate at the same time, to shew unto him and his friends, his accustomed favour and goodness, notwithstanding their ill behaviour. Nevertheless, these did not rest here; but seeing that Knox was in great credit with many of the congregation, they accused him to the Senate of High-trea-

(6) *Ib.* p. 37, 38, 39.

(7) Page 40.

(w) Downes, *ubi supra*, p. 117.

(y) Wood, *Atb. ubi supra*. He says, the Dr. was discharged 19 Aug. 1559, instead of 1553 or 1554.

(z) Downes, as above, p. 117.

(b) *Ib.* p. 38.

(3) See Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* l. i. p. 271, 272, and l. ii. p. 60; and Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland, fol. 1697.

(4) Brief Discourse of the troubles begonne at Franckfort, &c. p. 6, 7.

(5) *Ib.* p. 13, 14.

(c) Downes, *ubi supra*.

(f) Stow's *Annales*, edit. 1631, p. 636.

(k) *Convent. Fœdera*, &c. published by Rymer, vol. xv. p. 537.

(8) Page 44, 45.

(9) Page 46, 47.

(10) Collier's *Ecclef. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 396.

turned to Strasburgh for the sake of conversing with Peter Martyr, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship at Oxford, and whom he loved and honoured for his great learning and moderation (c). After the death of Queen Mary he returned to England; and was one of those Divines who were appointed to revise the Liturgy (d). When a disputation was to be held at Westminster between eight Papists and eight of the Reformed Clergy, he was the chief champion on the Protestants side (e). He preached often before Queen Elizabeth in Lent; and, in his sermon at the opening of her first Parliament (f), exhorted them in most affecting terms, to restore religion to its primitive purity, and banish all the Popish innovations and corruptions. These excellent discourses, and the great zeal he had shewn in support of the English Liturgy at Franckfort, so effectually recommended him to the Queen's esteem (g), that in June 1559, she nominated him to the Bishoprick of Norwich (h); but her mind altering, she preferred him to the See of Ely, in the room of Dr. Thirlby, who was deprived (i). His *congé d'eslire* bore date July 15, 1559. He was elected the 28th day of the said month, had the Royal Assent December the 18th, was confirmed in the Church of St. Mary le Bow the 20th of the same month, consecrated at Lambeth the next day, and received the temporalities the 23d of March following (k). Before his consecration, he joined with Dr. Parker elect Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops elect of London, Chichester, and Hereford, in a petition to the Queen, against an Act lately passed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the Bishops; and sent her several arguments from Scripture and reason against the lawfulness of it; observing withal, the many evils and inconveniencies both to Church and State that would thence arise (l). He enjoyed the episcopal dignity about twenty-one years and seven months, reckoning from the time of his consecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the Church of England. Both to Archbishop Parker, and his successor Grindal, he was very serviceable; and, by his prudence and industry, contributed to the restitution of our Church in the same beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in King Edward's reign. He was indeed no great favourite of the Queen; but that is to be imputed to his zealous opposition to her retaining the crucifix and lights on the Altar of the Royal Chapel [F], and his strenuous defence of the lawfulness of the marriage of the Clergy, against which the Queen had contracted a most inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the Church; and shewed a singular esteem for Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he made his Chaplain, and to whom he gave the Rectory of Teversham in Cambridgeshire, and a Prebend of Ely (m). He did his utmost to get a body of Ecclesiastical Laws, (which was drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, and other learned Divines, of whom himself was one, in the latter end of King Edward's reign) established by authority of Parliament [G]; but through the unreasonable

(d) Collier's *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. ii. p. 430.

(e) Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. ii. 2d edit. p. 388.

Strype's *Ann. of the Reformat.* vol. i. edit. 1725, p. 87, &c.

See COLE (HENRY).

(g) Downes, *as above*.

(h) Wood, *Atb.* vol. i. col. 689.

(i) Godwin, *de Praesul.* edit. 1616, 4to. p. 334.

(l) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

(m) *Life of Whitgift*, &c. by J. Strype, f. 1718, p. 7.

The Bishop gave Whitgift that Prebend, Dec. 5. 1568, *ibid*.

oppo-

son against the Emperor, his Son, and Queen Mary, on account of some virulent expressions of his against those Princes, in a book intituled *An Admonition to Christians*. Whereupon, the Senators commanded that he should preach no more till their pleasure were farther known; and soon after ordered him to depart the city of Franckfort (8). The 26th of March, Dr. Cox and his friends presented a petition to the Magistrates, subscribed by three Doctors, thirteen Bachelors of Divinity, and others, for the full use of the English Liturgy; which accordingly was established. When Whittingham was acquainted with it, he said, he did not doubt, but it might be lawful for him and others to join themselves to some other church. But Dr. Cox desired that it might not be suffered. Whereunto Whittingham answered, that it would be too great cruelty to force men, contrary to their consciences, to obey all their disorderly proceedings; offering, if the magistrate would be pleased to give them the hearing, to dispute the matter against all the contrary party, and prove, that the order which they sought to establish, ought not to take place in any reformed Church: but herein they were not indulged. The 28th of March, Dr. Cox assembled all the English Clergy to his lodgings, and having declared to them, how the Magistrates had granted them the use of the English Liturgy, he said, That he thought it requisite they should consult together, whom they thought fittest to be Bishop, Superintendant, or Pastor, with the rest of the officers, as Seniors, Ministers, and Deacons (9). When that was settled, Dr. Cox proceeded to form a kind of University, and appointed a Greek, and a Hebrew Lecturer, a Divinity-Professor, and a Treasurer for the contributions remitted from England (10). The Puritans offered, as their last refuge, to refer the whole matter to four arbitrators,

two chosen on each side; that it might appear where the fault lay, and they might have an opportunity of vindicating themselves from the guilt of Schism. But that proposal being rejected, they departed in a rage, and withdrew, some to Basil, and others to Geneva (11).

[F] *His zealous opposition to the Queen's retaining the Crucifix and Lights on the Altar of the Royal Chapel.* He scrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, it was with a trembling conscience, as he said. To excuse himself, and to give his humble advice to the Queen, he wrote to her a most submissive Letter (12); wherein he sets down certain considerations, why he could not yield to 'have Images set up in Churches.' And concludes in these words, 'yet my meaning is not hereby to enter into consideration of such as are otherwise minded, much less of your Majesty (God forbid) who I believe meaneth not to use the thing to any evil end. — Bear with me, most gracious sovereign; for the tender mercy of God, force not my conscience to fore (13).'

[G] *He did his utmost to get a body of Ecclesiastical Laws — established by authority of Parliament.* That was, the famous book intituled *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, compiled, by order of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. out of the Canon and Civil Law. Thirty two persons were commissioned for that work, but the person who had the chief hand in it, was Archbishop Cranmer; and it was put into proper and elegant Latin, by Sir John Cheke, and Dr. Had- don, Regius Professor of the Civil Law in the University of Cambridge. For a farther account of that work, see Dr. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, 2d Edition, Part I. p. 330. Part II. p. 141. 196. and Part III. p. 208. and Strype's *Ecclesiastical Me-*

(11) *Troubles at Franckfort*, as above, p. 55—59.

(12) Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. edit. 1725, p. 175.

(13) *Appendix* to vol. i. No. xxii. p. 59, 60, 61.

opposition of some of the chief Courtiers, this noble design miscarried a third time. As he had, in his exile at Franckfort, been the chief champion against the innovations of the Puritans; so he now continued, with some vigour and resolution, to oppose their attempts, against the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Established Church. At first he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means; but finding, that, instead of behaving themselves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both Church and Bishops in scurrilous libels, he thought timely severities necessary (n). Therefore he wrote to Archbishop Parker, to go on vigorously in reclaiming or punishing them, and not be disheartened at the frowns of those Court-favourites who protected them; assuring him, that he might expect the blessing of God on his pious labours, to free the Church from their dangerous attempts, and to establish uniformity. When the Privy-Council interposed in favour of the Puritans, and endeavoured to screen them from punishment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh; wherein he warmly expostulated with the Council, for meddling with the affairs of the Church, which, as he said, ought to be left to the determination of the Bishops; admonished them to keep within their own sphere; and told them he would appeal to the Queen, if they continued to interpose in matters not belonging to them (o). He is blamed by some (p) for giving up several manors and other estates belonging to his See [H]; but he rather, in some respects, deserves commendation, for his great firmness in resolving to part with no more, and for being proof against the strongest solicitations, and most violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from those who were most in favour at Court, and who were backed by Royal Command and Authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir Christopher Hatton, a noted favourite of the Queen, endeavoured to wrest Ely-House in Holborn from him (q); so that, in order to preserve it to his See, he was forced to have a long and chargeable suit in Chancery, which was not determined in 1579 (r). The Lord North also attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of Somersham, in Huntingdonshire, one of the best belonging to his Bishoprick; and with Downham Park (s); which he refusing to yield, that Lord endeavoured to stir up the Queen's indignation against him, and do his utmost to have him deprived. For that purpose, North, and some others of the Courtiers, examined and ransacked his whole conduct since his first coming to his See, and drew up a large body of articles against him, which he was to give answers to before the Privy-Council (t). But the Bishop, in his replies, so fully vindicated himself from all aspersions, and so clearly confuted the groundless and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the Queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence (u); though the Lord North boasted, he had found five *Praemunire's* against him (w). However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the Lord North, and other his adversaries, he desired, in 1577, leave to resign his Bishoprick (x); but the Queen put him off (y). North, though disappointed in his former attempt, yet not discouraged thereby, brings three actions against the poor old Bishop for selling of wood (z); whereupon the Bishop offered again, in 1579, to resign; provided he had a yearly pension of two hundred pounds out of his See, and Donnington, (the least of five country houses belonging to Ely Bishoprick) for his residence during life (a). The Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, at the Bishop's earnest desire, obtained leave of the Queen for him to resign; and in February 1579-80, upon the Bishop's repeated desires, forms of resignation were actually drawn up (b). But the Court could not find any Divine of note, who would take that Bishoprick on their terms, of surrendering up the best manors belonging to it. The first offer of it was made to Freak Bishop of Norwich; and, on his refusal, it was proffered to several others; but the conditions were so ignominious and base, that they all rejected it; by which means Bishop Cox enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the 22d (c) of July 1581, in the 82d year of his age (d). By his will he left several legacies, amounting in all to the sum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thousand three hundred and twenty-two pounds (e). He had several children [I]. His body

(n) Downes, *ubi supra*; from Mr. Strype's Life of Archb. Parker.

(o) *Ibid.*
(p) Willis, Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. vol. ii. p. 360, among the Bishops of Ely.

(r) Strype, in the same volume, p. 579.
(s) *Ibid.* p. 361. The Queen sent a letter to the Bishop, to request him to make a demise of Somersham, to North, *Ibid.*

(u) *Ibid.* and Appendix to B. i. No. xlviii, xlix, l, li.
(w) *Ibid.* p. 364.
(y) With a *Non-dum hoc fiet*, i. e. Not yet; as he expresses it himself. Appendix to B. ii. of Annals, &c. as above, No. xiv. p. 117.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 583.

(d) This appears from the time of his birth mentioned above.

(14) Hist. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 330.

morials, Vol. II. p. 303. and Life of Cranmer, book I. ch. 30. It was first published, in 1571, by Archbishop Parker, or John Fox, with a preface; and again in 1640, 4to. The most probable reason why those Laws were never suffered to be confirmed by Parliament, is that assigned by Dr. Burnet (14), because it was found more for the greatness of the Prerogative and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep those points undetermined.

[H] *Giving up several manors and other estates belonging to his See.* In 1562, he alienated to Queen Elizabeth, the manors of Hatfield, Little Hadham, and Kelsall. Moreover, he gave up East Dereham, Pulham, Bridgeham, the Hundred and manor of Mitford, the manors of Terrington, Walpole, West-Walton, Brandon, Westeringate, Battlesden, Hecham, Harthurst, Berking, and Totteridge, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, and Bedford, of the yearly value of 695 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* in lieu of which, the

Queen granted him, the tenths of his Diocese amounting to 384 *l.* 14 *s.* 9 *d.* per Annum, and the Improvements of Gildon-Morden, Swaffham-Bulbeck, Stokequi, Waterbech, St. Giles Cambridge, Comberton, Hinxton, Harleston, Swavesey, and Drayton, of the value of 207 *l.* 10 *s.* So that, as Browne Willis, Esq; observes, he parted with about 700 *l.* a year of the old Demesnes, being a third part of the Revenues of the Bishoprick (15). Before, whilst he was Dean of Christ-Church, he had alienated the Parsonage-glebe, and a manor, at Harrow on the Hill; and the Rectory and Advowson of Preston on Stour in Gloucestershire, and Priory of Clatercote in Oxfordshire (16).

[I] *He had several children.* Namely, John, whom he made his executor; Richard, who was knighted, and a Justice of Peace for Ely. After his father's decease, he had a Grant from the Crown, of Dodington manor and palace. The Bishop had also two daughters, married, to John Parker, and John Duport, Prebendaries

(q) Strype's Annals, as above, vol. ii. p. 337, 338, 360; and Appendix to B. i. No. xlvii, p. 84.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 361—370.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 488, 489.

(z) Strype, vol. ii. p. 580.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 581, 582, 583.

(c) Willis, *ubi supra*, p. 360. Wood, *Atben.* col. 204. Stow says, it was July 13.

Annales, edit. 1631, p. 694.

(e) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. edit. 1728, p. 26, 27.

(15) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, vol. ii. edit. 1730, p. 248, 338, in Ely.
(16) *Ibid.* p. 429, 550.

body was interred in Ely-cathedral, near Bishop Goodrich's monument, under a marble stone, with an inscription; which having been defaced, there are only four verses of it [K] now legible (f). Divers things, of which he was author, have been published, chiefly since his decease [L]. As to his character; He was a man of a sound judgment, and clear apprehension, and attained to great perfection in all polite and useful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with such diligence and industry, that he soon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature. The Holy Scriptures were his chief study; and he was perfectly well versed in the original language of the New Testament. He was extremely zealous for the true interest of our Reformed Church, and a constant and vigorous defender of it against all the open assaults of its Popish adversaries, and of the Puritans (g). He is accused by some (b) of having been a worldly and covetous person; and is said to have made a great havock and spoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered venison to save expences. Several

(g) Willis, as above, p. 359, 360; and Sir J. Harrington, p. 77.
(b) Downes, ubi com-
supra, p. 130.

bendaries of Ely; besides other children, whose names are not mentioned (17).
(17) Willis, ubi supra, p. 360. [K] Which having been defaced, there are only four verses of it legible.] Being these;

Vita caduca vale, salveto vita perennis;
Corpora terra tegit, Spiritus alta petit.
In terra Christi Gallus Christum resonabam;
Da, Christe, in coelis te sine fine sonem.

i. e. ' Farewel, frail life, hail, life eternal; The earth covers my body, but my soul ascends to heaven. I, who was Christ's Cock (*), made Christ's name sound on earth. Grant, O Christ, that I may without end make thy praises resound in heaven (18). ' His monument was defaced in twenty years after his death; which some (19) look upon as a sign of his being little beloved.
(*) Alluding to his name of Cocks or Cox.
(18) Willis, ibid. & Godwin. de Præful. p. 335.
(19) Briefe View of the State of the Church of England, by Sir J. Harrington, 8vo. Lond. 1653, p. 77.

(20) Edit. 1694, fol. No. [xliv.] p. 119.
(21) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 204.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Appendix to P. i. 2d edit. p. 201, No. xxi. of Book iii.

(24) Ibid. among the Addenda, p. 321.

(25) Appendix to B. i. of P. ii. No. xxv. p. 133, &c.

(26) Appendix to Vol. i. B. i. No. xxi. p. 54.

(27) Ibid. p. 59.

(28) Ibid. p. 100.

(29) Appendix to Vol. ii. p. 84.

(30) Ibid. p. 85.

(31) Ibid. p. 87.

(32) Ibid. p. 87

—100.

(33) Ibid. p. 111.

(34) Ibid. p. 117.

(35) Ibid. p. 131.

[L] Divers things, of which he was author, have been published chiefly since his decease.] They are, I. ' An Oration at the beginning of the Disputation of Dr. Tresham and others with Peter Martyr.' II. ' An Oration at the conclusion of the same.' These two Orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4to. and afterwards among Peter Martyr's works. The second is also printed in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype (20). III. He had a great hand in compiling the first *Liturgy of the Church of England*: and was one of the chief persons employed in the review of it in 1559 (21). IV. He turned into verse the Lord's Prayer, commonly printed at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's Psalms. V. When a new Translation of the Bible was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, now commonly known by the name of *the Bishop's Bible*, the *Four Gospels*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistle to the Romans*, were allotted to him, for his portion (22). VI. He wrote, ' Resolutions of some Questions concerning the Sacraments;' in the collection of Records at the end of Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation (23). VII. He had a hand, in the ' Declaration concerning the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests (24);' and in the ' Answers, to the ' Queries concerning some abuses of the Mass (25). ' VIII. Several Letters, and small pieces of his, have been published by the industrious Mr. Strype, in his *Annals of the Reformation*: namely, 1. A Letter to Wolfgang Weidner at Wormes, 20 May 1559 (26). 2. To the Queen, wherein, he excuses himself for refusing to minister in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there (27). 3. To Bullinger, on occasion of his answer to the Pope's Bull against the Queen (28). 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his house in Holbourn for Mr. Hatton (29). 5. To the same, upon her desiring him to surrender Somersham (30). 6. Reasons sent to the Lord Burghley to tender the state of God's Ministers (31). 7. Answers to the accusations of the Lord North, and others against him (32). 8. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbishop Grindall to be suspended (33). 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progress, and to excuse himself for not waiting upon her (34). 10. To the Lord Burghley, upon the Queen's granting him leave to resign his Bishoprick (35). 11. To the same, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve

thousand Spaniards were to be sent by the Pope and Spaniard against the realm, 1580 (36). 12. Account of his conference with Dr. Fecknam (37). 13. To the Lord Burghley, of the ill state of St. John's College Cambridge, for want of Statutes (38). 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to show, that his Manor and House in Holborn is exempt from the jurisdiction of the city of London (39). He also had a hand in Lily's Grammar.

(36) Ibid. p. 139.
(37) Ibid. p. 142.
(38) Ibid. p. 156.

(39) Appendix to Vol. iii. p. i. No. lviii. p. 124.

* * [Of Bishop Cox it is said, in the preceding article, that his poetical compositions were in great esteem among the best judges. Encomiums of this kind are frequent among our old Biographical writers, when there were very slender grounds for applause. The good Bishop's version of the Lord's Prayer, at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins's Psalms, will scarcely serve to raise him high in the character of a Poet. Perhaps he might compose some Latin verses in his youth, which is a common thing with those who have received a classical education; and it is probably upon this foundation that a great number of authors are represented as having been Poets, by Leland, Bale, and Anthony Wood, though there are no works remaining which can justify such assertions.

If it be true, as is asserted in note [C], that Bishop Cox, in conjunction with the rest of the Commissioners, made a dreadful Havock among the libraries at Oxford, his memory, so far as this matter is concerned, deserves to be held in execration. The bigotry and false zeal of reformers have done infinite mischief to the interest of knowledge and literature. Many manuscripts, and monuments of antiquity, have hence been destroyed, which were highly worthy of preservation, either for their beautiful execution, or the light they were calculated to throw on the history, sentiments, and manners of former ages. Even the books of School-divinity, which excited the indignation of our Prelate, might have been permitted to rest in the oblivion to which they were tending.

When Bishop Cox could not reclaim, or win over, the Puritans by gentle means, *he thought timely severities necessary*. Such hath ever been the plea for persecution; and if this plea is to be esteemed valid, all the cruelties will be justified which have been exercised on a religious account, and which have reflected so much disgrace on human nature. The conduct of our Prelate can only be extenuated by a consideration of the narrow spirit of the times in which he lived.

Upon the whole, this Bishop, though certainly a learned, and probably a good man, does not appear to have been of an amiable temper; and his faults were too numerous to render him the object of very high estimation.

A letter written by him, in 1569, directed to the Parson of Downham, and found in the parish chest of that place, has lately been published in the Gentleman's Magazine. It relates chiefly to the state and condition of the poor, before the statutes of the 14th and 43d of Queen Elizabeth were enacted; and it shews that the Bishop was animated with a very laudable zeal for engaging persons of wealth and substance to contribute liberally, cheerfully, and charitably to their indigent neighbours (40).]

(40) Gentleman's Magazine for Dec. 1786. K. p. 1041.

complaints, and long accusations, were exhibited against him and his wife, in 1579, to Queen Elizabeth, upon these accounts, by some false and evil disposed persons; but the Bishop fully vindicated himself, and shewed, that all these complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundless imputations (i). It is likewise said, that he appears to have been of a vindictive spirit, by reason of his prosecution of, and severity to, the deprived Catholics in his custody; and especially by his complaints against Dr. Feckenham the last Abbot of Westminster (k). But the Bishop alleges in his own excuse, that the Doctor was a very troublesome guest, and good for nothing (l): and that his endeavours to convert him, were by order of the Court (m). It must be remembered of this Bishop, that he was the first who brought a wife to live in a College (n); and that he procured a new body of Statutes for St. John's College in Cambridge, of which, as Bishop of Ely, he was Visitor (o).

(i) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 87—100.

(l) Ibid. p. 658.

(m) Ibid. p. 525.

(n) Willis, p. 359.

(k) Willis, ubi supra, p. 360. See Strype's Annals, vol. i. Appendix, p. 73; and vol. ii. p. 658. (o) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 372, 373, 664; and Appendix, p. 156.

* * [C O X (Sir RICHARD), Bart. Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and author of a History of that kingdom, was son to Richard Cox, Esq; Captain of a Troop of Horse [A], and was born at Bandon, in the county of Cork, on the 25th of March, 1650 (a). He had the misfortune to become an Orphan before he was full three years of age; and was then taken care of by his mother's father, Walter Bird, Esq; of Cloghnakilty. But his grandfather also dying when he was about nine years old, he was then taken under the protection of his uncle, John Bird, Esq; who placed him at an ordinary Latin school at Cloghnakilty, where he soon discovered a strong inclination to learning. He seems, however, to have been very ill provided with books: for it is said, that having no other school-book but a Grammar, he constantly transcribed his lessons from the books of his school-fellows; by which means what he learned was deeply imprinted on his mind, and his writing was wonderfully improved without the assistance of a master. At this school he continued till he had acquired as much knowledge as was to be obtained in such a situation; and not having a fortune adequate to the expences of a regular education, he spent three years in the country, not in indolence, or dissipation, but in the perusal of such histories as he could procure the use of (b). In 1668, having attained the age of eighteen years, and being of a vigorous and active mind, he resolved to engage in some profession, which might tend to promote his advancement in the world. Accordingly by his uncle's consent, and under his countenance, he practised as an Attorney in several Manor Courts, where his uncle was seneschal, for three years: during which period, besides supporting himself decently, he laid up the sum of fifty pounds. He was now of age, and in possession of his father's lot for his arrears, which fell in Galway, and yielded twenty-six pounds *per annum*. Besides which he sold an interest near Kilworth, which was left to him by his grandfather, for an hundred and fifty pounds; and with this small stock, he resolved to apply himself closely to the study of the law, with a view of being called to the Bar; and was accordingly entered at Gray's Inn in September, 1671. Here he was so much distinguished by his great assiduity, and consequent improvement, that in the summer of 1673 he was made one of the Surveyors at Sir Robert Shaftoe's reading. The Reader fell ill two days before he was to perform his part in the Hall, and Mr. Cox was pitched upon by Sir Robert himself to supply his place. Though the warning was short, yet he argued the Reader's case so much to the satisfaction of a numerous auditory, that he was called to the Bar on the Monday following with great applause (c); and was offered very considerable advantages by Sir Francis Radcliff, afterwards Earl of Derwentwater, to settle near him in the North of England. These offers, however, he gratefully declined, and returned to Ireland the same year. He soon after married Mrs. Mary Bourne, a Lady who had a right to a considerable fortune, and of which he naturally expected to obtain possession. But her fortune being in the hands of her mother, a woman of bad œconomy, it was drawn from her in such small sums, and with so little satisfaction, that Mr. Cox, whose education at Gray's Inn had consumed the greater part of his small fortune, was disabled and discouraged from pushing forward in his profession. This disappointment so much affected him, that in a fit of despondency, very unsuitable to the other parts of his life, he took a farm near Cloghnakilty, to which he retired for seven years. Being at length roused from his lethargy, by a great increase of his family, he was, by the interest of Sir Robert Southwell, who was much attached to him, elected Recorder of

(a) Harris's Translation and Continuation of the Works of Sir James Ware, vol. ii. p. 207.

(b) Harris, ubi supra, p. 208.

(c) Id. *ibid.*

[A] Son to Richard Cox, Esq; Captain of a Troop of Horse. Richard Cox, Esq; Captain of a Troop in Major-general Jephson's Regiment of Horse, first employed in the service of King Charles, afterwards of the English Parliament against the Irish Rebels, was third son to Michael Cox, a younger son of a reputable family, fixed for many years at Bishops-Cannings, near Devizes, in Wiltshire, and descended from Dr. Richard Cox, one of the Compilers of the Liturgy, Tutor to King Edward VI. and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Bishop of Ely. Captain Richard Cox was a man of great

strength and courage, and signalized himself in several battles against the Irish; but was in July, 1651, basely murdered by Captain Norton of the same regiment, by a stab with a pen-knife in his back; and his widow pined and languished until the winter of the year 1652, and then died (1). Sir Richard Cox's mother was Catharine, daughter to Walter Bird, of Cloghnakilty, Esq; first married to Captain Thomas Batten, who was killed at the Siege of Dungarvan in the county of Waterford (2).

(1) History of the Writers of Ireland, in Harris's Translation and Continuation of the Works of Sir James Ware, vol. ii. p. 207. (2) Id. *ibid.*

(d) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 208.

Kinfale in the year 1680. He now removed to Cork, where he practised in the profession of the law with great success (d).

But it is necessary here to relate an incident of his life, which happened some time before his being appointed Recorder of Kinfale, and which considerably operated upon his future fortune. In April, 1679, he was chosen Chairman at the Quarter-sessions for the county of Cork. It was at a critical period, at a time when it was fashionable for all persons, who were solicitous to recommend themselves at Court, to ridicule the Popish Plot. Mr. Cox, however, being a zealous Protestant, took occasion, in his charge, to expose the cruelties, and the impostures of Popery, with such spirit and acuteness, that he greatly animated the Protestants, and as highly exasperated the Papists. The former, considering him as having rendered them an important service, by a charge which they regarded as very seasonable, publicly returned him thanks for it in a body; and one of them said, that "he must expect, that the revenge of the Papists, if ever it fell into their power, " would be proportioned to his merit with the Protestants." Mr. Cox replied, that "he " was not in danger; for he had studied them thoroughly, and therefore would never " trust them, nor live under their jurisdiction." Accordingly in 1687, when the Earl of Tyrconnel was become Lord-deputy of Ireland, Mr. Cox, foreseeing the storm that would fall on the Protestants, quitted his practice, which was then very considerable, and his estate, which at that time amounted to 300*l. per annum*, and removed with his wife and five children to England, and settled at Bristol (e). Great numbers of Protestants quitted Ireland about the same time with Mr. Cox [B]. At Bristol, he was treated with much kindness and generosity, as a sufferer for the Protestant Religion; and he obtained sufficient practice in his profession to support his family genteely, independently of his Irish estate (f). At his leisure hours, he compiled the History of Ireland, the first part of which he published soon after the revolution, in 1689, under the following title: '*Hibernia Anglicana*; or the History of Ireland, from the Conquest thereof by the English, to this present Time [C]: with an introductory Discourse, touching the Antient State of that Kingdom, &c.' He dedicated this work to King William and Queen Mary [D]; and

(e) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 209.

(f) *Id. ibid.*

[B] *Great numbers of Protestants quitted Ireland about the same time with Mr. Cox.* Dr. Leland, speaking of the elevation of Tyrconnel to the office of Lord-deputy of Ireland, says, 'To this Popish delegate of a Popish Prince, Lord Clarendon resigned the Sword of State, in a general and violent agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the port of Dublin, attended by fifteen hundred Protestant families of Dublin, who abandoned a country where the peace, the property, and the lives of Protestants, were exposed to the malice of the meanest and most malignant of a party now exulting in the fulness of their triumph, with their friend and patron in supreme authority, attended by Popish ministers and officers of State (3).'

(3) History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 502.

[C] *Hibernia Anglicana; or the History of Ireland, from the Conquest thereof by the English, to this present time:* Our author brought his History of Ireland no lower than the year 1653; but at the end of his second part is 'A brief Account of the Transactions in that Kingdom, since 1653,' written by another hand, which brings the History down to the landing of King James at Kinfale, and the Siege of Londonderry.

Some of the laws passed in Ireland, as recorded by Sir Richard Cox, are curious. In 1465, it was enacted,

'That any body may kill thieves, or robbers, or any person going to rob or steal, having no faithful men of good name, in English apparel, in their company.'

'That the Irish within pale shall wear English habit, take English names, and swear allegiance, upon pain of forfeiture of goods.'

'That English and Irish, speaking English, and living with the English, shall have an English bow and arrows, on pain of two-pence (4).'

(4) *Hibernia Anglicana*, Part i. p. 169.

In 1472, it was likewise enacted, 'That every Merchant shall bring twenty shilling's worth of bows and arrows into Ireland, for every twenty pound's worth of other goods he imports from England (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 171.

In 1494, 'That the soldier shall pay three-half-pence a meal, and his man a penny, and a penny for six field-sheaves of oats, and litter accordingly; and whoever refuses to quarter soldiers at this rate, forfeits twelve-pence a time, unless he be a man of

'twenty marks estate *per annum*, and except cities and corporate towns (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 189.

In 1537, 'That no subject shall be shaved above his ears, or wear glibbs, or crommeals, (i. e. hair on the upper lip) or linen died in saffron, or above seven yards of linen in their shifts; and that no woman wear any kirtle, or coat tucked up, or embroidered, or garnished with silk, or couched, nor laid with usker, after the Irish fashion, and that no person wear mantles, coats, or hoods, after the Irish fashion, (except women, horse boys, cow-boys, and soldiers, all which may wear mantles;) and that every body shall endeavour to learn the English language, and conform to the English fashion.'

'And that benefices shall not be given to any that cannot speak English, unless after four proclamations in the next market-town to the benefice, on four several market-days, a person that can speak English, cannot be got; and that then an honest able Irishman may be admitted, on his oath, that he shall do his utmost endeavour to learn the English language, and observe the English order and fashion, and teach those under him to do the like, and shall keep an English school in his parish to that purpose (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. 250.

In 1537, it was made treason "to marry with the child of any man who had not sworn allegiance

"(8);" but this law was repealed, 11 Jac. I. cap. 5. In 1542, 'that larceny above the value of fourteen-pence shall be punished with the loss of one ear the first time, and the other ear the second time, and the third time with death (9).'

(8) *Ibid.* p. 251.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 271.

'No horseman shall keep more boys than horses, on pain of twenty shillings.'

'That Noblemen shall have but twenty cubits, or bundles of linen, in their shifts, horsemen eighteen, footmen sixteen, garçons twelve, clowns ten; and that none of their shirts shall be dyed with saffron, on pain of twenty shillings (10).'

(10) *Ib.* p. 272.

[D] *Dedicated this work to King William and Queen Mary.* Though Mr. Cox was a native of Ireland, he expressed himself in his dedication, as well as in other parts of his work, in a manner that would not be agreeable to the inhabitants of that kingdom at the present period. In his dedication, he says, 'It is of great advantage to it (Ireland), that it is a subordinate kingdom to the Crown of England; for it

and in the following year published the second part of it. Bishop Nicolson, speaking of the first part of it, says, 'It was published at a time when Ireland was the seat of war and desolation, under the guidance of the late unfortunate King James the Second; which raised an extraordinary curiosity in inquiring after the affairs of this kingdom. This obliged the Author to hasten the continuation of his History; the second part whereof was, early in the next year, recommended to the press by two Secretaries of State (g). Such encouragements as these pushed the work a little too fast forward; so that it came into the world in somewhat of a looser dress than was, most certainly, at first intended by the compiler: who nevertheless found his own account in it; being soon after advanced to the highest posts of honour in the law (h).'

(g) The Earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham.

(h) Irish Historical Library, p. 19, edit. 1776.

During the residence of Mr. Cox at Bristol, the vicinity of that city to Kingsweston afforded him opportunities of cultivating a more intimate acquaintance with Sir Robert Southwell; of whom we are told, that "the world could not shew a man of more religion, virtue, and wisdom (i)." He was, to the end of his life, a sincere and active friend, and great benefactor to Mr. Cox; who, on his part, ever retained the utmost respect and affection for Sir Robert. Mr. Cox had also the honour to be so much in the esteem and confidence of the first Earl of Burlington, that a constant correspondence was kept up between them; and from letters written by the Earl, it appeared, that his Lordship seldom did any thing of importance without first consulting Mr. Cox, of whose fidelity he had a high opinion, and whom he considered as having done him more service than all the world besides (k). This friendship continued during the whole of the Earl's life, and descended to his grandson, Henry Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton (l).

(i) Harris, ut supra.

(k) Id. ibid.

(l) Id. ibid.

When the Prince of Orange arrived in London, Mr. Cox immediately left Bristol, and repaired to the metropolis; and the great question being then agitated, whether the Prince of Orange should be King or Regent, Mr. Cox printed 'A Sheet of Aphorisms, proving, by a fair deduction, the Necessity of making the Prince of Orange King, and of sending speedy Relief to Ireland;' and he presented a copy to every Member who entered the Parliament House on the first day of the Convention. After the important business of the Revolution was accomplished, and the Prince and Princess of Orange were declared King and Queen, Mr. Cox published half a sheet, intitled, "A brief and modest Representation of the present State and Condition of Ireland;" which was intended to excite the attention of the Legislature to the affairs of that kingdom, and to induce them to afford speedy relief to the Protestants there. His zeal for the promotion of the Revolution having been observed, and his abilities being well known, it was proposed, that he should go to Ireland as Secretary to the Duke of Schomberg. But that offer he thought proper to decline, on account of his not being acquainted with the French language (m). However, when his Majesty himself resolved to go in person to Ireland, Mr. Cox accepted the post of Secretary to Sir Robert Southwell, then appointed principal Secretary of State, and took upon him the chief care and business of that office.

(m) Id. ibid.

In this situation, Mr. Cox's knowledge of business, and dexterity in the management of it, greatly recommended him to the King. The most secret dispatches of the office, and the greatest part of the intelligence, passed through his hands (n). Of the goodness of his intelligence, as well as of his sagacity, a particular instance occurred, which made a very favourable impression on his Majesty. Before the Battle of the Boyne, there were in the English Camp several strong reports of the number and strength of the enemy, which Sir Robert Southwell, upon the credit of Mr. Cox, affirmed to the King to be false. But a day or two before the action, an officer came from the Irish Camp, and stated to his Majesty the posture and number of the enemy, in such magnified, and yet such regular and plausible terms, that the King was much disconcerted, and told Sir Robert, that "he was certainly misinformed, and the Irish Forces were more than he imagined." Sir Robert immediately imparted the King's doubts, and the reasons of them, to Mr. Cox. He insisted on the goodness of his intelligence, and desired that the officer might be led from the King's presence about the English Camp. When he had surveyed it at his leisure, he was asked, "what he computed the number of the English Forces to be?" He confidently affirmed them to be more than double that number of which the King knew them to consist. His Majesty was then convinced, that the officer was a superficial and inaccurate observer, and was much pleased at the manner in which this was discovered (o).

(n) Ibid. p. 210.

(o) Id. ibid.

Upon King William's march to Dublin, after his signal victory over King James at the Boyne, he published his Declaration, called, "The King's Declaration at Finglas." This was drawn up by Mr. Cox, and not a single word was altered of the first draught; of which his Majesty was pleased to say, "that Mr. Cox had exactly hit his own mind (p)." After the surrender of Waterford, Mr. Cox was immediately made Recorder of that city;

(p) Id. ibid.

' it is from that Royal fountain that the streams of justice, peace, civility, riches, and all other improvements have been derived to it; so that the Irish are (as Campion says) beholden to God for being conquered. And yet Ireland has been so blind, in this great point of its true interest, that

' the natives have managed almost a continual war with the English, ever since the first conquest thereof; so that it has cost your Royal predecessors an unspeakable mass of blood and treasure, to preserve it in due obedience.'

and

and his Majesty, sensible of the importance and fidelity of his services, and being willing to reward him in such a manner as should be most agreeable to himself, commanded Sir Robert Southwell to ask him what employment he would choose. The office which he mentioned, as most acceptable to him, was that of Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; and accordingly he was sworn into that office, on the fifteenth of September, 1690. He was now fixed in a respectable post, of his own choosing, of moderate profit, and little business; and in this situation he hoped to be able to employ a great part of his time in the study of history, which was his favourite pursuit. It was his design to revise his History of Ireland, which he was sensible had been published too hastily, and would admit of great additions and improvements (q). But he was found too useful a person to the Government, to be long suffered to enjoy the quiet for which he wished; and, therefore, was sent with Robert Rochfort, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, in October, that year, to execute a Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Athirdee and Drogheda; and in December with Sir Richard Pine, another of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, to execute a similar commission at Wexford, Waterford, and Cork. They were also entrusted with an absolute power of ordering and commissioning the Militia, delivering out arms and stores to them, and of granting protections to all those Rebels who were willing to submit to his Majesty. The Commissioners proceeded to execute their trust with so much zeal and diligence, that General Ginkle, by a letter from Clonmell, applied to them, among their other inquiries, to inspect the behaviour of the officers and soldiers in Garrisons, that, upon their report, he might reform abuses, and punish the offenders. The good conduct of the Commissioners in a great measure restored peace and order to the country through which they passed: and in January, Mr. Justice Cox received a letter from Lord Sidney, dated at Whitehall, 'acknowledging the great zeal and affection, which, upon all occasions, he had shewn for his Majesty's Service; and assuring him, that it would be remembered to his advantage (r).'

(q) Harris, *ubi supra*.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 211.

In March, 1691, Lord Chief Justice Reynel, and Mr. Justice Cox, went Judges of Assize to Cork and Waterford, which were the only places in Munster absolutely in the power of the English; and they carried instructions for promoting peace, and securing those two counties, and also a Commission for inspecting the stores of war, and for inquiring into embezzlements. Among their instructions was one, which was extremely cruel and arbitrary; but we are told, that it was "so wholesome, and attended with so good circumstances, that it is fit to be recorded (s)." It was as follows: "That as often as any murder, or robbery, shall be committed within his Majesty's quarters, all such parents in that county, who have sons in the enemies quarters, shall be apprehended and sent to the common gaol, until reparation made, or they be otherwise delivered by due course of law." And we are informed, that "the strict execution of these instructions contributed greatly to the settlement of those two counties, even before the war was finished in other parts of the kingdom (t)." In April, the same year, the Lords Justices sent for Mr. Justice Cox, and acquainted him, that it was their intention to appoint him Governor of the county and city of Cork; and that they expected, that he would immediately repair to his post, in order to put the Militia into a posture of defence with all possible expedition. He was sensible of the weight of such a charge, at a time when both sides would probably make their utmost efforts for victory in the field; and that he should have much to answer for, if matters should not succeed well with him in that large county, at so critical a period. He, therefore, endeavoured to decline the acceptance of the office, by urging his want of military knowledge. But Lord Coningsby replied, 'That he was a popular man, and beloved by the Protestants, and that his zeal would supply his want of military skill.' Being at length prevailed upon to undertake the office, that he might be enabled to answer the expectations that were formed of him, he desired, that he might be supplied with sufficient arms and ammunition; and that positive orders should be sent, that no affront should be offered on any occasion to the Militia by the Army; that the regular troops should be posted in such a manner, that no dispute might arise about precedence; and that seven regiments of the Regulars should be ordered to join in defence of that county. These requisitions were all complied with; and he arrived at Cork, on the 5th of May, furnished with ample powers for the execution of his office, and also with a Commission of Oyer and Terminer (u).

(s) *Id. ibid.*

(t) *Id. ibid.*

(u) *Id. ibid.*

The situation of Mr. Cox, as a Judge, and a military Governor, was somewhat singular; and he was certainly not deficient in zeal for the Government, whatever objections may be made to his conduct on the principles of justice and humanity. A proclamation, which was issued by him on the 18th of the same month, was extremely arbitrary and severe. All Papists were forbidden by it 'to be out of their dwellings, from nine at night till five in the morning, or to be found two miles from their places of abode, except in a highway to a market-town, and on market-days, or to keep or conceal arms or ammunition, on pain of being treated as rebels.' It was likewise ordered, 'That hue-and-cry should be made after murderers or robbers; and that all persons should, on their allegiance, enlist themselves in the Militia; and that none should traffick, correspond with, or send provisions to the enemy, or shelter or entertain Tories, Raparees, &c. that no protected person

(w) Harris, *ubi*
supra, p. 212.

‘ person should desert his habitation, or go to the enemy, or otherwise absent himself above three days, on pain of the imprisonment of his wife and family, and the demolishing of his house.’ It concluded, with promising ‘ *impartial justice*, without distinction of nation (w).’ This proclamation, we are told, produced wonderful effects; and by the help of it, and by Governor Cox’s care to place the Gentlemen of the county in the Militia according to their quality and fortune, he raised in three weeks eight regiments of Dragoons, and three of Foot. The men entered so cordially into the service, that they were not long in learning discipline, and soon became capable either of attack or defence (x). When the English army was ready to take the field, the Lords Justices sent the Governor full instructions for his conduct, and particularly empowering and directing him to try the Militia for breach of military discipline, and to administer to them an oath of allegiance to the King and Queen, and of obedience to their officers. In a letter from the Lords Justices, dated the 23d of May, he was also told, ‘ that if any thing happened amiss in his county, it would lie at his door; and that, therefore, since the army was marched every where, it concerned him to be more than ordinarily vigilant.’ This language might have intimidated a man of less resolution than Governor Cox; and the rather, as the strongest garrison of the Irish, that of Limerick, was not far from the borders of his county. But he had put the county into such a state of defence, and so well disciplined the Militia, that when he found the English army was entering on action, he wrote to General Ginkle, “ that if he wanted, he could spare him five regiments of the seven he had of the army to defend the county.” This offer was very thankfully accepted by the General, who accordingly drew off one regiment of Horse, one of Dragoons, and three of Foot. Indeed, the Cork Militia had acquired so high a reputation, that in August General Ginkle wrote for one thousand of them to assist him at the Siege of Limerick; and they were posted at Killaloe, a pass of great importance, which they effectually secured, as long as the General thought it necessary (y). And on this occasion an instance occurred of Governor Cox’s conduct, which was afterwards highly commended by the great Duke of Marlborough. The detachment from the city of Cork, which was to complete the thousand men to go to Limerick, consisted of 160; who grew mutinous in their march, and at last absolutely refused to leave their county; so that their Commander, Colonel Rogers, after having ineffectually endeavoured to bring them to compliance, rode to the Governor, and complained of their disobedience. The Governor calmly answered, that he would make them march. Accordingly, accompanied by several Gentlemen, he came up to the head of the refractory men, and assuming as much severity in his countenance as he could, he asked them, Why they did not march? One of them then began to answer for the rest: but the Governor stopped him short, and said, ‘ That he scorned to make use of the power which the Government had given him to punish them, considering that some of them might be *cuckolds*, and some *cowards*, whose company he did not desire; but that he was sure there were many among them, who loved their King and country, and were not afraid to fight for them; and that such would follow him. As to the rest, they had liberty to return to their own houses.’ They all instantly and eagerly pressed forward, and did signal service at the siege (z).

(x) *Id. ibid.*

(y) *Id. ibid.*

(z) *Id. ibid.*

During the time of Mr. Cox’s Government, which continued till the reduction of Limerick, though he had a frontier of eighty miles extent to defend, and twenty places to garrison, besides Cork and the Fort of Kinsale, where the two regiments of Regulars were posted, yet he did not lose a single inch of ground. The Militia under his command made daily incursions into the enemy’s quarters, and obtained plunder to the amount of thirty thousand pounds; of which, though he had a right to the tenth share, yet he generously refused to take any part. His great services to the Protestant cause were so well known, and so generally acknowledged, that every post brought him grateful acknowledgments of them from the Government, or from some absentee, who had a property within his line. The Earl of Burlington, in a letter from London, dated the 29th of October, expressed himself in the following terms: ‘ I am very sensible of the great pains and care you took last summer for the preservation of the county of Cork, and particularly of my concerns therein, and of those parts adjacent thereunto, which lie on the Black Water; for which I return you most thankful acknowledgments; assuring you, that I shall be ready upon all occasions to express the sense I have thereof.’ The Grand Juries of the county and city of Cork, who had been the witnesses of his actions, also presented him with addresses of thanks, ‘ for the indefatigable pains he had taken in their Majesties service, and for the benefit of the country, and for the affectionate concern he had in all his actions manifested for the inhabitants of the county; and to beseech, that he would, if it stood with his convenience, remain among them; or wherever he was, that he would always persevere in the same affections for the county and city (a).’

(a) *Ibid.* p. 213.

On the 12th of April, 1692, Mr. Justice Cox was sworn Deputy Governor of the Royal Fishery Company under Lord Sidney, who was Governor of that Company; and on the 13th of the same month he was sworn a Privy Counsellor. Some apprehensions

were about this time entertained of an invasion from France; which occasioned Mr. Justice Cox to be again sent into Munster, but with a more extensive commission than formerly. He was invested with the Command of the Militia of the cities of Cork and Limerick, and of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Clare, and Kerry, and carried with him orders to the Store-keepers to deliver to him whatever arms and ammunition he should demand. He had also a secret commission to disarm the Irish, and other Papists, on the 20th of May, which was the day appointed for doing that business throughout the kingdom: and for that purpose he was ordered to distribute the Militia in small parties, so that no suspicion might arise of the design, but that the blow might fall with its full force. On the 24th of the same month, orders were also sent him to seize all serviceable horses in the possession of Papists, or persons disaffected to their Majesties Government; with which he received a discretionary power to trust arms in the hands of the Papists for the destruction of Raparrees [E]. But the great naval victory, which was gained over the French this month at La Hogue, having removed all fears of an invasion, orders were sent to Governor Cox to restore all the horses which he had seized, in pursuance of his former directions. He continued, however, to act as Governor of Munster, the inhabitants of which were much secured against the Raparrees by his prudent management of the Militia, till Lord Chief Justice Reynel carried down a Commission of Assize for that province, directed to him and Mr. Justice Cox, who then went the Summer Circuit, and afterwards returned to Dublin. On the 5th of November following, Mr. Justice Cox was Knighted with the Sword of State, in the Castle of Dublin, by Lord Sidney, Lord Lieutenant, who gave him all the marks of favour and esteem that were in his power, during the time that he continued Chief Governor of Ireland, and afterwards continued his friendship and good offices to him during his Lordship's life (b).

(b) Harris, *ubi*
supra, p. 213.

On the 26th of April, 1693, at a meeting of the Philosophical Society, at the Provost's lodgings in Trinity College, Dublin, Sir Richard Cox read "A Geographical Description of the City and County of Derry, and of the County of Antrim," being part of an entire Geographical Description of the whole kingdom, which he intended to complete; and in which also was to be contained "A Natural History of Ireland," in which all the natural productions of the Island were to be described. These designs he never executed: however, upon reading his Geographical Description, before mentioned, he was admitted a Fellow of the Philosophical Society at Dublin, together with Dr. John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, and Francis Roberts, Esq; younger son to the Earl of Radnor. About this time Sir Richard Cox was made one of the Justices of the King's Bench; and in May, this year, he went to England, and was received by the persons in power in a very distinguished manner. Lord Godolphin, who was at the head of the Treasury, told him, "that his services were so considerable, that they were all obliged to do what they could for him." As an evidence of the sincerity with which his Lordship spoke, he afterwards delivered to him an order from the Treasury for the abatement of one moiety of his quit-rent for ever; and a reservation was afterwards made for grants of this kind in the famous Act of Resumption, chiefly in favour of Sir Richard Cox, whose zeal for the Protestant interest had recommended him to all parties at that time in power. It was this favourable opinion of him, which induced the Lords of the Treasury, without any application from him, to nominate him one of the Commissioners for Forfeitures, with a salary of 400*l. per annum*, into which office he was sworn on the 10th of February, 1694 (c).

(c) *Ibid.* p. 214.

But though the services of Sir Richard Cox were thought very important in England, as well as in Ireland, it appears that his conduct, in some respects, procured him many enemies in the latter kingdom. Much, however, of the animosity that was conceived against him, arose from particulars in his conduct which were wholly unexceptionable. At the surrender of Limerick to the arms of King William, in 1691, more equitable and liberal terms were granted to the Papists, than were agreeable to the more zealous Protestants. Many of the latter, who were enflamed and exasperated at the barbarities which had recently been committed by the Irish Catholics, were extremely disgusted at these concessions made "in favour of vanquished Rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine." They complained, that they themselves, who had deeply suffered by their attachment to the cause of King William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his govern-

[E] For the destruction of Raparrees.] Those lawless Irish plunderers, who were called *Raparrees*, were so termed, Dr. Leland observes, 'from the Irish name of their half pike, a weapon easily procured by the most barbarous. Many were influenced by example, and many driven by necessity to unite with them. They who received protections from William's Generals, and were yet plundered by his soldiers, ran with particular animosity to swell the numbers of these ravagers. In Summer they hung about the English camp; every straggling soldier

' they killed, even for the sake of his arms or cloathing; and, in the rage of national hatred, frequently mangled his dead body. In winter, they appeared in the different quarters with all the marks of humility and abasement. Their weapons were carefully concealed, but lay ready for execution. They assembled in the dead of night in solitary places, projected their excursions, rushed suddenly on their prey, vanished at the first appearance of opposition, and were again readily collected (11).'

(11) History of Ireland, vol. ii, p. 588, 589.

ment,

(d) Smollet's
Hist. of England
from the Revo-
lution, vol. i. p.
127. edit. 1785.
Crawford's Hist.
of Ireland, vol.
ii. p. 224.

(e) Harris, *ubi*
supra, p. 215.

ment, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgencies (d). Some of the Protestants are also supposed to have been the more averse to the articles of Limerick, because they expected to derive advantage from the forfeitures which would have been obtained from the Papists, if the terms granted to them had been more rigorous; though it is said, that more liberal terms were at first intended, than those that were at last granted [F]. However, it was contended by many, that the articles of Limerick "ought not to be observed; and that it was High Treason even to capitulate with the King (e)." Doctrine similar to this was inculcated even from the pulpit [G]. But Sir Richard Cox was one of those Protestants who resolutely maintained, that the articles of Limerick should be inviolably observed; and the firmness and zeal, with which he asserted this opinion, procured him many enemies. Favourable articles had been granted to the Papists at Galway, as well as at Limerick; and when Sir Richard Cox came to appear openly in a Court of Judicature, as a Commissioner of Forfeitures, he made so eloquent a Speech in behalf of the Galway men, insisted so strongly on the heinousness of breaking the public faith, and on the ingratitude that it would manifest to King William, as well as to the General who had granted those conditions, that he brought over the rest of the Commissioners to his opinion, and saved the estates of the claimants, to the great dissatisfaction of those who hoped to have shared in the Irish Forfeitures (f).

(f) *Ibid.* p. 216.

The influence of his enemies at length so far prevailed against him, that in June, 1695, he was superseded from the Council, though with high compliments for his past services, and an apology for his dismissal from the Council, drawn from "the jealousy the subject began to entertain of so many Judges sitting at the Council-board, which began to look like, and might soon grow into a Court of Judicature (g)." An indirect attack was afterwards made against him, by an attempt to get a vote in Parliament, that "the Irish Forfeitures were mismanaged." But Sir Richard Cox being heard before a Committee, insisted, "that as there had been several Commissions of Forfeitures, common justice required, that they should point out the particular mismanagements, that it might be known to whom to object them, and that the innocent might not be confounded with the guilty." Sir Richard Bulkely then produced a list of objections against the Commissioners, which were immediately, and without any preparation, answered in so satisfactory a manner by Sir Richard Cox, that the design of a vote against the Commissioners was dropped. The Commission of Forfeitures was, however, dissolved, and the business transferred to those persons who had the management of the revenue, under the idea of saving the salaries of the Commissioners to the public (h).

(g) *Ibid.* p. 217.

(h) *Id. ibid.*

When a Bill was brought into the Irish Parliament "for liberty of conscience," Sir Richard Cox did not oppose it, but he endeavoured, and with too much success, to render it circumscribed and limited; for, on this subject, his sentiments seem not to have been sufficiently liberal and enlightened. In 1696, he went over again into England, for the recovery of his health, which had been somewhat impaired, by the great variety of business that he had gone through since the Revolution. King William was in Flanders, during the whole time of Sir Richard's stay in England; so that he had no opportunity of presenting, as he intended, a Petition to his Majesty, setting forth the unjust treatment that he had met with from his Majesty's servants, who ought to have protected, and not oppressed him. But after his return to England, before the end of the year, he had the satisfaction to receive a letter from his friend, Sir Robert Southwell, by which he was informed, that the King was well pleased with the resolute stand that he had made in support of the articles of Limerick. The four following years Sir Richard Cox had no public employment, excepting that which resulted from his duty as a Judge; and at this period he wrote, "An Essay for the Conversion of the Irish;" in which he laboured to convince

[F] *More liberal terms were at first intended, than those that were at last granted.* Mr. Harris says, that King William, "hoping thereby to put a speedy end to the Irish war, sent to the Lords Justices instructions for a declaration, by which the Irish were to be assured of much more favourable and extensive conditions, than they afterwards obtained by the articles of Limerick. His Majesty's instructions were reduced into a proclamation, which was afterwards styled the *Secret Proclamation*; because, though it was printed, yet it never was published. For the Lords Justices, finding that Limerick was reduced to a capitulation, smothered the proclamation, of which they thought there was then no need, and went in all haste to the English camp, that they might hold the Irish to as hard terms, as the King's affairs would admit of. This they did very effectually, and put an happy end to a war, which had nigh destroyed the kingdom (12)."

(12) History of
the Writers of
Ireland, *ubi*
supra, p. 214.

[G] *Doctrine similar to this was inculcated even from the pulpit.* The Bishop of Meath, on the very next Sunday after the Lords Justices returned from the camp, preaching before the Government at Christ-

church, argued, "That the peace ought not to be observed with a people so perfidious; that they kept neither articles nor oaths longer than was for their interest; and that therefore the articles, which were intended for a security, would prove a snare, and would only enable the rebels to play their pranks over again on the first opportunity." The Bishop of Kildare mounted the pulpit the following Sunday, and shewed the obligation of keeping the public faith. Dean Synge afterwards preached in the same pulpit, and maintained, "that the Papists were not to be trusted, but the articles were to be performed; that they deserved no favour, yet they were entitled to justice, even for the sake of conscience and honour." The sermon of the Bishop of Meath gave so much offence to the Government, that he was on account of it removed from the Privy Council, and the Bishop of Kildare was appointed in his room (13). Those Protestants who were desirous that the articles of Limerick should not be observed, seem to have been ambitious of emulating those Roman Catholics, who have maintained, that "Faith was not to be kept with Heretics."

(13) *Ibid.* p. 215.

them

(i) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 218.

(k) *Id. ibid.*

them of their errors; and is said to have had the satisfaction to see a proper effect wrought on several persons of great understanding (i). Another piece is attributed to him, which was printed at Dublin, in 4to. in 1698, entitled, "Some Thoughts on the Bill depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords for prohibiting the Exportation of the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland to Foreign Parts. Humbly offered to their Lordships (k)."

On the 16th of May, 1701, Sir Richard Cox was sworn in Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; and in a few days after a Member of the Privy Council. It was notified to him by the Earl of Rochester, the Lord Lieutenant, that his Majesty had granted him this preferment, "as a reward of his long and faithful services in the stations he had been in, and to give him an opportunity of doing more." In this situation he had acquired an high reputation, when the Duke of Ormond, in 1702, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in the room of the Earl of Rochester. Queen Anne had now ascended the Throne; and Lord Chief Justice Cox received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, dated the 16th of February, 1703, acquainting him, 'That her Majesty having under her consideration many matters relating to Ireland, in which he might be very useful to her service, had commanded him to write, that he should go to London, as soon as conveniently he could, that she might have his advice.' He received this letter when he was on the Connaught circuit, and immediately set forward on his journey. During his attendance on the Queen in England, sundry important measures were proposed by him, and which were afterwards adopted for the security of the Protestant interest in Ireland, and the benefit of the inhabitants of that kingdom. Among other subjects upon which he was consulted, one was, What would be the most convenient time for the sitting of the Irish Parliament? and another, Which manufacture, linen or woollen, it would be most the interest of England to encourage in Ireland? As to the first of these points, he advised, 'that the meeting of Parliament should be put off, if possible, until the proceedings of the Trustees of Confiscated Estates, appointed in consequence of the Act of Resumption [H], should be in some measure forgotten: for the grievances which the people, especially the Protestants, had undergone from the arbitrary power lodged in their hands by the English Parliament, and their actions pursuant to that power, were so great, that whilst the nation was in a ferment on that account, no great good could be expected from a Parliament, which would probably bring with it the temper of the people (l).' With respect to the other of those points, he was clearly of opinion, 'That it was the interest of England to encourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, in the coarse branches of it, which would prevent the wool and the manufactures from being carried to France, and would not interfere with the manufacture of England. He thought it was the most impolitic step, which was ever taken by England, to prohibit the whole exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland. He said, that if, at the time of making the law, the fine sorts only had been prohibited, the manufacturers would never have turned themselves to the making them even for the consumption of Ireland. If they had had the free exportation of the coarse sort, England would for ever have had the Irish market for fine cloths. But, as the case stood, those workmen who chose to stay in Ireland, must of necessity fall to the making of cloths for the future wearing of the inhabitants, because no other manufacture was left to them; and the remaining wool would be carried to France. France would be always able to give a greater price than England for the wool, being sure to have an allowance for the difference in the cheapness of the work. So that England, far from being a gainer by the project, would in time lose the whole Irish market for fine cloths, and gain no new share in the foreign trade; but would run a great hazard of losing the whole, by having so cheap a country as France for its rival (m).' It would have been happy if the sound and judicious sentiments of Sir Richard Cox upon this subject had been attended to; but a narrow, unjust, and illiberal policy then prevailed, which was not only oppressive respecting Ireland, but eventually highly injurious to both kingdoms.

(l) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 219.

(m) *Id. ibid.*

[H] *In consequence of the Act of Resumption.* After the reduction of Ireland by King William, many estates which had been forfeited by their owners having engaged in the Rebellion, were granted to officers who had assisted in the suppression of the Rebellion, and to other favourites of the King and the Ministry. The English Parliament, however, were of opinion, that his Majesty and his Ministers had been abundantly too liberal in their grants of this kind. An act, therefore, was passed for the resumption of the Irish Forfeitures. In order to compel the King to give his assent to it, it was tacked to a Bill of supply (14). Mr. Crawford observes, 'That some justice might be done to the persons affected by it, the Act of Resumption was not absolute. A number of Trustees were named in it, in whom were vested all

(14) Macpherson's History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 176.

the confiscated estates. In determining all claims, and disposing of the lands to purchasers, they were vested with uncontrollable authority. The Trustees passed over to Ireland. After spending some time in the business, in one of their Reports they declare, that they had not as yet thought fit to leave any thing to the determination of the people of this country. Irishmen were much obliged to them for this favourable opinion of their honesty. A number of claims were determined by them in favour of Roman Catholics; notwithstanding they violated, in many instances, the articles of Limerick and of Galway. Their appointment was very offensive to the nation, and their conduct equally obnoxious. They were charged with injustice, venality, and corruption (15).'

(15) History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 241.

Though

Though the English Ministry did not adopt all the measures recommended by Sir Richard Cox, he yet gave great satisfaction to them, and received from them very high compliments, together with a present from the Queen of five hundred pounds, to defray the expences of his journey. He returned to Ireland with the Duke of Ormond; and in July, 1703, was nominated, by her Majesty in Council, Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom. This appointment met with very general applause; and it is said that all the Members of the Council, who had either estates in Ireland, or who by their employments were acquainted with the characters of considerable men there, expressed their hearty approbation of her Majesty's choice (n). From the time of his return to Ireland, it was generally known that he was to be Chancellor; and the English Ministry, therefore, corresponded with him about the Bills transmitted by the Council, and all other matters of State, before he had entered on that high office. On the 6th of August he was sworn Lord Chancellor, and on the 10th issued writs for a new Parliament. On the 24th of September the Parliament assembled; and Sir Richard Cox was now to appear in a character which was quite new to him, that of Speaker to the House of Lords. But though it was a busy and critical Session, and various attempts were made by his enemies to confound him, and even to expose him to ridicule, he yet discharged the duties of his station with so much ability, that Archbishop Vesey, who had long been a Member of that House, and who was well known to be a competent judge, repeatedly said, "that no person in his time had guided the Debates of that House with so much readiness, impartiality, and dignity, as Sir

(n) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 220.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 221. "Richard Cox (o)."

Among other Bills, which were promoted by him, and transmitted by the Council to England, during the time that he held the office of Chancellor, were the following: A Bill "for quieting possessions, and disposing of the undisposed and plus acres;" by which all contention with the Crown about lands not granted, was taken away, and the security of the subject preferred to the profit or power of the Crown; a Bill "to prevent Popish Priests from coming into the Kingdom;" a Bill "to make it High Treason to impeach the Succession to the Crown as limited by several Acts of Parliament;" a Bill "to prevent the Growth of Popery;" and a Bill "for the Recovery of small Debts in a summary way [I]." On the 23d of March, 1704, the Lord Lieutenant having quitted the kingdom, the Lord Chancellor was sworn one of the Lords Justices, with Hugh Earl of Mount Alexander, and Lieutenant-general Thomas Earl. During their Administration, there was a considerable embarkation of Troops to Portugal; in the promoting of which the Lord Chancellor Cox was so remarkably active and expeditious, that he received a letter of thanks from the Earl of Galway, then Commander of the Forces in Portugal. About this time an Act of Parliament was passed in England, for permitting the Irish to export their linen directly to the Plantations; a law which was first projected and proposed by Sir Richard Cox (p). On the 27th of June, 1705, he was again sworn one of the Lords Justices, with Lord Cutts, Commander in Chief of the Queen's Forces; and in October, 1706, he was created a Baronet, as a mark of her Majesty's favour, and in consideration of his many public services (q). His colleague, Lord Cutts, died on the 26th of January following; and this event involved Sir Richard Cox in some considerable difficulties [K]. However, the Primate of Ireland, and the Chancellor, were sworn in as Lords

(p) *Ibid.* p. 223.

(q) *Id. ibid.*

[I] A Bill "for the Recovery of small Debts in a summary way." Mr. Harris says, that Sir Richard Cox was "thoroughly acquainted with the general poverty of the kingdom, and well knew, that the inferior people were often injured by men of riches and power, and by many of their own degree, for want of a method to recover their debts with small expence, and of having their demands speedily determined, which the usual course of the common law would not admit of, especially if they had litigious persons to deal with, who would lay hold of every advantage the law gave them to delay, vex, and disappoint their adversaries. The Chancellor, therefore, supported this Bill with all his reason and interest, though he had a discouraging opposition to contend with. For Sir Simon Harcourt, in a letter, dated January the 8th, wrote to him in the following manner: "The Bill for Recovery of small Debts is a great alteration of the Common Law, for which your Lordship, I am sure, notwithstanding your present station, will always have the greatest regard imaginable. I am not able to answer for its success." But the Chancellor soon convinced him, as well as the Privy Council of England, of the necessity there was for such a law in Ireland, and he had the pleasure to hear, that his opinion had determined them to pass it. Sir Gilbert Dolben, who was a zealous Solicitor at London in matters relating to Ireland, wrote to him

VOL. IV.

thus: "The Bill for the Recovery of small Debts will return with very little alteration.—The authority of your Lordship's opinion has been the main support of the Bill; otherwise the great alteration it makes in the Common Law would, probably, have overthrown it." Though the law has been much altered in this matter, yet it is but improved on the plan of the Act passed at this time; and the effect has been so beneficial to rich and poor, that they cannot with too much gratitude remember the person, who so early laboured for their relief (16)."

[K] This event involved Sir Richard Cox in some considerable difficulties.] Mr. Harris, after observing, that, by the death of Lord Cutts, the Commission of the Lords Justices was dissolved, says, that "the Statute of Henry VIII. required, "that the Chancellor should issue writs to the King's Counsellors in the shires of Dublin, Cork, Kerry, &c. to elect a Governor, upon the avoidance of every the King's Lieutenant, Deputy or Justice of the Realm by Death, Surrender or Departure out of the Realm; and upon the election, that he should seal Letters patent, and such person, being sworn, should have like authority, pre-eminence, and dignity, to every purpose and respect, as the King's Lieutenant or Deputy there next before him used to have, &c. until the King do admit and authorize one to be his Lieutenant or Gover-

"nor,

5 M

(16) History of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi supra*, p. 222.

Lords Justices in less than three weeks after the death of that Nobleman. But the Duke of Ormond being soon after removed from the Government of Ireland, and the Earl of Pembroke appointed Lord Lieutenant in his room, Sir Richard Cox was also removed from the Chancellorship. It was on the 30th of June, 1707, that he delivered up the Great Seal to the Lord Lieutenant; and he did this with so much cheerfulness and composure, that from his behaviour, it was said, he might be supposed to have received a favour from the Government. He afterwards entered into no opposition against the measures of Administration, but promoted the service of the Crown, as much as he could in a private situation; having no inclination to disturb the Government, because he had no share in it.

“nor, and until he be sworn as accustomed.” The Lord Chancellor met the Council at the Castle the morning after Lord Cutts’s death, and desired their advice how he should proceed. The Council were at first unanimously of opinion, that he ought immediately to issue writs, and proceed to an election; and some of the most zealous for this method offered to elect him sole Governor, as Sir Charles Porter was elected on the death of Lord Capel, hoping by that bait to draw him into the snare. But he, who could not deceive those who had intrusted him, declared frankly, “that it was his opinion, he could not in the present case proceed to an election, but must wait the Queen’s nomination of new Justices: Because, 1. The Statute plainly related to Head Governors only, and the Lord Lieutenant was Head Governor. For the Lords Justices by their Patent were to act by his instructions, even after his departure. His authority was to continue by an express clause in their Patent; he signed all Commissions of the Army, and all orders from the Queen were directed to him. 2. There was no avoidance of his Commission by departure; for he was absent by licence, and therefore within the Statute. 3. The words, *Until the King authorize a new Governor, and until he be sworn*, demonstrate, that the Statute cannot operate where there is a Governor in being, authorized by the Queen and sworn already; and therefore he concluded, that the Government was not *Void*, but *unsupplied*. He added, that he thought it would be very dangerous, and of evil consequence, if he should assume a power not warranted by the Statute; but that no detriment could arise from deliberating and considering well what ought to be done; and since even proceeding on such writs would take up at least a fortnight, and that he might reasonably expect to know her Majesty’s pleasure within that time, having sent two express for that purpose, there was no reason to be precipitate, unless the kingdom were in danger, or there were some manifest inconvenience now in view.” These reasons contented all moderate men; but others expected hereby to vacate the Lord Lieutenant’s Commission, and therefore threatened the Lord Chancellor heavily. But he applied himself to examine into precedents, and found them all expressing the words *Void* or *Vacant*, where the Head Governor failed. The only precedent from the time of making the Act suitable to the present case, was that of Lord Deputy Wandesford, who died December the 3d, 1640, the record of which said, “the Government was *unsupplied*,” which justified the Chancellor’s distinction: and though the Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant, was then a prisoner in the Tower, and the times troublesome, yet there being a *Head Governor*, they did not proceed to an election, but took the same course as the Lord Chancellor chose to take at this time. He referred his reasons, and the precedent, to the Judges, Prime Serjeant, and Attorney and Solicitor General, who (one or two excepted) agreed, that the Chancellor ought not to issue writs. The Queen and the Lawyers of England applauded his conduct: but the Statesmen disliked it; because it drove them to the necessity of displacing the Duke of Ormond, which was the thing they would have avoided, having no design to provide for him in England, in such an honourable manner as was customary when persons returned from that Government with merit.

“This was the most critical juncture of the Chancellor’s life: for his judgment, his courage, and his integrity, were all put to a trial. His judgment was at first a little shaken by the universality of the opinions against him; but the precedent being found, and many of the loudest against him being convinced, his judgment was confirmed and esteemed. His courage was attacked by threats of an impeachment; but his integrity supported his courage, and both easily prevailed on him to despise the vain boastings of his enemies. The business being at length laid before the Attorney-general of England, he prepared a letter for the Lords Justices, pursuant to the practice on the Death of Lord Deputy Wandesford; a Patent passed accordingly; and on the 15th of February, 1706, the Primate and Chancellor were sworn Lords Justices in less than three weeks from Lord Cutts’s death (17).”

The conduct of Sir Richard Cox in this business gave, however, considerable offence to the Irish House of Commons. Accordingly they resolved, “That on the death, surrender, or departure of a Lieutenant, Deputy, Justice, or other Head Governor of the Realm, *so that the Kingdom becomes destitute of a Governor thereby*, it is the indispensable duty of the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, to issue writs for the electing a new Governor, or Governors, pursuant to the Stat. 32 Hen. VIII.” Mr. Harris observes, “that the resolution was proposed without these words, *So that the Kingdom becomes destitute of a Governor thereby*. But Sir Richard Cox’s friends insisted on these words as an amendment to the question, and to make it consonant to the Act of Parliament; and, indeed, the amendment was so obvious, and agreeable to law and reason, that it could not be refused. But it quite disconcerted the scheme for that time. However, enough was not yet done; and, therefore, within a few days, the subject was resumed; and then they resolved, “1. That by the death of the Lord Cutts, on the 26th of January, the kingdom became destitute of a Governor residing in the same, till the 15th of February following. 2. That no writ was issued by Sir Richard Cox, Lord Chancellor, for electing a Justice, pursuant to the Statute of 33 Hen. VIII. from the 26th of January till the 15th of February, 1706, at which time the Primate and Lord Chancellor were constituted Lords Justices under the Great Seal. 3. That it was and is the indispensable duty of the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, when the kingdom is destitute of a Lieutenant, Deputy, or other Chief Governor *residing* within this kingdom, immediately to issue writs to summon the Privy Counsellors to elect a Chief Governor, pursuant to the Statute of 33 Hen. VIII.” The resolution of the first day was approved of, by the most eminent Lawyers, as a fair construction of the Statute. But the work of the last day was done against precedent, and against the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor-general of England, and ten of the Judges and most eminent Lawyers in Ireland: so that Sir Richard suffered by it neither in fortune nor reputation; rather indeed he gained credit by what he had done. For from thence it appeared, that inclination and industry were not wanting to detect some misbehaviour in his judicial capacity, or some miscarriage in his conduct as Lord Justice; neither of which being done, it was concluded none such could be found out (18).”

(17) History of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi supra*, p. 223, 224.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 225.

When

When the Irish Parliament broke up, Sir Richard Cox went over into England, and was very favourably received at Court. After his return to Ireland, he spent his time chiefly in retirement, in the cultivation of his mind, in the conversation of his family and friends, and in adorning and improving his estate (r). He was much addicted to the study of divinity, and at this period particularly applied himself to the perusal of a variety of ecclesiastical writers, of different ages and denominations. In 1709, he published at Dublin, in 12mo. "An Address to those of the Roman Communion in England, occasioned by the late Act of Parliament to prevent the Growth of Popery, recommended to those of the Roman Communion in Ireland upon a late like Occasion." The following year he went again into England, and published at London, in 1711, in 8vo. "An Enquiry into Religion, and the Use of Reason in Reference to it." About this time he was offered by the Ministry the post of Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench; an offer which, it is supposed, they did not expect him to accept; as they did not imagine that he would take an office inferior to what he had formerly enjoyed (s). He did not, however, stand upon that punctilio; but accepted the office, and immediately entered upon the duties of it. Party animosity at that time so much prevailed, that he soon found his situation attended with little tranquillity. He acted in a treble capacity, in the Queen's Bench, in the Privy Council, and as Judge of Assize; in each of which he was often obliged to give judgment between the contending parties [L]: in the Queen's Bench, and as Judge of Assize, in criminal prosecutions; and in the Council, in struggling for interests in Corporations (t). On the death of Queen Anne, and the accession of King George the First, Sir Richard Cox, with the other principal Irish Judges, was removed from his office, and also from the Privy Council [M]. He then retired to his seat in the county of Cork, where he hoped to have ended his days in peace; but his tranquillity was disturbed by several attacks which were made against him in the Irish Parliament. On the 18th of November, 1715, it was ordered by the House of Commons, "That Sir Richard Cox should attend that day fortnight, to give an account what proceedings were had against Jacob Twisleton, who had been a servant to the Pretender; and by Order of the House, in 1713, was delivered to the Lord Chief Justice." As he was at the distance of an hundred miles from Dublin, at the time when this Order was made, he wrote to the Speaker, and requested, "That on the account of his age, (which was then sixty-five), the badness of the roads, and the shortness of the days, and in consideration that he could say little more about Twisleton, than the Officers of the Court might inform the House, the Order might be adjourned to the 5th of December." This was accordingly complied with; and at the time appointed, Sir Richard appeared before a Committee of the whole House, and sufficiently cleared himself with respect to the case of Jacob Twisleton, which was found, upon examination, to be a very trifling business [N]. But about the

(r) Harris, ubi
supra, p. 226.

(s) Id. ibid.

(t) Ibid. p. 227.

[L] Often obliged to give judgment between the contending parties.] Mr. Harris says, "That every where his conscience and his judgment were the directors of his actions, and consequently each party in its turn had the benefit of his justice. But these considerations little availed him: for each grudged the right done to the other, which was deemed injustice to itself. It was no time for cool reasoning; and so he became suspected by the violent men of that party, and of which he was reputed one, and hated by the furious men of the other. A better testimony could not be given of his moderation. But he had the comfort to be much in the esteem of the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was Lord Lieutenant for the greater part of those mad times, and who was known to be a Nobleman of great integrity, candour, and good nature (19)."

(19) History of the Writers of Ireland, ubi supra, p. 227.

[M] Removed from his office, and also from the Privy Council.] The removal of Sir Richard Cox, and the other Judges, from their offices, and from the Privy Council, seems to have been chiefly occasioned by their refusal, in conjunction with the other Members of the Privy Council, to comply with the directions of the Lords Justices of Great Britain, respecting the election of Magistrates for the city of Dublin. Great contests having arisen concerning the election of Lord Mayor for the city of Dublin, the British Regency, after the death of Queen Anne, in order to put an end to these contests, directed the Irish Privy Council "to approve of the person elected (for Lord Mayor) without entering into the merits of the election." Upon this occasion, Sir Richard Cox made a Speech, in which, among other things, he said, "That as to the qualifications of the party the Council was ministerial, and ought in obedience to the Lords Regents to approve of any person, who should be lawfully elected. But as to the legality of elec-

tion, the Council acted in a judicial capacity, and could not approve of any election that was unlawful (20)." In October, 1714, new Lords Justices having been appointed for the Government of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, who was one of them, demanded of the Privy Council, "Whether they would without difficulty, or entering into any consideration of the merits of the election of Magistrates for the city of Dublin, approve the person who should be returned for Lord Mayor by the majority of the Board of Aldermen, pursuant to the directions of the Lords Justices of Great Britain." To which the Privy Council unanimously answered, "That they should always pay a due regard to the Lords Justices of Great Britain; but that they were not then ripe to give their opinion, unless an election of Magistrates should be certified and brought before them." Upon this answer the Council was dissolved, and the Judges displaced (21).

(20) Ibid. p. 244.

(21) Ibid. p. 245.

[N] The Case of Jacob Twisleton, which was found, upon examination, to be a very trifling business.] Mr. Harris informs us, that "Twisleton was a noted good trumpeter, and had travelled through most parts of Europe for his profit. His fame was so great, that all persons were desirous to hear him. At some place abroad, he was hired to sound the trumpet before the Pretender, and afterwards came to Ireland, and sounded for hire before Sir Constantine Phipps (22)." Twisleton was brought before Sir Richard Cox, as a servant of the Pretender, in pursuance of an Order of the House of Commons, of the 12th of December, 1713. He committed him to Newgate, upon an information of a Member of the House; and Twisleton remained there till the latter end of the following term. He was then bailed, according to the custom of the Court, for want of an indictment

(22) Ibid. p. 230.

the same time the following resolutions were also passed by the House of Commons: "I. That by the Laws of the Land, and by the constant uninterrupted usage of the Court of King's Bench, all Juries in criminal cases ought to be nominated and returned by the Sheriff, or Sheriffs only; unless there be a legal challenge to his or their making such return. II. That the Rule made in the Court of Queen's Bench, in the case of Dudley Moore, Esq[O]; whereby the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to strike a Jury for his Trial, was unprecedented, arbitrary, and illegal, and an high invasion of the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of Ireland. III. That Sir Richard Cox, late Lord Chief Justice of the said Court, by making such Rule, acted partially, arbitrarily, illegally, and contrary to his oath and duty of a Judge." The same resolution was passed against each of the other Judges of that Court (u). It must be confessed, that in the affair to which these votes refer, Sir Richard Cox, and his brother Judges, appear to have been influenced by that partiality in favour of the crown, by which other Judges have too frequently been actuated: but in their conduct in this respect they were countenanced by the conduct and opinions of English Judges and Crown Lawyers. In June, 1716, several votes were also passed, by the House of Commons, against Sir Richard Cox, and the other Judges, censuring their conduct and determinations respecting the election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin [P]. It was resolved, that "they had acted partially and corruptly;" and

(u) Harris, *ubi supra*, p. 228.

(23) History of the Writers of Ireland, *ubi supra*, p. 230.

indictment against him, which the information could not support, and was continued on his bail until Trinity Term, 1714 (23).

[O] *The Case of Dudley Moore, Esq.* The Case of Mr. Moore was this. The Government had forbidden a Prologue to be spoken at the Theatre on the 4th of November, 1712, to the Play of Tamerlane. Mr. Moore, supported by ten or twelve Gentlemen, repeated one on the stage in spite of the actors. The persons in Administration, considering this action as a designed affront to themselves, ordered Mr. Moore, and his companions, to be prosecuted for a riot. They were accordingly indicted in the Court of Queen's Bench. But the Queen commanded, that the prosecution should cease against all but Mr. Moore. Sir Richard Cox thought the offence so slight, that he discharged Mr. Moore's bail, and took his own recognizance for his appearance, on which he was never called. Upon Mr. Moore's pleading, and entering into a recognizance to prosecute his traverse, the Attorney-general moved, "That the partiality of Juries returned by Sheriffs having appeared lately in many instances, the Court would be pleased to order their Officer to strike an indifferent Jury out of the Book of Freeholders to be returned by the Sheriffs, to try the issue between the Queen and Traverser, as was constantly done in England in like cases." This motion was opposed, and learnedly argued on both sides. The Court took time to consider, and procured in the mean time certificates of the practice of the Queen's Bench in England, and consulted the rest of the Judges of Ireland, who solemnly delivered their opinions in favour of the motion. And then, being pressed by Mr. Moore's Council at three several times to give judgment, at last gave it in favour of the Queen, for several reasons, among which were the following:

I. "Because the Common Law of England and Ireland is the same, and is preserved in Ireland by the jurisdiction which the Court of Queen's Bench in England hath over that Court in Ireland: and, for this reason, the Queen's Bench in Ireland is always governed by the practice and authorities of the Queen's Bench in England. For if the judgments of Ireland differed from those in England, they would be set aside as erroneous.

II. "This has been the constant practice of the Queen's Bench in England for one hundred years past. In the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James the First, Charles the First and Second, James the Second, and King William the Third. It was done in the trial of the Seven Bishops, and never was complained of or mentioned in the Bill of Rights; as it would certainly have been, if it had been thought either illegal, or a grievance (24)."

(24) *Ibid.* p. 228.

[P] *Respecting the Election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin.* Mr. Crawford says, "One of the many disputes, occasioned by the party spirit which became every day more violent in both kingdoms,

was that which arose in Dublin, in 1713, relative to the election of a Lord Mayor. That office was then filled by Sir Samuel Cooke, whose principles were hostile to the Revolution. In his absence, the Aldermen elected Mr. Pleasants, a Whig, as his successor. By certain late regulations, calculated to promote the interest of the Tory party, the Lord Mayor had been invested with a right to nominate three Aldermen, one of whom, unless to them all reasonable objections could be made, must be chosen to succeed him. Sir Samuel would not acquiesce in the election, which, upon the matter being referred to their determination, was set aside by the Privy Council. The Aldermen then were summoned by the Lord Mayor, to make a new choice. To one of the three, whom he proposed to their consideration,—twenty of them objected. Before any thing could be determined, the Court was dismissed. This contest communicating to the friends and the connexions of the opposite parties, threw the city into a flame, which was attended by the greatest disorder and confusion, and continued to the death of the Queen. It was raging when the Duke of Shrewsbury arrived to take upon him the Government of Ireland (25)."

(25) History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 262, 263.

Of the disputes and proceedings concerning the election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin, a very copious account is given by Mr. Harris, in his Continuation of Sir James Ware's History of the Writers of Ireland (26); but it is extended to so great a length, that it would probably be thought extremely dull and uninteresting by most of our Readers. We shall, therefore, only mention a few particulars relative to this subject. It appears, that by a Charter granted in the reign of King Henry the Third, the Citizens of Dublin had a right to choose their own Mayor; but by an Act made in the reign of King Charles II. the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors, and Council of Ireland, had power given them "to make Rules for the electing Magistrates, and other Officers, and for inflicting such penalties for the breach thereof, as they in their wisdom should think fit;" and it was farther enacted, that these "rules, when made, should be as good and effectual in law, as if the same had been established by Parliament." By this Act the Citizens of Dublin were deprived of their right of electing their Chief Magistrate; for one of the new Rules which were made for that city was, "That the election of Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, &c. shall be by Lord Mayor and Aldermen only, eight Aldermen being always present." Another Rule was, "That the names of Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, &c. elected, shall be by the Corporation presented within ten days after election to the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governors, and the Council, to be approved by them, and the persons elected shall be incapable to serve until approved of under their hands; and if not approved of in ten days after they are presented, the Corporation shall proceed

(26) P. 230—244.

and been "guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours:" and it was also voted, "That the removing the Lord Primate, and Sir Constantine Phipps from the Government of that kingdom, the dissolving the late Privy Council, and displacing the late Judges and Queen's Council, was a seasonable instance of his Majesty's justice, and tender regard for the welfare and happiness of that kingdom (w)." It was likewise resolved by the House of Commons, in the same Session, "That an humble Address be presented to their Excellencies the Lords Justices, desiring their Excellencies to lay before his Majesty the humble Request of this House, that the original Representation of the late Privy Council in the Case of the City of Dublin, and the Report of the late Judges [2]; and also the farther Report of the late Judges and Queen's Council, in the Case of the Aldermen and Sheriffs of Dublin, transmitted to her late Majesty, may be returned to this Kingdom, to be given in Evidence against the Persons who made the same, when this House shall have the Opportunity to proceed against them for the High Crimes and Misdemeanours, of which this House hath voted them guilty (x)." ^{(w) Harris, ubi supra, p. 231; 232.} ^{(x) Ibid. p. 243.}

These votes were not followed by any farther proceedings against Sir Richard Cox, or the other Judges. Their conduct in the affair of the election of Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin appears to have been censurable; but the votes against them were carried with too much heat and violence. Insinuations were thrown out against Sir Richard Cox, in the Irish Parliament, as if he had been attached to the interest of the Pretender; but these insinuations seem to have been totally destitute of the least foundation. He had taken that side, in the business relative to the election of the Magistrates of Dublin, which was considered as the Tory side; but as he was eminently active and zealous in the promotion of the Revolution, so he appears to have been a firm friend to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. After his removal from office, he passed his time chiefly in retirement. He divided his latter days between study, making improvements on his estate, and acts of benevolence. But in April, 1733, he was seized by a fit of apoplexy, which ended in a palsy, under which he languished till the 3d of May that year, when he expired, without pain, at the age of eighty-three years, one month, and a few days (y). ^{(y) Ibid. p. 248.}

Sir Richard Cox was in his person tall, and well-proportioned; his features were regular, and his complexion fair; his countenance was agreeable, his eyes full and lively, and his carriage easy and graceful. His private life was virtuous, and he was regular and exact in his attendance on the duties of religion. He was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a sincere friend, and a kind master to his domestics (z). His memory was very retentive, and he applied himself much to the studies of History and Geography, in both of which his knowledge was extensive. He was also well read in Divinity, and had a strong inclination to Poetry, in which he made some attempts, but was dissuaded from any farther efforts of that kind [R]. In his freer hours, he was a cheerful and entertaining companion, and in his general behaviour he was affable and courteous. As a Judge, he was patient and attentive, and diligent in the discharge of the duties of his office. He was considered as a very able Chancellor, and his decrees were seldom reversed. Mr. Harris says, that "if he had lived in quiet times, he would have been revered by all his contemporaries for his moderation and integrity (a)." He appears, however, to have been too complaisant a Courtier, and too ready to concur in the measures of Government, without sufficiently inquiring into the rectitude of those measures. In judging of some parts of his conduct, allowance should, indeed, be made, for the critical state of Ireland at that period, and the effects which had been produced upon men's minds, by the barbarities and murders that had been committed by the Papists. The massacre of Ireland, and other Popish cruelties, were then fresh in the minds of men; and the Roman Catholics were not considered as objects either of justice or humanity. Too much injustice had undoubtedly been committed on both sides; but, in judging of the

^{(27) Harris, ubi supra, p. 232, 233.} "ceed to a new election, and shall in like manner present the names, until they shall choose persons who shall be approved of (27)." The Act by which these Rules were enforced, passed in the reign of Charles II. was only a temporary Act, and yet the rules were continued to be acted upon as if they were perpetual. The citizens at large were deprived of their right of election, and even the Aldermen were not allowed a free election. Sir Samuel Cooke was continued two years in office, without being elected for the second year even by the Aldermen; but he was agreeable to the then Administration, and was, therefore, arbitrarily continued in office. In the part which was taken by Sir Richard Cox, and the other Judges, in this business, there was too manifest a partiality in favour of the Administration; and not that attention, which there ought to have been, to the rights of the Citizens of Dublin.

[2] *The Report of the late Judges.* Complaint

VOL. IV.

was made, that the Report of Sir Richard Cox, and the other Irish Judges, which was transmitted to England, relative to the Election of Lord Mayor for the city of Dublin, contained a false statement of the case, and was calculated to deceive the Queen and her Ministers; and, indeed, the Report appears to have been by no means fair and impartial.

[R] *Was dissuaded from any farther efforts of that kind.* Mr. Harris says, "He had a strong bent to Poetry, which appeared in a piece, much approved, 'On General Ginkle's success in Ireland,' and of which he printed but a few copies; and in another 'On the death of Lord Chancellor Porter.' But the last being transmitted to his friend Sir Robert Southwell, he wrote to him, 'That poetry was not the way to preferment, but a weed in a Judge's garden.' This kind rebuke checked his poetical progress, and turned him to more serious and more useful studies (28)."

^{(28) Ibid. p. 251.}

5 N

persons

(b) Harris, *ubi*
supra, p. 248.

persons and characters of that age, some attention must be paid to the sentiments and views by which different parties were at that time actuated. As an Historian, Sir Richard Cox is entitled to more applause for the assiduity of his researches into the History of Ireland, than for any merit in his arrangement or composition. He was the author of those Remarks upon Ireland, which were printed in Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden's Britannia, edit. 1695. Of many children, only one son and one daughter survived him; but he had many grand-children, and great grand-children. His eldest son, Richard, died in 1725; but his second son, Michael, became Bishop of Ossory. One of his daughters was married to Sir William Mansel, Bart (b).]

(*) Written and
communicated
by Mr. Richard-
son, Professor of
Humanity in the
University of
Glasgow.

* * [CRAIG (WILLIAM), (*) an excellent Divine of the Church of Scotland, was the son of a respectable Merchant in Glasgow. He was born there in February 1709: and in the Seminaries of education in that city, he began and prosecuted his studies. At College he distinguished himself by his early taste and uncommon proficiency in classical learning; and in applying to this sort of literature, he received great assistance and encouragement from his kinsman the Reverend Mr. Clerk, Minister of the Gospel at Neilston in Renfrewshire. That deserving young man, who died at an early period of his life, and before his worth became sufficiently known, was one of the first Clergymen in the West of Scotland, who began to study and teach Christianity in a manner different from that usually practised since the Reformation; and who thought the interests of true religion could be promoted by such elegance of composition, and knowledge of Philosophy, as might be derived from ancient Authors. To studies of this sort, therefore, the excellent person who is the subject of this memoir, incited by his own original inclination, and assisted by his ingenious friend, was very early attached. The moral Philosophy of the antients engaged his attention in a very particular manner: and the moral writers of Greece and Rome were his favourite authors. By the attentive perusal of their works, and of the moral Poets of Antiquity, he had committed to his memory a great number of their most striking passages; and used to apply them occasionally in the company of his select friends with great ease, judgment, and ingenuity. In this he had an excellent example in the practice of his friend and instructor the justly celebrated Doctor Hutcheson, who was elected to the Professorship of moral Philosophy, in the University of Glasgow, about the time that Craig had nearly finished his theological and philosophical course. With this amiable and eminent Philosopher he was early and intimately connected. Hutcheson discerned in him that character which he esteemed: and he expressed his regard by associating with him, by entering into, and assisting him in his literary labours. Early inclined by temper and disposition to the study and profession of Theology, Craig derived every advantage from the conversation of a friend so highly enlightened; and whom he regarded with just and affectionate deference. Commencing Preacher in the year 1734, his philosophical Monitor embraced every opportunity of hearing him; and with a frankness which shewed the opinion he entertained of the candour and abilities of his disciple, he offered such remarks on his Sermons as he thought necessary. He particularly admonished him against a propensity to which young Clergymen of ability are very liable, of indulging themselves in abstruse and philosophical disquisition. He advised him, because he knew he was able to follow the advice, "to preach to and from the heart." He did so. Habitually pious, ardently devout, and deeply interested in the welfare of those who listened to his instruction, he delivered himself with genuine and becoming earnestness. This was the spirit that directed his manner. Loud exclamation, outrageous action, violence of look or gesture, were not the characters of his delivery. It was solemn, yet animated; earnest, but correct; and though correct, not formal. He arrested the attention without alarming the imagination: he touched the heart without rousing the passions. His manner was elegant, and he pleased: he spoke as he felt, and was affecting.

It is not to be supposed that a Preacher of such eminence, especially at a time when this mode of preaching was rare, should remain unknown or unnoticed. He soon received a presentation from Mr. Lockhart, of Cambusnethan, to be Minister of the parish of Cambusnethan; and was settled in that charge in the year 1737. About this time great opposition was made by the populace of Scotland, and particularly by those of Clydesdale, to the manner of appointing Ministers by presentations from Lay-Patrons. On this account, therefore, and perhaps, because his Sermons inculcated active virtue more frequently, and more earnestly, than his audience, who would have been better pleased with obscure and mystical theology, thought necessary, he encountered considerable opposition. Zealous, however, in the discharge of his duty, and hoping, in the conscious ardour of his endeavours, to reconcile his parishioners to that system of instruction which he thought best suited to their condition, and most consistent with Christianity, he refused a presentation to a Church in Airshire, offered him by Mr. Montgomery of Coilsfield; and another offered him by the amiable but unfortunate Earl of Kilmarnock. At length, he accepted of a presentation to a Church in Glasgow, the place of his nativity, where most of his relations resided; where he could have opportunities of conversing with his literary friends; and where the field for doing good was more extensive. He was first appointed Minister of the

the Wynd Church in that city : and after the building of St. Andrew's Church, one of the most elegant places of public worship in Scotland, he was removed thither. His audience was at no time so numerous, but especially during the last twenty-five years of his life, as those who valued good composition and liberality of sentiment, apprehended that he deserved. Instead of the abstruse tenets of speculative theology, and the mysterious doctrines inculcated by many popular Clergymen in the Church of Scotland, he thought his flock would be better edified by such a plain exposition of their duty, as was laid down in the precepts and example of Jesus Christ ; and by such a direct, but judicious application to themselves, as in their situation seemed requisite. " A Minister of the Gospel," he tells us, in his excellent Sermon on the character and obligations of a Minister, " will, with
 " unvariable constancy and fortitude, declare unto his people the whole counsel of God.
 " He will faithfully and fairly set before them the whole extent of their religious and moral
 " obligations, and with all that minuteness and detail with which they are delivered in
 " the Sacred Scriptures, and which he sees the circumstances of his people may require.
 " No aversion which their ignorance, their prejudice, or sinful passions, may suggest on
 " this account, no unpopular injurious epithets that may be given him as a legal or a
 " moral Preacher, will prevail upon him either to conceal or to disguise any part of that
 " divine religion, upon which, with the deepest earnestness, he founds the prospect of his
 " own salvation. He will search, with all the diligence and candour that he can, the
 " Holy Bible ; look for genuine religion there ; and from thence, rather than from any
 " human system upon earth, learn what he is to teach as a Minister of Christ."—But this mode of instruction has never been very fashionable. Not much relished in Galilee and Jerusalem, when practised by one " who spake as never man spake," it was not likely to become more popular in Clydesdale and the city of Glasgow. But though Craig might regret, what seemed to him the misguided or mistaken sentiments of many who professed themselves Christians ; yet steadfast in his own opinions, founded on mature reflection, and unmoved by the indiscriminating praise or blame of the multitude, he still persisted in the delivery of such doctrines as his reason convinced him were most essential to the real improvement and eternal welfare of his hearers. As his Church was not much frequented by the vulgar, neither was it very generally resorted to by those exalted by their opulence to a higher rank. Early and constantly engaged in commercial pursuits, they did not give much attention to such distinctions in doctrine or composition, as would otherwise have induced them, perhaps, to have given a preference to those of Craig. But though he disdained every unworthy art to captivate popular applause, he was so sincerely attached to those who seemed to profit by his instruction, that he declined the proposals of Provost Alexander, and some of his friends in Edinburgh, who wished at one time to have removed him thither. He had the satisfaction also of knowing, that in another quarter, persons whose opinion he valued, were not insensible to his merits. He was proposed by his friends to be the successor of Professor Potter, in the Professorship of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Doctor Leechman, lately Principal in that University, then Minister of the Gospel at Beith ; and the Reverend Mr. M'Laurin, brother to the celebrated Mathematician, were also candidates. Leechman and Craig were united in the closest friendship : their religious sentiments were similar, and alike obnoxious to the popular Clergy. M'Laurin was a man of worth and sincere piety ; he was believed to entertain religious opinions of a kind very agreeable to the multitude : and if both the other two had continued candidates, he would probably have succeeded. But Craig, apprehending that the interests of religion would be better served by the appointment of Leechman, and influenced perhaps by the intimacy subsisting between them, prevailed with his friends to transfer their voices to him, and withdrew from the contest. Accordingly, by the casting vote of George Bogle, Esq; of Daldowie, then Lord Rector of the University, a man of unblemished integrity and real zeal for the public good, Dr. Leechman was chosen. How much this measure contributed to promote the interests of religion, learning and classical taste, among the Students in that Seminary, is very generally known, and will be long remembered.—In truth, though Craig's early attention to good composition, and to what was accounted liberality of opinion in religious matters, shewed a turn of mind a good deal different from the spirit and improvement of the times, he was not altogether singular. Clerk, Minister of the Gospel at Neilston, Paton at Renfrew, Fleming at Kilmacollm, Warner at Kilbarchen, Dr. Wilhart, his Predecessor in the Wynd Church, and Dr. Leechman, his contemporaries or intimate friends, were eminent promoters of true learning, correct taste, and such views of religion, as seemed to them more agreeable to the original form of Christianity, than those usually recommended by many popular Presbyterian Preachers.

Craig was married about this time to the daughter of Mr. Anderson, a considerable Merchant in Glasgow. She lived with him sixteen years ; and by her he had several children : two of whom, namely William, an eminent Lawyer at the Scottish Bar ; and John, a Merchant in Glasgow, survived their father. But the excellent understanding and amiable dispositions of his wife, which rendered his married state happy, contributed, by their painful recollection, to embitter the sufferings of his declining age. She died in
 the

the year 1758: and though he was afterwards very happily married to the daughter of Gilbert Kenedy, Esq; of Auchinfardale, he scarcely ever recovered the shock of his first separation. Several years before he died, his strength and health gradually declined: his spirits were overwhelmed with melancholy: he seemed to have lost the power of enjoying happiness: no amusement could relieve his depression: he lamented that he was become useless; and that he felt not only his body, but the faculties of his soul impaired. His sufferings were heightened by many additional afflictions; particularly by the death of his son Alexander, a very agreeable young man, who had been bred a Merchant, but who was strongly inclined to the study of polite literature: and soon after by the death of his second wife, whose affectionate assiduities had been invariably employed in endeavouring to solace and support his infirmities. In this state of feebleness and dejection, notwithstanding the unwearied attention of his surviving sons, he continued to languish: and, at length, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he was released by an easy death.—Great sensibility seems to have given the general and prevailing colour to his character. It rendered his piety devout, his benevolence tender, and his friendship affectionate. In the culture of his understanding it inclined him to those studies that please by their beautiful imagery, or touch the heart with agreeable feelings. He was, therefore, very early addicted to classical learning; and cherished those views of religion that represent both God and man in a favourable light. Such sentiments and propensities, though not altogether singular at the time that he commenced his studies, were however so rare among Students of Theology, that speaking figuratively, we may call them singular. But singularity of disposition or opinion is usually disliked or opposed. The man of fortitude and strong nerves encounters the opposition; and either makes converts, or, by a bold authoritative tone, though he does not conciliate affection, imposes respect. But the man of extreme sensibility, yielding to his native bias, is afraid of the struggle, declines the contest, and, excepting in the retirements of confidential friendship, not only appears, but really becomes shy and reserved. This disposition is nearly allied to modesty, and even humbleness of mind; yet the appearance of distance it so often assumes, is misapprehended by the undiscerning multitude; and by a violent misapplication of terms, is misconstrued pride. Effects almost of an opposite appearance, are produced by the same principle, yet tend in their final issue to confirm this mistaken reserve. The man of sensibility, conscious of powers, exerts them; and conscious of his own candour, expects suitable returns. He is disappointed. The observation of men is otherwise engaged: accidental circumstances, and other causes than such as arise from perversion of mind, carry away their attention from the merit that claims and deserves their notice. Of these the man of shy and retired sensibility is not aware; he becomes still more cautious in his intercourse with mankind; more shy and more retired. But Craig, under the sacred shade, and in the retirements of intimate and confidential friendship, was unreserved, open, and even ardent. The spirit of real enjoyment, with which in his better days he engaged in literary and familiar conversation with his friends, displayed the most interesting view of his character. Conversations on the merits of elegant authors, both antient and modern, but above all, the liberal discussion of moral and religious topics, were the joy of his soul. On these occasions, his eyes, naturally animated, sparkled with additional lustre; his voice, naturally musical, became delightfully mellow; his features brightened, for his heart glowed. These were blessed intervals, anticipations perhaps of what he now enjoys. By degrees this glowing mood became tinged with melancholy: at first it was amiable and interesting; but became at last distressful. The sensibility which gave him such moments of rapture, had not perhaps been duly managed; and contributed to, or occasioned his sufferings. It had rendered him averse to indiscriminate society, and thus precluded him from many innocent means of relieving the lassitude, or alleviating the weight of declining age. It quickened his sense of misfortune, and rendered his affliction for the loss of friends too poignant. It overwhelmed him with too much sorrow if at any time he apprehended that the affection of those, in whose love he trusted, had suffered change. The errors and delusions, as he conceived, into which many believers in Christianity had fallen, gave him the anxious solicitude which a father feels for the apprehended failings of a darling child; and he regretted that many teachers of religion, to whom popularity gave extensive influence, seemed not sufficiently aware that these errors were full of danger. His sensibility too, especially after the publication of some celebrated works in favour of scepticism, was painfully affected by the progress, as he apprehended, of irreligion. His sense of Deity was strong and lively. Even though the dejection and the despondency of affliction might at times have brought a gloomy cloud between him and the radiance of heaven, the cloud was transient: his religious opinions, founded not merely on feeling but on conviction, were permanent: and even in the earlier periods of his life, when he was not so anxiously alarmed at the growth of impiety as afterwards, he often lamented that men of worth and integrity were not pious; and though they performed many charitable and disinterested actions from very laudable motives, yet that their conduct did not seem to be founded on any principles of religion. It might be friendship, it might be compassion, it might be benevolence, but it wanted “those aids, those supports and comforts which alone could
“ arise

“ arise from hope and trust in God.” It is unnecessary to say of such a character, that he was just, charitable, and temperate. His virtues were those of a Christian; his failings were those incident to the weakness of human nature; and his sufferings were occasioned, or much aggravated by his failings. It is consistent with his own opinions to say, that if there is a region beyond the grave into which human weakness can have no admission, where there is employment for every excellent talent, and objects for every worthy affection, he is supremely blessed.

To this account of his life I shall subjoin a short account of his writings.—In the year 1761, he published at Glasgow a Sermon on the “ Reverence due to the name of God.” His Sermon on the “ Character and Obligations of a Minister of the Gospel” was published in the year 1764. Previously to this publication he had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow. In the year 1767 he published his Essay on the “ Life of Jesus Christ.” This work met with great approbation; and its design may be seen in the following extract from the Preface. “ The principal
“ design of the following Essay is to delineate the character of Jesus Christ from the facts
“ recorded in the history of his life.—Many useful observations have been made by dif-
“ ferent writers on this subject; and the several virtues and perfections which appeared
“ in the life of Jesus have been marked. But what these writers have observed gives us
“ rather a detail of scattered though beautiful particulars, than a single and connected
“ view of the whole character at once. It would appear, however, from the records of
“ the Gospel, that the character of Jesus Christ was formed in every part of it upon the
“ influence of one great and leading principle; and that the whole tenor of his life pro-
“ ceeding from this influence was one united and consistent thing. To give this simple
“ and united view is the design of what is offered in the second and third Sections, &c.” Two editions of this Essay were printed with great elegance, by the Foulis’s at Glasgow: and a French translation appeared on the continent, soon after its first publication.—In the year 1775 “ Twenty Discourses on various Subjects, by William Craig, D.D.” were published in London. Some of these Discourses are practical and others speculative. Of the practical, those that are employed in delineating and drawing observations from Scripture characters, deserve particular notice. Those on the characters of Judas Iscariot, and Pontius Pilate, are executed in a masterly manner; and shew that the author’s powers of observation were very considerable. Of the speculative Discourses, those that discuss the Scripture Doctrine of Regeneration demand the serious and deep attention of every one who would really understand this important doctrine. But though they require serious and deep attention, it is not on account of their being composed in a dry, abstruse, or metaphysical manner. They are clear and obvious: they contain a natural and easy explanation of passages in the New Testament that treat of Regeneration: they are addressed with plainness and simplicity to the common sense of mankind: and by a transition which affords a presumption in favour of the Author’s argument, they connect speculation with practice.—The style and composition of Dr. Craig’s Essay and Discourses, no less than the sentiments, have been admired. They resembled his manner. His excellent taste, early formed by the perusal of the best classical authors, preserved him alike from the groveling, quaint, and verbose jargon of mere illiterate, and from the trim ornaments, the studied figures, and laboured imagery of mere artificial eloquence. If a figure or image presented itself, suggested as all such embellishments ought to be, by the present disposition, he gave them admission. He neither anxiously solicited, nor affectedly refused their assistance. Accordingly, as imagination was not his most powerful faculty, his images are not very frequent. He wished also to be correct in the use of words, and the structure of sentences; but thought it unnecessary to be very nicely correct. He did not think that such attention suited the serious and solemn dignity of the pulpit. Nor at the time when he began to write, had the critics of language become fastidious. Hence, perhaps, more carelessness and inaccuracy of expression may be discovered in his style, than if he had begun to write at a later period. But the age that censures with severity the style of Hume and of Addison, will not be merciful to that of Craig. Perhaps the method, structure, or what is properly the composition of his Discourses, may appear less exceptionable than the expression. They possess a great share of that excellence which is conferred by unity of design, and perspicuity of arrangement. The divisions are natural; the parts are easily connected with one another; and the leading observations or propositions are often so stationed in regard to their importance or ingenuity, that by a delightful progress, they seem to rise on the mind. But in order to point out more particularly our author’s own opinion of pulpit eloquence, I will conclude this account with the following passages from his Sermon on the character of a Minister. “ In the Discourses of our blessed Lord, we meet with nothing of that laboured
“ eloquence which is the mark of human art, and tends rather to excite a vain applause
“ and admiration of the art itself, than a serious impression of the things which it is de-
“ signed to represent.—On this account, a man of a discerning and unbiassed mind will
“ be able to perceive a mighty difference betwixt the Gospel, as it lies before us in its
“ native and original simplicity, and those descriptions that are given of it in the laboured
“ artificial forms into which it has been modelled by the hand of man; a difference not
Vol. IV. 5 O “ unlike

"unlike to what is found in all the other works of God and man. The works of God are solemn and majestic, and by their inexpressible grandeur and simplicity enlarge and elevate the heart. The works of man, though modelled by the nicest art and skill, are but little and diminutive; and, however they may amuse the fancy, seldom raise any great or elevating emotions in the heart. For this reason it might at least deserve inquiry, if it would not better serve the original intentions of the Gospel, to represent it to the world, as nearly as possible, in that artless and divine simplicity in which it was delivered by its blessed Author."]

CRANMER (THOMAS), the most eminent Archbishop that ever sat in the See of Canterbury, was the son of *Thomas Cranmer, Esq* [A]; and of Agnes daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby in Nottinghamshire (a). He was born at (*) Aslahton in that county, July 2, 1489 (b), and educated in Grammar learning under a rude and severe Parish-Clerk, of whom he learned little, and endured much (c). In 1503, at the age of fourteen, he was admitted into Jesus College in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (d). Here he studied the Sophistry, and useless learning of those times, till the age of twenty-two. For the next four or five years he applied himself to polite Literature; and for three years more, to the study of the Scriptures (e). After he was Master of Arts, he married a Gentleman's daughter, named Joan (f), living at the Dolphin, opposite Jesus-Lane (g). Losing by that his Fellowship, he went and lived with her at the Dolphin, and became Reader of the common Lecture in Buckingham, now Magdalen, College (h). But his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted Fellow of Jesus College (i). Upon Cardinal Wolsey's foundation of his new College at Oxford, Cranmer was nominated to be one of the Fellows; but he refused the offer (k). In 1523, and the 34th year of his age, he was made Doctor of Divinity, Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own College, and one of the Examiners of those that took the degrees in Divinity (l). The most immediate cause of his advancement to the greatest favour with King Henry VIII. and, in consequence of that, to the highest dignity in the Church of England, was the Opinion he gave in the matter of that King's Divorce. For having, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham-Abbey in Essex, at the house of one Mr. Cressy, whose wife he was related to, and whose sons were his pupils at the University; Edward Fox the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner the Secretary, happened accidentally to come to that house (m). Here, the conversation turning upon what then mostly employed the Nation's thoughts, namely, the King's Divorce; Cranmer, who was well known to the two others, being desired by them to speak upon that point, delivered it as his opinion, that 'it would be much better, to have this question, *Whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no?* decided and discussed by the Divines, and by the authority of the word of God, than thus from year to year to prolong the time by having recourse to the Pope: that there was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would soon declare and manifest, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well in England as in the Universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere (n). This opinion being communicated by Dr. Fox to the King, his Majesty approved of it much; saying, 'that that man (meaning Cranmer) had the fow by the right ear (o). Whereupon Cranmer was sent for to Court, made the King's Chaplain, ordered to write upon the subject of the Divorce, furnished with books for that purpose, and placed in the family of Thomas Boleyn Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond (p). When he had finished his book [B], he went to Cambridge to dispute upon that point, and brought several over to his opinion (q). About this time he was presented to a Living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton (r). In 1530 he was sent, with some others, into France, Italy, and Germany, to discuss the affair of the King's Marriage (s). At Rome he got his book presented to the Pope, and offered to dispute openly against the validity of King Henry's Marriage; but no one chose to engage him (t). While he was at Rome, the Pope constituted him his Pœnitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales (u). In Germany he was sole Ambassador upon the forementioned affair; and in 1532 concluded a Treaty of Commerce between England and the Low-Countries (w). He was also employed on an Embassy to the Duke of Saxony, and other Protestant Princes (x). During his residence in Germany, he married, at Nuremberg, a second wife, named Anne, niece of Oslander's wife (y). Upon the death of Archbishop Warham in August 1532, Cranmer was nominated for his successor; but he refused to accept of that Dignity, unless he was to receive it immediately from the King without the Pope's intervention (z). Before his consecration, the King so far engaged him in the business

[A] *Son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq.* That Family is said to have come in with William the Conqueror, and to have been fixed for many generations in Nottinghamshire, and in Lincolnshire, where there is a House still called Cranmer-hall. There were still in France some of his name and family in King Henry the VIIIth's time; one whereof came in company with the French Ambassador; to whom, for name, or re-

lation sake, our Bishop gave a noble Entertainment. The Family's Arms, were, Three Cranes; but King Henry the VIIIth altered them to Three Pelicans (1).

[B] *When he had finished his book.* In that book, he showed, by the authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and ancient writers, that the Bishop of Rome (or the Pope) had no such authority, as that he might dispense with the word of God (2).

(a) *Memorials of T. Cranmer, &c.* by J. Strype, fol. Lond. 1694, p. 1, 2, 419.
(*) Or Aslahton.
(c) *Ibid.* p. 2.

(e) *Memorials, &c.* by Strype, p. 2.
(f) *Ibid.* p. 2.
(g) *Ibid.* p. 2.
(h) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 3.
(i) *Ibid.*

(k) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 3.
Fox, p. 1860.
The author of *Antiquitat. Britannicæ*, says, he was upon the road to Oxford, but was persuaded to return back to Cambridge, p. 331.
(l) Strype and Fox, *ibid.*

(n) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1860.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 1861.
Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 79.

(q) Strype, *ibid.* p. 5, 6.
(r) *Ibid.* p. 14.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 417.
Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1870.

(1) Fox, *Acts and Monument.* p. 1859.
Strype's *Memorials, &c.* p. 1, 126.

Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 336.
(2) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1861.
Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 394.

of

of his Divorce, that he made him a party and an actor almost in every step he took in that affair (a). It was he that pronounced the sentence of Divorce between King Henry and Queen Catharine at Dunstable, May the 23d, 1533; and he likewise it was who married him to Anne Boleyn [C], and confirmed her marriage on the 28th following. March the 30th, 1533, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury (b), by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph, when he made an unusual Protestation [D]. The Temporalities of the Archbishoprick were restored to him the 29th of April following (c). Soon after he forbade all preaching throughout his Diocese, and visited it this year in December (d). The Pope threatening him with excommunication, on account of his sentence against Queen Catharine, he appealed from his Holiness to a general Council; and, in the ensuing Parliaments, strenuously disputed against the Pope's supremacy (e). All along he showed himself a zealous promoter of the Reformation; and, as the first step towards it, procured the Convocation to petition the King that the Bible might be translated into English. When that was obtained, he diligently encouraged the printing and publication of it, and caused it to be recommended by Royal Authority, and to be dispersed as much as he possibly could (f). Next, he forwarded the dissolution of the Monasteries [E], which were one of the greatest obstacles to a reformation (g); and, in every point, he endeavoured by all gentle and human means to restore the Church of England to its true and original purity. In 1535 he performed a Provincial Visitation, in order to recommend the King's Supremacy (h); and preached upon that subject in several parts of his Diocese [F]. In 1536, he divorced King Henry from Anne Boleyn (i). In 1537 he visited his Diocese, and endeavoured to abolish the superstitious observation of Holidays (k). In 1538, he was in a commission against the Anabaptists, and visited the Diocese of Hereford (l). The next year, he and some of the Bishops fell under the King's displeasure, because they could not be brought to give their consent in Parliament, that the Monasteries should be suppressed for the King's sole use (m). He also strenuously opposed the Act for the six Articles, in the House of Lords, speaking three days against it (n); and upon the passing of that Statute sent away his wife into Germany (o). In 1540 he was one of the Commissioners for inspecting into matters of Religion, and explaining some of its chief Doctrines (p). The result of their commission was, the book intitled 'A necessary Erudition of any Christian man.' After Lord Cromwell's death, (in whose behalf he had written to the King), he retired, and lived in great privacy, meddling not at all with State affairs (q). In 1541, he gave orders, pursuant to the King's directions, for taking away superstitious Shrines: and exchanging Bishopsbourn for Bekebourn, united the latter to his Diocese (r). In 1542, he procured the 'Act for the advancement of true Religion, and the abolishment of the contrary;' which moderated the rigour of the Six Articles (s). But, the year following, some enemies preferring accusations against him [G], he had like to have been ruined, had not the King interposed in his behalf (t). Nay, he was complained of in the House of Commons [H], and in the Privy-Council [I], and was very near being sent to

[C] He likewise it was who married him to Ann Boleyn.] This is expressly asserted by the author of *Antiquitates Britannicæ* (3). But the Lord Herbert says (4), they were privately married by Rowland Lee afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; none being present but the Lady Ann's father, mother, and brother; Dr. Cranmer, and the Duke of Norfolk.

[D] When he made an unusual Protestation.] The curious Reader may see the form of it, in the Appendix to Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, N° V. p. 9. His Design was by this expedient to save his Liberty, to renounce every clause in his Oath which barred him doing his duty to God, the King, and his Country. A certain Church Historian (5) who loves upon all occasions to blacken our first Reformers, thinks there was something of human infirmity in this management, because it was not made at Rome to the Pope, nor by Cranmer's proxies there, before the obtaining of the Bulls.

[E] He forwarded the dissolution of the Monasteries.] Instead of those nurseries of Idleness, and out of their Revenues, he had projected, That there should be a Provision made, in every Cathedral, for Readers of Divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of Students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion; whom the Bishop might transplant out of this nursery, into all the parts of his Diocese. And thus every Bishop should have had a College of Clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit. But this Design miscarried (8).

[F] Preached upon that subject, in several parts of his Diocese.] In his Sermons, he showed, 1. That the Bishop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declared by what arts and crafts

the Bishop of Rome had obtained his usurped authority. 2. That the Holiness that See so much boasted of, and by which name Popes affected to be stiled, was but a Holiness in name; and that there was no such Holiness at Rome. And here he launched out into the Vices of the Court of Rome. 3. He inveighed against the Bishop of Rome's Laws; which were miscalled *Divinæ Leges*, and *Sacri Canones* (9).

[G] Some enemies preferring accusations against him.] These enemies were, Richard Thornden Suffragan of Dover, Arthur Sentleger, Richard Parkhurst, William Gardiner, John Milles, all Canons of Canterbury. And Robert Serles, and Edmund Shether, two of the six Preachers there: with Dr. Willoughby, the King's Chaplain. The sum of their Accusations against the Archbishop and his Chaplains was, That they opposed the six Articles, and other parts of Popery. See Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer (10).

[H] He was complained of in the House of Commons.] By Sir John Gostwick, one of the Knights for Bedfordshire; for preaching heresy against the Sacrament of the altar. But the King severely rebuked Gostwick for his impertinence (11).

[I] And in the Privy-Council.] The substance of his Accusation there, was, 'That he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole Realm with their unfavoury Doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable hereticks. And that it might prove dangerous to the King, being likely to produce such commotions and uproars, as were sprung up in Germany. And therefore they desired, that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, till he could be examined.' The whole was a contrivance of Gardiner's (12).

the

(a) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 17. Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 131; and Collect. of Records, p. 120, 121.

(f) Strype, *ibid.* p. 24, 57, &c. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. i. p. 171, &c. 249, &c. (g) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 35. Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 190. (h) Strype, *ibid.* p. 30, 32.

(m) *Ibid.* p. 72.

(o) Strype, *ibid.* p. 72.

(3) Edit. Hanov. p. 329. See Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 18. (4) Hist. of King Henry VIII.

(5) Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 74.

(8) Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 302.

(b) Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 128, 129. Strype's Memorials, &c. p. 18. Fuller's Church Hist. B. v. p. (185). (c) Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xiv. p. 456. (d) Strype, *ibid.* p. 21. (e) *Ib.* p. 22, 23, and Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1862.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 55.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(n) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1185. *Antiquit. Brit.* p. 332.

(p) *Ibid.* p. 77; and Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 286, &c.

(q) Strype, *ibid.* p. 86.

(r) *Ib.* p. 91, 93.

(s) *Ib.* p. 99; and Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 321.

(t) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1866, &c. This whole affair is related at full length in *Antiq. Britan.* p. 335-337.

(9) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 30, 31.

(10) P. 109, &c.

(11) *Ib.* p. 122, &c.

(12) *Ib.* p. 124. *Antiq. Britan.* p. 334.

the Tower; but the King again protected him, and gave him his Ring, as a token that he took the affair into his own hands (u). In the year 1545, he undertook to reform the Canon-Law; but the book he compiled upon that subject was, through Bishop Gardiner's artifices, never confirmed by the King. He likewise corrected some Service or Prayer-books (w). Upon King Henry's decease, he was one of the Executors of his Will, and one of the Regents of the Kingdom (x). February the 20th, 1545-6, he crowned King Edward VI. to whom he had been godfather; as he was also to the Lady Elizabeth (y). Soon after, he took out a Commission for executing his office of Archbishop (z); and caused the Homilies to be composed, being himself the author of some of them; and likewise encouraged the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on the New Testament (a). He also laboured earnestly in the Reformation of Religion: and, for that purpose, procured the repeal of the Six Articles; the establishment of the Communion in both kinds; and a new office for that Sacrament; the revival and amendment of the rest of the Offices of the Church; frequent preaching; a Royal visitation to inspect into the manners and abilities of the Clergy; and visited his own Diocese himself for the same purpose (b). He likewise showed himself a patron to the Universities, in defending their Rights, securing their Revenues, and encouraging the Learning there professed and taught (c). In 1549, he was one of the Commissioners for examining Bishop Bonner, with a power to imprison or deprive him of his Bishoprick (*). Upon the insurrection in Devonshire, he expressed his zeal for Religion and his Prince, by giving an excellent and full answer to the Rebels articles, and ordered Sermons to be composed and preached upon that occasion (d). The same year he ordained several Priests and Deacons according to the new form of Ordination in the Common-Prayer-Book; which, through the Archbishop's care, was now finished and settled by Act of Parliament [K]. A review was made of this book towards the end of the next year, and several things changed or amended that were thought to favour too much of superstition (e). In 1552, it was printed again with amendments and alterations, by the Archbishop's care, and authorized by Parliament [L]. This same year, he and some others compiled the Articles of Religion, and caused them to be enjoined by the King's authority (f). He confined not his care to the Church of England, but extended it also to those Protestant Foreigners who fled to England [M], by obtaining Churches for them, and recommending them to the favour and protection of the Crown (g). Another point that much employed his thoughts, was, to preserve the Revenues of the Church, which the greedy Courtiers were swallowing up without mercy, and parceling out among themselves (h). As the Archbishop had in 1534 endeavoured to save the lives of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More (i); so now, when Tostal Bishop of Durham came into trouble, and a Bill was brought into the House of Lords for attainting him for misprision of Treason, Cranmer spoke freely, nay protested, against it, though they two were of different persuasions (k). In 1553, he opposed the new settlement of the Crown upon Lady Jane Gray, and would no way be concerned in that affair, (though at last, through many importunities, he was prevailed upon to set his hand to it,) neither would he join in any of Dudley's ambitious projects (l). However, upon King Edward the VIth's decease, he appeared for Jane Gray. Soon after, it being reported that he had offered to sing mass at the funeral of the late King, he vindicated himself in a Declaration (m). But now his Troubles came upon him apace, after Queen Mary's accession to the Throne. He was, first, ordered to appear before the Council, and bring an inventory of his Goods; which he did August the 27th, when he was commanded to keep his house, and be forth-coming. September the 13th, he was again summoned before the Council, and enjoined to be at the Star-Chamber the next day, when he was committed to the Tower (n); partly, for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession; and, partly, for the public offer he had made a little before, of justifying openly the religious Proceedings of the late King (o). Some of his friends, foreseeing the storm that was likely to fall upon him, advised him to fly, but he absolutely refused [N]. In the ensuing Parliament, on November the 3d, he was attainted, and at Guild-hall found guilty of High Treason; whereupon the

(u) *Antiq. Brita.* p. 334. 336.
 Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 109—126.
 Burnet, *ibid.* p. 327, &c. 342.
 (w) Strype, *ibid.* p. 132.
 (x) Rymer's *Fæd.* vol. xv. p. 110.

(*) Rymer, *Fæd.* vol. xv. p. 191.

(d) Strype, p. 285, &c.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 193. 210, 289.
 Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 71, 72, &c. — 79. 155, 169.

(f) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 272. 293.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 234.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 247.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 289.

(l) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1870.
 Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 224.
 Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 454.

(o) Strype, p. 307. 314.
 See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* vol. ii. Collect. p. 249.

(y) Strype, p. 142.
 (z) *Id.* p. 141.

(a) *Ib.* p. 149, 150, &c.

(b) *Idem*, p. 146. 157, &c. 182.
 Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* vol. ii. p. 257, &c.

(c) Strype's *Memorials of T. Cranmer*, p. 162, &c.

(i) Page 26—28.

(m) *Ibid.*

(n) *Ibid.* p. 250.

[K] *The Common-prayer-book* — — — — was now finished and settled by Act of Parliament.] The persons by whom it was composed, were Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Nicolas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, afterwards of London; Tho. Goodrick, Bishop of Ely; Henry Holbeck, Bishop of Lincoln; John Skip, Bishop of Hereford; Tho. Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, afterwards of Ely; Geo. Day, Bishop of Chester; Dr. John Taylor, Dean, afterwards Bishop, of Lincoln; Dr. Richard Cox, Chancellor of Oxford, and Dean of Christ-Church and Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Dr. William May, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Tho. Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester, afterwards Dean of Durham; Dr. Simon Heines, Dean of Exeter; and Dr. John Redmayne, Master of Trinity College in Cambridge (13).

[L] *Authorized by Parliament.*] And it was enacted,

That it should begin to be used every where by All-Saints-day next following (14).

[M] *He extended his care to those Protestant Foreigners, &c.*] They were, Martin Bucer, made Professor of Divinity, and Paulus Fagius, Professor of the Hebrew tongue, at Cambridge: Peter Martyr, Professor of Divinity at Oxford: John a Lasco, the first Minister of the Dutch Church at London: Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochinus, Matthew Negelinus, Immanuel Tremellius, Valerand, &c (15).

[N] *Some of his friends* — — — — *advised him to fly, but he absolutely refused.*] Saying, 'It would be no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post he was in; and to shew, that he was not afraid to own all the Changes that were by his means made in Religion, in the last reign (17).'

(14) Stat. 5 & 6 Edw. VI.

(15) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 195, &c. and Godwin, *ubi supra*.

(16) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 314.

(13) Appendix, containing an historical Account of the compiling of the Liturgy, in Sam. Downes's edit. of Bp. Sparrow's *Rationale*, &c. edit. 1722, p. cxlviii. cxlix.

fruits

fruits of his Archbishoprick were sequestered. However, upon his humble and repeated application, he was pardoned the Treason, but it was resolved he should be proceeded against for heresy (*p*). In April 1554, he, and Ridley and Latimer, were removed to Oxford, in order for a public disputation with the Papists (*q*); which was accordingly held there towards the middle of the month, with great noise, triumph, and impudent confidence on the Papists side, and with as much gravity, learning, modesty, and convincing sufficiency on the side of the Protestant Bishops [*O*]. The 20th of April, two days after the end of these disputations, Cranmer and the two others were brought before the Commissioners, and asked, whether they would subscribe (to Popery)? which they unanimously refusing, were condemned as hereticks (*r*). From this sentence the Archbishop appealed to the just judgment of the Almighty; and wrote to the Council, giving them an account of the disputation, and desiring the Queen's pardon for his treason, which it seems was not yet remitted (*s*). By the Convocation, which met this year, his 'Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ,' was ordered to be burnt (*t*). Some of his friends petitioned the Queen in his behalf; putting her in mind, how he had once preserved her in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with him for her [*P*]; so that she had reason to believe he loved her, and would speak the truth to her, more than all the rest of the Clergy. But all his friends endeavours were ineffectual (*u*). The Sentence pronounced against him by Weston at Oxford being void in Law, because the Pope's authority was not yet re-established in England, a new Commission was sent from Rome for his trial and conviction. Accordingly, on September the 12th, 1555, he appeared before the Commissioners [*Q*] at St. Mary's Church, Oxon, where he was accused of blasphemy, perjury, incontinency, and heresy [*R*], against all which he vindicated himself (*w*). At last, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, to answer in person; which he said he would do, if the King and Queen would send him, but no care was taken to send him. Therefore, the Pope dispatched, on December the 14th, his Letters executory to the King and Queen, and to Bonner and Thirlby Bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him (*x*). In these Letters, Cranmer was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, according to his citation: which was a most shameless and infamous allegation; for, how could he possibly appear at Rome, when he was all the while kept a prisoner? However, upon the coming of the letters, Bonner and Thirlby, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story the King's and Queen's Proctors, went to Oxford to degrade him. They dressed him in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbishop, only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts: and then he was, piece by piece, stripped of all again. When they came to take the Crosier out of his hand, he refused to part with it, and pulled out an Appeal, whereby he appealed to the next general Council (*y*). After he was degraded, they put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare, and a towns-man's cap, and remanded him to prison (*z*). From thence he wrote Letters to the Queen, to give her a true and impartial account of what had passed at his degradation, to prevent mis-reports, and to justify himself in what he had said and done (*a*). Hitherto the Archbishop had manifested a great deal of courage, wisdom, and fortitude in his sufferings, but at last human frailty made him commit such a fault, as was the greatest blemish of his life. For, through flatteries, promises, importunities, threats, and the fear of death, he was prevailed upon to sign a Recantation [*S*], wherein he renounced the Protestant Religion, and embraced again all the Errors of Popery;

[*O*] *He, and Ridley, and Latimer, were removed to Oxford in order for a public Disputation, &c.* The Questions there disputed upon, were these, 1. In the Sacrament of the Altar, the natural body of Christ conceived of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really present, under the species of bread and wine, by virtue of the divine word pronounced by the Priest. 2. After the consecration, there doth not remain the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man. 3. In the mass, there is a lively propitiatory sacrifice of the Church, for the sins as well of the living as of the dead (*).

[*P*] *How he had preserved her in her father's time, &c.* Namely, when the King was resolved to send her to the Tower, and to make her suffer as a subject: because she would not obey the Laws of the Realm, in renouncing the Pope's Authority and Religion (18).

[*Q*] *He appeared before the Commissioners.* Brooks Bishop of Gloucester was appointed upon this occasion Subdelegate to Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this process; and Martin, and Story, Doctors of the Civil Law, were the Queen's Commissioners (19).

[*R*] *Where he was accused of blasphemy, perjury, incontinency, and heresy.* He was accused of blasphemy and heresy for his writings against Popery; of perjury, Vol. IV.

for breaking his oath to the Pope; and of incontinency, or adultery, on account of his being married (20).

[*S*] *He was prevailed upon to sign a Recantation.* We are informed by the industrious Mr. Strype (21), that Archbishop Cranmer was subtilly drawn in by the Papists to subscribe six different Papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable construction, the five following were added as explanations of it. That *first* Recantation was in these words, 'For as much as the King's and Queen's Majesties, by consent of their Parliament, have received the Pope's Authority within this Realm, I am content to submit myself to their Laws herein, and to take the Pope for chief Head of this Church of England, so far as God's Laws, and the Laws and Customs of this Realm, will permit.' In the *next*, he submitted himself to the Catholic Church of Christ, and unto the Pope, supreme Head of the same Church. In the *third*, he submitted to the King and Queen, and to all their Laws, as well concerning the Pope's supremacy, as others: and promised, that he would stir and move all others to live in quietness and obedience to their Majesties. As for his Book, he was content to submit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council. This was followed by a *fourth*, wherein he professed firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly to believe in all Articles and

5 P

Points

(p) Strype, p. 320, 321. Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 257.

(r) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1871, &c.

(s) Strype, p. 341.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 348.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 368. Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 241.

(w) Strype, p. 372. Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1871, &c. Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 331.

(y) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1882, 1883.

(a) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 377, &c.

(q) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 334, &c. Burnet, p. 280, &c.

(x) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 375.

Feb. 14, 1555-6.

(z) *Ibid.*

(20) *Ib.* p. 372.

(21) *Eccles. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 232-233.

(b) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1884.

(c) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 383. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 334.

(d) Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xv. p. 432.

Burnet, *ubi supra*, and Collection of Records, p. 300.

(e) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1886.

(i) Strype *ubi supra*, p. 389. Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1889.

(l) Fox, *ibid.* Strype, *ibid.*

(f) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1887.

(g) *Ibid.* Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 388. (h) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 334, &c.

(k) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 389.

Popery; which Recantation was immediately printed and dispersed about by his enemies (b). Notwithstanding that, the merciless Queen, not satisfied with this conquest, resolved to glut her revenge, by committing Cranmer to the flames. Accordingly, she sent for Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton; and gave him instructions to prepare a Sermon for that mournful occasion (c). And on the 24th of February a Writ was signed for the burning of Cranmer (d). The 21st day of March, which was the fatal day, he was brought to St. Mary's Church, and placed on a kind of stage over against the pulpit, where Dr. Cole was to preach. While Cole was haranguing, the unfortunate Cranmer expressed great inward confusion; often lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven; and frequently pouring out floods of tears (e). At the end of the Sermon, when Cole desired him to make an open profession of his Faith, as he had promised him he would; he, first, prayed in the most fervent manner; then made an exhortation to the people present, not to set their minds upon the world; to obey the King and Queen; to love each other; and to be charitable. After this he made a Confession of his Faith, beginning with the Creed, and concluding with these words, 'And I believe every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and New Testament.—And now, added he, I come to the great thing, that so much troubleth my conscience more than any thing I ever did or said in my whole life; and that is the setting abroad a writing contrary to the truth, which I here now renounce as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be; that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. As for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester (f).' Thunderstruck as it were with this unexpected Declaration, the enraged Popish crowd admonished him not to dissemble: 'Ah, replied he with tears, since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled (g).' Whereupon, they pulled him off the stage with the utmost fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom, over-against Baliol-College (h); where he put off his clothes in haste, and standing in his shirt, and without shoes, was fastened with a chain to the stake (i). Some pressing him to agree to his former recantation, he answered, showing his hand, 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall first suffer punishment (k).' Fire being applied to him, he stretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved (except that once with it he wiped his face) till it was consumed, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended;' and often repeating, 'This unworthy right hand (l).' At last, the fire getting up, he soon expired, never stirring or crying out all the while, only keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating more than once, 'Lord Jesus receive my spirit.' Such was the end of the renowned Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. As to his Character: He is represented as a man of an open and generous Mind, of great Sincerity and Candour, a lover of Truth, and a declared enemy to Falshood and Superstition: Humble and affable; and in every condition the same. Gentle and mild in his Temper; always ready to forgive, and be reconciled: Not soon heated, nor apt to give his opinion rashly of persons, or things. And though his Gentleness often exposed him to his Enemies, who from it took an advantage to use him ill, yet it did not lead him into such a weakness of Spirit, as to consent to every thing that was uppermost: But, in general, he never dissembled his opinion, nor disowned his friend. His Charity and Munificence to the indigent were extensive, and his Hospitality well regulated, not bestowed upon the Rich and the Powerful, but on his honest and poor Neighbours. He

Points of the Christian Religion and Catholic Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe. Moreover, as concerning the Sacraments, he declared he believed unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic Church did. In the *fifth* Paper, which is that in Fox (22), and has been thought to be his only Recantation, they required of him, to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors; to acknowledge the one only Catholic Church, to be that whereof the Pope is the Head; and to declare him Christ's Vicar. Then followed an express acknowledgment of Transubstantiation, the seven Sacraments, and of all the Doctrines of the Church of Rome in general. A *sixth* was still required of him, which was drawn up in so strong terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it. For it contained a large acknowledgment of all the Popish errors and corruptions, and a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemous, enemy of Christ, and murderer of Souls, on account of his being the author of King Henry's divorce, and of all the calamities, schisms,

and heresies of which that was the fountain. This was subscribed on the 18th of March. These six Papers were, soon after his death, sent to the press by Bonner, and published with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to speak at St. Mary's, before his Execution: and though he then spoke to a quite contrary effect, and revoked his former Recantations, Bonner had the confidence to publish this to the world, as if it had been approved and made use of by the Archbishop.—In 1736, William Whiston, M. A. published a little book entitled, 'An Enquiry into the Evidence of Archbishop Cranmer's Recantation: or Reasons for a suspicion that the pretended Copy of it is not genuine.' In that book he supposes, that what Cranmer signed, was only the first part of the Recantation printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, as far as the words—'without which there is no Salvation,'—that the rest was added by the Papists, but that Cranmer never set his hand thereto.

had

had a good Judgment, but no great quickness of apprehension, nor closeness of stile, which was diffused (m). However, he was a man of great Learning in Divinity, and in the Civil and Canon Laws (n). He generally spent about three parts of the day in study (o); and being of a most wonderful Diligence, he drew out of all the Authors he read, every thing that was remarkable, digesting those quotations into Common-place. He published, and left behind him in manuscript, several works [T]. As he was a lover of Learning,

[T] He published, and left behind him in manuscript, several works.] His printed works are, I. An account

of Mr. Pole's book, concerning King Henry VIIIth's marriage (23). II. Several Letters, to divers persons — To King Henry VIII — To Secretary Cromwel. — To Sir William Cecil. — To foreign Divines

(24). III. Three Discourses, upon his review of the King's book, intituled, *The Erudition of a Christian man* (25). IV. Other Discourses of his (26). V.

The Bishops Book, in which he had a part. VI. Answers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebels in Devonshire in 1549 (27). VII. The examination of

most points of Religion (28). VIII. A Form for the alteration of the Mass into a Communion (29).

IX. Some of the Homilies. X. A Catechism, intituled, A short Instruction to Christian Religion, for the singular profit of Children and young People (30).

XI. Against Unwritten Verities (31). XII. A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ;

with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same: Grounded and established upon God's holy word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient Doctors of the Church. This was translated into

Latin by John Young. In opposition to it, Gardiner published, 'An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a book

'wrote against the same.' XIII. Cranmer replied in the following book, 'An Answer by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan,

'unto a crafty and sophistical Cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly Doctrine of

'the most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ. Wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such Places of the Book of Dr.

'Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also a true Copy of the book written,

'and in open Court delivered by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or diminished, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the original.'

Lond. 1551. reprinted 1580. It was translated into Latin by Sir John Cheke. An Answer was also made to this book by Ste. Gardiner, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Constantinus*, and intituled,

Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiae Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet. Paris 1552. XIV. Cranmer began an Answer to

this, and finished three parts of it, but lived not to compleat the whole (32). XV. Preface to the English translation of the Bible. XVI. A Speech in the

House of Lords, concerning a general Council (33). XVII. Letter to King Henry VIII. in justification of

Anne Boleyn, May 3, 1535 (34). XVIII. The Reasons that led him to oppose the Six Articles (35). For this he had like to come into great trouble, as may

be seen in Fox (36). XIX. Resolution of some Questions concerning the Sacrament (37). XX. Injunctions given at his visitation within the Diocese of Hereford (38). XXI. A collection of passages out

of the Canon-Law, to show the necessity of reforming it (39). XXII. Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses (40). XXIII. Concerning a farther reformation, and against sacrilege (41).

XXIV. Answers to some Queries concerning Confirmation (42). XXV. Some considerations offered to King Edward VI. to induce him to proceed to a

farther reformation (43). XXVI. Answer to the Lords of the Privy-Council (44). XXVII. Manifesto against the Mass (45).

Those works of his which still remain in manuscript, are I. Two large Volumes of Collections out of Holy Scripture, and the ancient Fathers, and later

Doctors and Schoolmen. The first Volume contains 545 pages, and the second above 559. They are

chiefly upon the points controverted between us and the Church of Rome; namely, about their seven Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, Images, Relicks, of

true Religion and Superstition, the Mass, Prayer, the Virgin Mary, &c. These two Volumes are in the

King's Library (46). When they were offered to sale, they were valued at 100*l*. but Bishop Beveridge, and Dr. Jane, appraisers for the King, brought down

the price to 50*l* (47). II. The Lord Burleigh had fix or seven Volumes more of his writing (48). III. And

Dr. Burnet mentions two Volumes besides, that he saw, but they are supposed to be now lost (49). IV. There are also several Letters of his in the Collections of Sir Robert Cotton (50).

M.

* * [The character of Archbishop Cranmer was in many respects extremely amiable, but it must at the same time be acknowledged, that there were several

parts of his conduct which were very censurable. Some just observations on this subject have been made by the ingenious Mr. Gilpin, in his elegant Life of

Archbishop Cranmer, published, in 8vo. in 1784. That Gentleman remarks, that 'the character of

'Archbishop Cranmer hath been equally the subject of exaggerated praise, and of undeserved censure

'(51).' The most indefensible parts of the Archbishop's character are the readiness with which he sometimes concurred in the unjustifiable proceedings

of Henry VIII. and the instances wherein he shewed himself to be actuated by intolerant principles.

He first recommended himself to Henry by the zeal which he displayed in promoting the King's Divorce from Queen Catharine; and Mr. Gilpin, speaking

of his undertaking to collect the opinions of the foreign Universities in Henry's behalf, makes the following observations: 'This expedition so readily

'projected, and so chearfully undertaken, does not perhaps place Dr. Cranmer in the most advantageous point of light. There were good political

'reasons, no doubt, to induce the King to wish for a divorce. His marriage with Catharine was by no

'means generally approved, either at home, or abroad: the legitimacy of Mary, in treaties of

'marriage with neighbouring Princes, had been questioned; and the terrible effects of the late civil

'wars in England, occasioned by disputed titles, were wounds not yet entirely healed. Male issue

'to the King, which might prevent such consequences, was therefore very desirable to all men.

'But reasons of State, however admissible in a Cabinet, should never be supposed to influence a church-

'man. We allow, that Dr. Cranmer might think the marriage wrong: but though it possibly might

'be a point of conscience with the King, it could however be none with him; and there was manifestly a difference between advising not to do a

'thing; and advising to undo it, when already done; at least in a matter of so disputable a nature. He

'knew, that, in the Old Testament, the marriage of a sister was allowed; and among the Patriarchs

'often practised: and that the marriage of a brother's wife was, in some cases, enjoined. The New

'Testament was silent on the subject. There could, therefore, be no moral turpitude in it: nor

'any thing but the common law, and usage of nations, to restrain it.

'On the other hand, the baseness, and ungenerous behaviour, which followed the contrary part, were

'evident at sight. To repudiate a woman, with whom the King had cohabited near twenty years

'as his wife; and to illegitimate a daughter, bred up in the highest expectations, and now marriageable, were acts of such cruelty, that it seems to indicate a want of feeling to be in any degree accessory to them. To this may be added, that the notoriety of the King's passion for Anne Boleyn,

'which all men believed to be, if not the first mover,

(46) Royal Libr. 7 B. xi. xii. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat.

vol. i. p. 171. (47) Casley's Catalogue of the Royal Library, p. 124, 125.

(48) Burnet, *ubi supra*. (49) *Ibid*.

(50) Cleopatra, E. & F. 26.

(51) Pref. to the Life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. i.

(m) Burnet, Hist. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 336. (n) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 439. (o) *Ibid*. p. 431.

(23) Memorials of T. Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 6. and Append. p. 3. (24) In several parts of the same book.

(25) Append. *ubi supra*, p. 57. (26) *Ibid*.

(27) *Ib*. p. 86. (28) *Ib*. p. 77; and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. Collect. No. 21. p. 201.

(29) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 139. (30) *Ibid*. p. 159.

(31) Page 160.

(32) *Ibid*. p. 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 370.

Fox, p. 1870. (33) Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 174.

(34) *Ibid*. p. 200. (35) *Ibid*. p. 265.

(36) Page 1185. (37) Burnet, *ubi supra*.

Coll. of Records, p. 201. (38) *Ibid*. p. 182.

(39) *Ib*. p. 257. (40) Addenda to vol. i. p. 317.

(41) Burnet, vol. ii. Collect. p. 236.

(42) *Ib*. p. 319. (43) *Ib*. p. 320.

(44) *Ib*. Collect. p. 187. (45) *Ibid*. p. 249.

Learning, so was he also an encourager of it; allowing yearly Salaries to many Scholars in Germany, and other places (p). With regard to some of his Opinions; he had the same

at least the principal spring of his pretended scruples, threw a very indelicate imputation on all who had any concern in the affair. No serious Churchman, one would imagine, could be fond of the idea of administering to the King's passions. It is with concern, therefore, that we see a man of Dr. Cranmer's integrity and simplicity of manners, acting so much out of character, as to compound an affair of this kind, if not with his conscience, at least with all delicacy of sentiment; and to parade through Europe, in the quality of an Ambassador, defending every where the King's *pious intentions*.

But the cause animated him. With the illegality of the King's marriage, he endeavoured virtually to establish the insufficiency of the Pope's dispensation; and the latter was an argument so near his heart, that it seems to have added merit to the former. We cannot, indeed, account for his embarking so zealously in this business, without supposing his principal motive was to free his country from the tyranny of Rome, to which this step very evidently led. So desirable an end would, in some degree, he might imagine, sanctify the means (52).

(52) Life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 19
—22.

Of two of the instances of persecution, in which Archbishop Cranmer was concerned, Mr. Gilpin gives the following account. 'Joan Bocher and George Paris were accused, though at different times, one for denying the humanity of Christ; the other for denying his divinity. They were both tried, and condemned to the stake: and the Archbishop not only consented to these acts of blood; but even persuaded the aversion of the young King into a compliance. "Your Majesty must distinguish (said he, informing his Royal Pupil's conscience) between common opinions, and such as are the essential articles of faith. These latter we must on no account suffer to be opposed." Mr. Gilpin justly observes, that "nothing even plausible can be suggested in defence of the Archbishop on this occasion; except only that the spirit of Popery was not yet wholly repressed (53)." These instances of injustice and barbarity were, indeed, totally indefensible, and a great disgrace to Cranmer, and to all who were concerned in them. It does not appear, that he endeavoured to promote the death of Lambert; but, as Mr. Gilpin observes, "it were to be wished he had rid his hands of the disputation

(53) Ibid. p. 131,
132.

(54) Ibid. p. 59.

"likewise (54)." The public disputation, in which Cranmer bore some part, proved the means of bringing Lambert to the stake.

It has been observed in the text, that Cranmer "was one of the examiners of those that took the degrees in Divinity." In this office he was eminently useful. Mr. Strype says, that "out of the value the University had of his learning, he was appointed one of the examiners of such as commenced Bachelors and Doctors in Divinity. According to whose approbations, the University allowed them to proceed. In which place he did much good; for he used to examine these candidates out of the Scriptures. And by no means would let them pass, if he found they were unskilful in it, and unacquainted with the History of the Bible. So were the Friars especially, whose study lay only in school-authors. Whom, therefore, he sometimes turned back as insufficient, advising them to study the Scriptures for some years longer, before they came for their degrees, it being a shame for a Professor in Divinity to be unskilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of God, and the grounds of Divinity lay. Whereby he made himself from the beginning hated by the Friars. Yet some of the more ingenuous sort of them afterwards rendered him great and public thanks for refusing them; whereby, being put upon the study of God's word, they attained to more sound knowledge in religion. One of these was Dr. Barat, a White Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich (55)."

(55) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 3.

One of the most honourable transactions of Arch-

bishop Cranmer's life, was the firm stand that he made against the Act of the Six Articles. This Act was so strongly supported by the King, that even the Protestants in Parliament made little opposition to it. But Cranmer opposed it with great zeal and steadiness. 'The good Archbishop,' says Mr. Gilpin, 'never appeared in a more truly Christian light, than on this occasion. In the midst of so general a defection, (for there were numbers in the House, who had hitherto shewn great forwardness in reformation), he alone made a stand. Three days he maintained his ground; and baffled the arguments of all opposers. But argument was not their weapon; and the Archbishop saw himself obliged to sink under superior power. Henry ordered him to leave the House. The Primate refused: "It was God's business," he said, "and not man's." And when he could do no more, he boldly entered his protest. Such an instance of fortitude is sufficient to wipe off many of those Courtly stains, which have fastened on his memory (56).'

(56) Life, p. 71.

His behaviour in the case of the Duke of Norfolk was also entitled to great commendation. 'The last Act of this reign,' says Mr. Gilpin, 'was an Act of blood; and gave the Archbishop a noble opportunity of shewing, how well he had learned that great Christian lesson of forgiving an enemy. Almost without the shadow of justice, Henry had given directions to have the Duke of Norfolk attainted by an Act of Parliament. The King's Mandate stood in lieu of guilt; and the Bill passed the House with great ease. No man, except the Bishop of Winchester, had been so great an enemy to the Archbishop as the Duke of Norfolk. He had always thwarted the Primate's measures; and oftener than once had practised against his life. How many would have seen with secret pleasure the workings of Providence against so rancorous an enemy; satisfied in having themselves no hand in his unjust fate! But the Archbishop saw the affair in another light: he saw it with horror; and although the King had in a particular manner interested himself in this business, the Primate opposed the Bill with all his might; and when his opposition was vain, he left the House with indignation, and retired to Croydon (57).'

(57) Ibid. p. 109,
110.

He was remarkable for the placability of his temper, and for shewing kindness to those by whom he had been greatly injured. Hence it is mentioned, in Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth, as a common saying concerning him:

— "Do my Lord of Canterbury
"But one shrewd turn, and he's your friend for
"ever."

Bishop Burnet takes notice of some malevolent accusations that had been privately brought to the King against Cranmer, with a view to ruin him, including a charge of heresy, and on which subject his Majesty conversed with him; and the Bishop adds: 'His candour and simplicity wrought so on the King, that he discovered to him the whole plot that was laid against him; and said, that instead of bringing him to any trial about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit Judge in his own cause. But the King said to him, he was resolved none other should judge it, but those he should name. So he named his Chancellor, and his Register; to whom the King added another: and a commission being given them, they went into Kent, and sat three weeks to find out the first contrivers of this accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the King's esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the Commissioners proceeded faintly, Cranmer's friends moved, that some man of courage and authority might be sent thither, to canvas this

same notions as Calvin about Predestination and Grace. He also was zealous at first for the real presence, but afterwards altered his mind (q). And he seemed to make Ecclesiastical

(q) Strype, *ubi supra*, p. 65, 66.

accusation more carefully. So Dr. Lee, Dean of York, was brought up about Allhallow-tide, and sent into Kent. And he, who had been well acquainted with the arts of discovering secrets, when he was one of the visitors of the Abbies, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons; among whose papers letters were found, both from the Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. London, and some of those whom Cranmer had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the Session of Parliament: and the King was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise of it. And he received no addresses from the Archbishop to prosecute it further: who was so noted for his clemency, and following our Saviour's rule of *doing good for evil*, that it was commonly said, the way to get his favour was to do him an injury. These were the only instances in which he expressed his resentments. Two of the conspirators against him had been persons signally obliged by him. The one was the Bishop Suffragan of Dover; the other was a civilian, whom he had employed much in his business. But all the notice he took of it was to shew them their letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carried it so to them afterwards, as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a person of quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and assistance in a suit, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almost procured it: but the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his secret accusers, asked him whether he took him for his friend. He answered that he did so. Then the King said, the other was a knave, and his mortal enemy; and bad him, when he should see him next, call him knave to his face. Cranmer answered, that such language did not become a Bishop. But the King suddenly commanded him to do it; yet his modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a command. And so he passed the matter over. When these things came to be known, all persons, that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged, that his behaviour was suitable to the example and doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the world: and very well became so great a Bishop, and such a reformer of the Christian Religion; who in those sublime and extraordinary instances practised that which he taught others to do (58).

(58) Hist. of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 328, 329.

Archbishop Cranmer was a great friend and patron of learned foreigners, who had been persecuted for their attachment to the principles of the Reformation. Mr. Gilpin says, 'the suffering professors of Protestantism, who were scattered in great numbers about the various countries of Europe, were always sure of an asylum with him. His Palace at Lambeth might be called a seminary of learned men; the greater part of whom persecution had driven from home. Here, among other celebrated reformers, Martyr, Bucer, Alesius, Phage found sanctuary. Martyr, Bucer, and Phage were liberally pensioned by the Archbishop, till he could otherwise provide for them. It was his wish to fix them in the two Universities, where he hoped their great knowledge, and spirit of inquiry, would forward his designs of restoring learning; and he at length obtained Professorships for them all. Bucer and Phage were settled at Cambridge; where they only shewed what might have been expected from them, both dying within a few months after their arrival. But at Oxford, Martyr acted a very conspicuous part; and contributed to introduce among the Students there a very liberal mode of thinking.

Alesius had been driven from Scotland, his native country, for the novelty of his opinions. The cause in which he suffered, added to his abilities

VOL. IV.

and learning, so far recommended him to the University of Leipzig, to which he retired, that he was chosen a Professor there. At this place he became acquainted with Melancthon, who having written a treatise on some part of the controversy between the Papists and Protestants, was desirous of consulting the Archbishop on a few points; and engaged Alesius, otherwise not averse to the employment, to undertake a voyage into England for that purpose. In the course of the conference, the Archbishop was so much taken with his simplicity and learning, that he settled a pension on him, and retained him in his family.

The misfortunes of the times drew Alesius also into England, where the Archbishop became an early patron to him; and shewed, on this occasion at least, the candour and liberality of his sentiments, by permitting a person, who held many opinions very different from his own, to collect his brethren, and such as chose to communicate with him, into a Church. At the head of this little assembly Alesius long presided; exhibiting an eminent example of piety and decency of manners.

Among other learned foreigners, John Sleidan was under particular obligations to the Archbishop. Sleidan was, at that time, engaged in writing the History of the Reformation; a work from which much was expected; and which the Archbishop, by allowing him a pension, and opportunities of study, enabled him to prosecute with less difficulty, than had attended the beginning of his labours (59).

(59) Life of Cranmer, p. 133, 134, 135.

As Archbishop Cranmer was a learned man himself, so he was also a great patron of all solid learning, and of whatever he thought calculated to promote it. Mr. Gilpin observes, that 'the Archbishop always thought himself much interested in the welfare of both the Universities, but of Cambridge in particular; and though he does not appear to have had any legal power there, yet such was his interest at Court, and such was the general dependence of the more eminent Members of that Society upon him, that scarcely any thing was done there, either of a public or a private nature, without consulting him. It was his chief endeavour to encourage, as much as possible, a spirit of inquiry; and to rouse the Students from the slumber of their predecessors; well knowing, the *libertas philosophandi* was the great mean of detecting error, and that true learning could never be at variance with true religion. Ascham, and Cheke, two of the most elegant scholars of that age, were chiefly relied on, and consulted by the Archbishop in this work (60).

(60) *Ibid.* p. 129.

Mr. Gilpin also observes, that 'Leland, the first British Antiquarian, was among the Archbishop's particular friends. Leland had a wonderful facility in learning languages; and was esteemed the first Linguist in Europe. The Archbishop soon took notice of him; and, with his usual discernment, recommended him to be the King's Librarian. His genius threw him on the study of antiquities; and his opportunities, on those of his own country. The Archbishop, in the mean time, by procuring preferment for him, enabled him to make those inquiries, to which his countrymen have been so much indebted.

Among others, who were under obligations to the Archbishop's generosity, was the amiable Bishop Latimer; who not choosing to be reinstated in his old Bishopric, and having made but an indifferent provision for his future necessities, spent a great part of his latter life with the Archbishop, at Lambeth.

Besides this intimacy with learned men at home, the Archbishop held a constant correspondence with most of the learned men in Europe.

The great patron of Erasmus had been Archbishop Warham; than whom, to give Popery its due, few churchmen of those times led a more apostolical life. When Cranmer succeeded Warham, Erasmus was in the decline of age. He found, however,

5 Q

during

stical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil
 (r) Burnet, vol. i. were (r). What was most blameable in his Conduct (besides his Recantation) was the
 p. 172. part

‘ during the short time he lived, as beneficent a friend under the new Archbishop, as he had lost in the old one.

‘ The Primate corresponded also with Osiander, Melancthon, and Calvin. His foreign correspondence, indeed, was so large, that he appointed a person with a salary at Canterbury, whose chief employment it was, to forward, and receive, his packets.

‘ Among the most eminent of his correspondents, was Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne. This Prelate had been early impressed with the principles of the Reformation by Melancthon; and had used all his influence to introduce them in his Electorate. But he met with powerful opposition; the Pope and Emperor combining against him, the former in his spiritual, the latter in his temporal capacity. So potent a combination crushed him. Terms, indeed, were offered; but he would hearken to no dishonourable compromise. “ Nothing,” he would say, “ can happen to me unexpectedly: I have long since fortified my mind against every event.” Instead of a splendid life, therefore, at variance with his opinions, he chose a private station; in which he enjoyed the pleasures of study, the friendship of good men, and the tranquility of a good conscience (61).’

(61) Life of Cranmer, p. 136, 137, 138.

Of the learning of Archbishop Cranmer, Mr. Gilpin remarks, that ‘ it was chiefly confined to his profession. He had applied himself in Cambridge to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages; which though esteemed at that time as the mark of heresy, appeared to him the only sources of attaining a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. He had so accurately studied canon-law, that he was esteemed the best canonist in England: and his reading in theology was so extensive, and his collections from the Fathers so very voluminous, that there were few points, in which he was not accurately informed; and on which he could not give the opinions of the several ages of the Church from the times of the Apostles. “ If I had not seen with my own eyes,” says Peter Martyr, “ I could not easily have believed, with what infinite pains and labour, he had digested his great reading into particular chapters, under the heads of Councils, Canons, Decrees, &c.” His parts were solid, rather than shining; and his memory such, that it might be called an index to the books he had read, and the collections he had made (62).’

(62) Ibid. p. 217, 218.

‘ He was a sensible writer, rather nervous than elegant. His writings were entirely confined to the great controversy which then subsisted; and contain the whole sum of the theological learning of those times. His Library was filled with a very noble collection of books; and was open to all men of letters. “ I meet with authors here, Roger Ascham would say, which the two Universities cannot furnish.” At the Archbishop’s death, the greater part of his original MSS. were left at his Palace of Ford near Canterbury, where they fell into the hands of his enemies. In the days of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker, who had an intimation, that many of them were still in being, obtained an order from Lord Burleigh, then Secretary of State, in the year 1563, to search for them in all suspected places; and recovered a great number of them. They found their way afterwards into some of the principal Libraries of England; but the greatest collection of them were deposited in Benet-College in Cambridge (63).’

(63) Ibid. p. 220, 221.

Mr. Gilpin, after remarking that Archbishop Cranmer preached often, wherever he visited, says, ‘ In his sermons to the people he was very plain and instructive; insisting chiefly on the essentials of Christianity.’—Sir Richard Morison, a Gentleman who had been much employed in embassies abroad, both under Henry the eighth and Edward the sixth, gives us this character of the Archbishop’s sermons, of which he was a frequent auditor.

‘ The subjects of his sermons, for the most part, were, from whence salvation is to be fetched; and on whom the confidence of man ought to lean. They insisted much on doctrines of faith and works; and taught what the fruits of faith were, and what place was to be given to works. They instructed men in the duties they owed their neighbour; and that every one was our neighbour, to whom we might any way do good. They declared, what men ought to think of themselves, after they had done all; and lastly, what promises Christ hath made; and who they are, to whom he will make them good. Thus he brought in the true preaching of the Gospel, altogether different from the ordinary way of preaching in those days, which was to treat concerning saints, to tell legendary tales of them, and to report miracles wrought for the confirmation of transubstantiation, and other Popish corruptions. And such a heat of conviction accompanied his sermons, that the people departed from them with minds possessed of a great hatred of vice; and burning with a desire of virtue (64).’

(64) Ibid. p. 161, 162, 163.

He was a great economist of his time. Mr. Gilpin says, ‘ He rose commonly at five o’clock; and continued in his study till nine. These early hours, he would say, were the only hours he could call his own. After breakfast he generally spent the remainder of the morning either in public, or private business. His Chapel-hour was eleven; and his dinner-hour twelve. After dinner, he spent an hour either in conversation with his friends, in playing at chess, or in what he liked better, overlooking a chess-board. He then retired again to his study, till his Chapel-bell rang at five. After prayers, he generally walked till six, which was, in those times, the hour of supper. His evening meal was sparing. Often he ate nothing; and when that was the case, it was his usual custom, as he sat down to table, to draw on a pair of gloves; which was as much as to say, that his hands had nothing to do. After supper, he spent an hour in walking, and another in his study, retiring to his bed-chamber about nine. This was his usual mode of living, when he was most vacant; but very often his afternoons, as well as his mornings, were engaged in business. To this his chess-hour after dinner was commonly first assigned, and the remainder of the afternoon, as the occasion required. He generally however contrived, if possible, even in the busiest day, to devote some porportion of his time to his books besides the morning. And Mr. Fox tells us, he always accustomed himself to read and write in a standing posture; esteeming constant sitting very pernicious to a studious man (65).’

(65) Ibid. p. 216, 217.

Mr. Gilpin also observes, that ‘ he was a very amiable master in his family; and admirably preserved the difficult medium between indulgence and restraint. He had, according to the custom of the times, a very numerous retinue; among whom the most exact order was observed. Every week the Steward of his household held a kind of court in the great Hall of his Palace, in which all family affairs were settled; servants wages were paid; complaints were heard; and faults examined. Delinquents were publicly rebuked, and after the third admonition discharged.

‘ His hospitality and charities were great and noble, equal to his station, greater often than his abilities. A plentiful table was among the virtues of those days. His was always bountifully covered. In an upper room was spread his own; where he seldom wanted company of the first distinction. Here a great many learned foreigners were daily entertained, and partook of his bounty. In his great Hall a long table was plentifully covered, every day, for guests, and strangers of a lower rank; at the upper end of which were three smaller tables, designed for his own Officers, and inferior Gentlemen. The learned Tremellius, who had himself

(1) Burnet, ubi
supra, vol. i.
p. 253.

part he had in Lambert's death (3), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (4). But notwithstanding these blemishes, he must be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

(4) Idem, vol. ii.
p. 111, 112.

himself often been an eye-witness of the Archbishop's hospitality, gives this character of it: *Archiepiscopi domus, publicum erat doctis, et piis omnibus hospitium; quod ipse hospes, Mecænas, et pater, talibus semper patere voluit, quoad vixit, aut potuit; homo φιλοζενος nec minus φιλοδογος.*

Among other instances of the Archbishop's charity, we have one recorded which was truly noble. After the destruction of monasteries, and before hospitals were erected, the nation saw no species of greater misery, than that of wounded and disbanded soldiers. For the use of such miserable objects, as were landed on the southern coasts of the island, the Archbishop fitted up his Manor-house of Beckesburn in Kent. He formed it indeed into a complete Hospital; appointing a Physician, a Surgeon, Nurses; and every thing proper, as well for food, as physic. Nor did his charity stop here. Each man, on his recovery, was furnished with money to carry him home, in proportion to the distance of his abode (66).

(66) Life of
Cranmer, p. 233.

It appears, that in his youth, and even after he became an Archbishop, Cranmer was a good horseman, and not unpractised in field-sports and exercises. Mr. Strype says, 'Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not he should be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises. Inasmuch that he used himself to shoot. And many times he permitted himself to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses. So that when he was Bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely. As otherwise, at all times, there was not any in his house that would become

an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long bow, and many times kill his deer with the cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was pore-blind (67).'

(67) Memorials
of Archbishop
Cranmer, p. 2.

It has been taken notice of in the text, that after the passing of the Act for the Six Articles, Archbishop Cranmer sent his wife into Germany. But she afterwards returned again to England; and Mr. Strype informs us, that 'in the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the Clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her (68).' Mr. Gilpin says, 'He left behind him a widow and children; but as he always kept his family in obscurity, for prudential reasons, we know little about them. They had been kindly provided for by Henry the Eighth; who, without any solicitation from the Primate himself, gave him a considerable grant from the Abbey of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire; which his family enjoyed after his decease. King Edward made some addition to his private fortune: and his heirs were restored in blood by an Act of Parliament, in the reign of Elizabeth (69).'

(68) Ibid. p. 418.

Mr. Hume says, that Archbishop Cranmer was undoubtedly a man of merit; possessed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party (70).']

(69) Life, p.
235.

(70) History of
England, vol. iv.
p. 461. edit. 2^{vo}.
1763.

* * [C R A S H A W (RICHARD), (*) an accomplished Scholar and a devout Poet of the last century, whose genius and virtue, though celebrated by one of the most eloquent among his poetical cotemporaries, have suffered such unmerited neglect, that his name was omitted in the first edition of this work. The singular incidents of his life, and the peculiar turn of his compositions may, in great measure, account for the oblivion into which he sunk for so considerable a period. Few particulars of his personal history can be traced; and for these we are chiefly indebted to Anthony Wood; who placing the name of Crashaw in his List of Persons admitted to Degrees in Oxford [A] Ann. Dom. 1641, 17 Car. 1. proceeds to inform us, that he was the son of an eminent Divine whose name was William; that he was educated at the Charterhouse, that he became a Student of Pembroke-hall, and a Fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge, where he was distinguished for his poetical talents in 1637; for it appears from the signature to one of his academical Latin Poems, that he was at this time Fellow of Peterhouse (a). As the researches which have been made in the two societies of Cambridge to which this amiable scholar belonged, have furnished no new memorials of his person or his genius, we must content ourselves with repeating the few melancholy incidents which have hitherto formed the slender history of his life. In 1644, when the Earl of Manchester, under the authority of the Parliament, new-modelled the University of Cambridge, by expelling such Members as refused the Covenant, Crashaw, on the loss of his Fellowship, sought a refuge in France, and embraced the religion of that country [B]. Being found there in great distress by Cowley, his generous

(*) This article
has been oblig-
ingly presented
to the Editor by
William Hayley,
Esq.

(a) Nichol's
Poems, vol. vii.
p. 103.

[A] Degrees in Oxford.] Not that it appears so in the public Register, says Wood, but in the private observations of a certain Master of Arts, that was this year living in the University; but in what degree he was incorporated those observations mention not (1).

(1) Ath. Oxon.
vol. ii. Fast. p. 3.

The name of Richard Crashaw occurs in the Index to the manuscript Lives of illustrious men, educated at Cambridge, which were compiled by Morris Drake Morris, and are preserved in the Harleian collection. But this Index seems to comprize a List of all the Lives, which the author intended to execute; for in his work itself, which he left unfinished, no article is allotted to our Poet.

[B] The religion of that country.] Those who have attributed the conversion of Crashaw to motives of interest, must have been utterly unacquainted with

the extreme tenderness and enthusiasm of his character. So far from being induced to change his religion from any worldly motives, he seems rather to have been converted by his passionate admiration for that fair canonized enthusiast, St. Teresa of Spain: her pious compositions appear to have been his favorite study, and the reader who peruses the following address to her, whatever he may think concerning the tender bigotry of the Poet, will hardly suspect that his piety was not perfectly sincere.

O thou undaunted daughter of desires,
By all thy dower of lights and fires;
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
By all thy lives and deaths of love;
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirsts of love more large than they;
By

tical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were (r). What was most blameable in his Conduct (besides his Recantation) was the part

‘ during the short time he lived, as beneficent a friend under the new Archbishop, as he had lost in the old one.

‘ The Primate corresponded also with Osiander, Melancthon, and Calvin. His foreign correspondence, indeed, was so large, that he appointed a person with a salary at Canterbury, whose chief employment it was, to forward, and receive, his packets.

‘ Among the most eminent of his correspondents, was Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne. This Prelate had been early impressed with the principles of the Reformation by Melancthon; and had used all his influence to introduce them in his Electorate. But he met with powerful opposition; the Pope and Emperor combining against him, the former in his spiritual, the latter in his temporal capacity. So potent a combination crushed him. Terms, indeed, were offered; but he would hearken to no dishonourable compromise. “Nothing,” he would say, “can happen to me unexpectedly: I have long since fortified my mind against every event.” Instead of a splendid life, therefore, at variance with his opinions, he chose a private station; in which he enjoyed the pleasures of study, the friendship of good men, and the tranquility of a good conscience (61).’

(61) Life of Cranmer, p. 136, 137, 138.

Of the learning of Archbishop Cranmer, Mr. Gilpin remarks, that ‘it was chiefly confined to his profession. He had applied himself in Cambridge to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages; which though esteemed at that time as the mark of heresy, appeared to him the only sources of attaining a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. He had so accurately studied canon-law, that he was esteemed the best canonist in England: and his reading in theology was so extensive, and his collections from the Fathers so very voluminous, that there were few points, in which he was not accurately informed; and on which he could not give the opinions of the several ages of the Church from the times of the Apostles. “If I had not seen with my own eyes,” says Peter Martyr, “I could not easily have believed, with what infinite pains and labour, he had digested his great reading into particular chapters, under the heads of Councils, Canons, Decrees, &c.” His parts were solid, rather than shining; and his memory such, that it might be called an index to the books he had read, and the collections he had made (62).’

(62) Ibid. p. 217, 218.

‘ He was a sensible writer, rather nervous than elegant. His writings were entirely confined to the great controversy which then subsisted; and contain the whole sum of the theological learning of those times. His Library was filled with a very noble collection of books; and was open to all men of letters. “I meet with authors here, Roger Ascham would say, which the two Universities cannot furnish.” At the Archbishop’s death, the greater part of his original MSS. were left at his Palace of Ford near Canterbury, where they fell into the hands of his enemies. In the days of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker, who had an intimation, that many of them were still in being, obtained an order from Lord Burleigh, then Secretary of State, in the year 1563, to search for them in all suspected places; and recovered a great number of them. They found their way afterwards into some of the principal Libraries of England; but the greatest collection of them were deposited in Benet-College in Cambridge (63).’

(63) Ibid. p. 220, 221.

Mr. Gilpin, after remarking that Archbishop Cranmer preached often, wherever he visited, says, ‘In his sermons to the people he was very plain and instructive; insisting chiefly on the essentials of Christianity.’—Sir Richard Morison, a Gentleman who had been much employed in embassies abroad, both under Henry the eighth and Edward the sixth, gives us this character of the Archbishop’s sermons, of which he was a frequent auditor.

‘ The subjects of his sermons, for the most part, were, from whence salvation is to be fetched; and on whom the confidence of man ought to lean. They insisted much on doctrines of faith and works; and taught what the fruits of faith were, and what place was to be given to works. They instructed men in the duties they owed their neighbour; and that every one was our neighbour, to whom we might any way do good. They declared, what men ought to think of themselves, after they had done all; and lastly, what promises Christ hath made; and who they are, to whom he will make them good. Thus he brought in the true preaching of the Gospel, altogether different from the ordinary way of preaching in those days, which was to treat concerning saints, to tell legendary tales of them, and to report miracles wrought for the confirmation of transubstantiation, and other Popish corruptions. And such a heat of conviction accompanied his sermons, that the people departed from them with minds possessed of a great hatred of vice; and burning with a desire of virtue (64).’

(64) Ibid. p. 161, 162, 163.

He was a great economist of his time. Mr. Gilpin says, ‘He rose commonly at five o’clock; and continued in his study till nine. These early hours, he would say, were the only hours he could call his own. After breakfast he generally spent the remainder of the morning either in public, or private business. His Chapel-hour was eleven; and his dinner-hour twelve. After dinner, he spent an hour either in conversation with his friends, in playing at chess, or in what he liked better, overlooking a chess-board. He then retired again to his study, till his Chapel-bell rang at five. After prayers, he generally walked till six, which was, in those times, the hour of supper. His evening meal was sparing. Often he ate nothing; and when that was the case, it was his usual custom, as he sat down to table, to draw on a pair of gloves; which was as much as to say, that his hands had nothing to do. After supper, he spent an hour in walking, and another in his study, retiring to his bed-chamber about nine. This was his usual mode of living, when he was most vacant; but very often his afternoons, as well as his mornings, were engaged in business. To this his chess-hour after dinner was commonly first assigned, and the remainder of the afternoon, as the occasion required. He generally however contrived, if possible, even in the busiest day, to devote some porportion of his time to his books besides the morning. And Mr. Fox tells us, he always accustomed himself to read and write in a standing posture; esteeming constant sitting very pernicious to a studious man (65).’

(65) Ibid. p. 216, 217.

Mr. Gilpin also observes, that ‘he was a very amiable master in his family; and admirably preserved the difficult medium between indulgence and restraint. He had, according to the custom of the times, a very numerous retinue; among whom the most exact order was observed. Every week the Steward of his household held a kind of court in the great Hall of his Palace, in which all family affairs were settled; servants wages were paid; complaints were heard; and faults examined. Delinquents were publicly rebuked, and after the third admonition discharged.

‘ His hospitality and charities were great and noble, equal to his station, greater often than his abilities. A plentiful table was among the virtues of those days. His was always bountifully covered. In an upper room was spread his own; where he seldom wanted company of the first distinction. Here a great many learned foreigners were daily entertained, and partook of his bounty. In his great Hall a long table was plentifully covered, every day, for guests, and strangers of a lower rank; at the upper end of which were three smaller tables, designed for his own Officers, and inferior Gentlemen. The learned Tremellius, who had himself

(s) Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 253.

part he had in Lambert's death (s), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (t). But notwithstanding these blemishes, he must be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

'himself often been an eye-witness of the Archbishop's hospitality, gives this character of it: *Archiepiscopi domus, publicum erat doctis, et piis omnibus hospitium; quod ipse hospes, Mecenas, et pater, talibus semper patere voluit, quoad vixit, aut potuit; homo φιλοζενος nec minus φιλοδογος.*'

'Among other instances of the Archbishop's charity, we have one recorded which was truly noble. After the destruction of monasteries, and before hospitals were erected, the nation saw no species of greater misery, than that of wounded and disbanded soldiers. For the use of such miserable objects, as were landed on the southern coasts of the island, the Archbishop fitted up his Manor-house of Beckesburn in Kent. He formed it indeed into a compleat Hospital; appointing a Physician, a Surgeon, Nurses; and every thing proper, as well for food, as physic. Nor did his charity stop here. Each man, on his recovery, was furnished with money to carry him home, in proportion to the distance of his abode (66).'

(66) Life of Cranmer, p. 233.

It appears, that in his youth, and even after he became an Archbishop, Cranmer was a good horseman, and not unpractised in field-sports and exercises. Mr. Strype says, 'Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises. Inasmuch that he used himself to shoot. And many times he permitted himself to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses. So that when he was Bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely. As otherwise, at all times, there was not any in his house that would become

an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long bow, and many times kill his deer with the cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was pore-blind (67).'

(67) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 2.

It has been taken notice of in the text, that after the passing of the Act for the Six Articles, Archbishop Cranmer sent his wife into Germany. But she afterwards returned again to England; and Mr. Strype informs us, that 'in the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the Clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her (68).' Mr. Gilpin says, 'He left behind him a widow and children; but as he always kept his family in obscurity, for prudential reasons, we know little about them. They had been kindly provided for by Henry the Eighth; who, without any solicitation from the Primate himself, gave him a considerable grant from the Abbey of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire; which his family enjoyed after his decease. King Edward made some addition to his private fortune; and his heirs were restored in blood by an Act of Parliament, in the reign of Elizabeth (69).'

(68) *Ibid.* p. 418.

Mr. Hume says, that Archbishop Cranmer was undoubtedly a man of merit; 'possessed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party (70).'

(69) Life, p. 235.

(70) History of England, vol. iv. p. 461. edit. 2^{vo}. 1763.

* * [CRASHAW (RICHARD), (*) an accomplished Scholar and a devout Poet of the last century, whose genius and virtue, though celebrated by one of the most eloquent among his poetical cotemporaries, have suffered such unmerited neglect, that his name was omitted in the first edition of this work. The singular incidents of his life, and the peculiar turn of his compositions may, in great measure, account for the oblivion into which he sunk for so considerable a period. Few particulars of his personal history can be traced; and for these we are chiefly indebted to Anthony Wood; who placing the name of Crashaw in his List of Persons admitted to Degrees in Oxford [A] *Ann. Dom.* 1641, 17 *Car.* 1. proceeds to inform us, that he was the son of an eminent Divine whose name was William; that he was educated at the Charterhouse, that he became a Student of Pembroke-hall, and a Fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge, where he was distinguished for his poetical talents in 1637; for it appears from the signature to one of his academical Latin Poems, that he was at this time Fellow of Peterhouse (a). As the researches which have been made in the two societies of Cambridge to which this amiable scholar belonged, have furnished no new memorials of his person or his genius, we must content ourselves with repeating the few melancholy incidents which have hitherto formed the slender history of his life. In 1644, when the Earl of Manchester, under the authority of the Parliament, new-modelled the University of Cambridge, by expelling such Members as refused the Covenant, Crashaw, on the loss of his Fellowship, sought a refuge in France, and embraced the religion of that country [B]. Being found there in great distress by Cowley, his generous

(*) This article has been obligingly presented to the Editor by William Hayley, Esq.

(a) Nichol's Poems, vol. vii. p. 103.

[A] *Degrees in Oxford.* Not that it appears so in the public Register, says Wood, but in the private observations of a certain Master of Arts, that was this year living in the University; but in what degree he was incorporated those observations mention not (1).

(1) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. Fast. p. 3.

The name of Richard Crashaw occurs in the Index to the manuscript Lives of illustrious men, educated at Cambridge, which were compiled by Morris Drake Morris, and are preserved in the Harleian collection. But this Index seems to comprize a List of all the Lives, which the author intended to execute; for in his work itself, which he left unfinished, no article is allotted to our Poet.

[B] *The religion of that country.* Those who have attributed the conversion of Crashaw to motives of interest, must have been utterly unacquainted with

the extreme tenderness and enthusiasm of his character. So far from being induced to change his religion from any worldly motives, he seems rather to have been converted by his passionate admiration for that fair canonized enthusiast, St. Teresa of Spain: her pious compositions appear to have been his favorite study, and the reader who peruses the following address to her, whatever he may think concerning the tender bigotry of the Poet, will hardly suspect that his piety was not perfectly sincere.

O thou undaunted daughter of desires,
By all thy dower of lights and fires;
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
By all thy lives and deaths of love;
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirsts of love more large than they;

By

stical Functions and Offices wholly dependant on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were (r). What was most blameable in his Conduct (besides his Recantation) was the part

‘ during the short time he lived, as beneficent a friend under the new Archbishop, as he had lost in the old one.

‘ The Primate corresponded also with Osiander, Melancthon, and Calvin. His foreign correspondence, indeed, was so large, that he appointed a person with a salary at Canterbury, whose chief employment it was, to forward, and receive, his packets.

‘ Among the most eminent of his correspondents, was Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne. This Prelate had been early impressed with the principles of the Reformation by Melancthon; and had used all his influence to introduce them in his Electorate. But he met with powerful opposition; the Pope and Emperor combining against him, the former in his spiritual, the latter in his temporal capacity. So potent a combination crushed him. Terms, indeed, were offered; but he would hearken to no dishonourable compromise. “Nothing,” he would say, “can happen to me unexpectedly: I have long since fortified my mind against every event.” Instead of a splendid life, therefore, at variance with his opinions, he chose a private station; in which he enjoyed the pleasures of study, the friendship of good men, and the tranquility of a good conscience (61).’

(61) Life of Cranmer, p. 136, 137, 138.

Of the learning of Archbishop Cranmer, Mr. Gilpin remarks, that ‘it was chiefly confined to his profession. He had applied himself in Cambridge to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages; which though esteemed at that time as the mark of heresy, appeared to him the only sources of attaining a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. He had so accurately studied canon-law, that he was esteemed the best canonist in England: and his reading in theology was so extensive, and his collections from the Fathers so very voluminous, that there were few points, in which he was not accurately informed; and on which he could not give the opinions of the several ages of the Church from the times of the Apostles. “If I had not seen with my own eyes,” says Peter Martyr, “I could not easily have believed, with what infinite pains and labour, he had digested his great reading into particular chapters, under the heads of Councils, Canons, Decrees, &c.” His parts were solid, rather than shining; and his memory such, that it might be called an index to the books he had read, and the collections he had made (62).’

(62) *Ibid.* p. 217, 218.

‘ He was a sensible writer, rather nervous than elegant. His writings were entirely confined to the great controversy which then subsisted; and contain the whole sum of the theological learning of those times. His Library was filled with a very noble collection of books; and was open to all men of letters. “I meet with authors here, Roger Ascham would say, which the two Universities cannot furnish.” At the Archbishop’s death, the greater part of his original MSS. were left at his Palace of Ford near Canterbury, where they fell into the hands of his enemies. In the days of Elizabeth, Archbishop Parker, who had an intimation, that many of them were still in being, obtained an order from Lord Burleigh, then Secretary of State, in the year 1563, to search for them in all suspected places; and recovered a great number of them. They found their way afterwards into some of the principal Libraries of England; but the greatest collection of them were deposited in Benet-College in Cambridge (63).’

(63) *Ibid.* p. 220, 221.

Mr. Gilpin, after remarking that Archbishop Cranmer preached often, wherever he visited, says, ‘In his sermons to the people he was very plain and instructive; insisting chiefly on the essentials of Christianity.’—Sir Richard Morison, a Gentleman who had been much employed in embassies abroad, both under Henry the eighth and Edward the sixth, gives us this character of the Archbishop’s sermons, of which he was a frequent auditor.

‘ The subjects of his sermons, for the most part, were, from whence salvation is to be fetched; and on whom the confidence of man ought to lean. They insisted much on doctrines of faith and works; and taught what the fruits of faith were, and what place was to be given to works. They instructed men in the duties they owed their neighbour; and that every one was our neighbour, to whom we might any way do good. They declared, what men ought to think of themselves, after they had done all; and lastly, what promises Christ hath made; and who they are, to whom he will make them good. Thus he brought in the true preaching of the Gospel, altogether different from the ordinary way of preaching in those days, which was to treat concerning saints, to tell legendary tales of them, and to report miracles wrought for the confirmation of transubstantiation, and other Popish corruptions. And such a heat of conviction accompanied his sermons, that the people departed from them with minds possessed of a great hatred of vice; and burning with a desire of virtue (64).’

(64) *Ibid.* p. 161, 162, 163.

He was a great economist of his time. Mr. Gilpin says, ‘He rose commonly at five o’clock; and continued in his study till nine. These early hours, he would say, were the only hours he could call his own. After breakfast he generally spent the remainder of the morning either in public, or private business. His Chapel-hour was eleven; and his dinner-hour twelve. After dinner, he spent an hour either in conversation with his friends, in playing at chess, or in what he liked better, overlooking a chess-board. He then retired again to his study, till his Chapel-bell rang at five. After prayers, he generally walked till six, which was, in those times, the hour of supper. His evening meal was sparing. Often he ate nothing; and when that was the case, it was his usual custom, as he sat down to table, to draw on a pair of gloves; which was as much as to say, that his hands had nothing to do. After supper, he spent an hour in walking, and another in his study, retiring to his bed-chamber about nine. This was his usual mode of living, when he was most vacant; but very often his afternoons, as well as his mornings, were engaged in business. To this his chess-hour after dinner was commonly first assigned, and the remainder of the afternoon, as the occasion required. He generally however contrived, if possible, even in the busiest day, to devote some porportion of his time to his books besides the morning. And Mr. Fox tells us, he always accustomed himself to read and write in a standing posture; esteeming constant sitting very pernicious to a studious man (65).’

(65) *Ibid.* p. 216, 217.

Mr. Gilpin also observes, that ‘he was a very amiable master in his family; and admirably preserved the difficult medium between indulgence and restraint. He had, according to the custom of the times, a very numerous retinue; among whom the most exact order was observed. Every week the Steward of his household held a kind of court in the great Hall of his Palace, in which all family affairs were settled; servants wages were paid; complaints were heard; and faults examined. Delinquents were publickly rebuked, and after the third admonition discharged.

‘ His hospitality and charities were great and noble, equal to his station, greater often than his abilities. A plentiful table was among the virtues of those days. His was always bountifully covered. In an upper room was spread his own; where he seldom wanted company of the first distinction. Here a great many learned foreigners were daily entertained, and partook of his bounty. In his great Hall a long table was plentifully covered, every day, for guests, and strangers of a lower rank; at the upper end of which were three smaller tables, designed for his own Officers, and inferior Gentlemen. The learned Tremellius, who had himself

(s) Burnet, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 253.

part he had in Lambert's death (s), and in Joan Bocher's and Van Pare's (t). But notwithstanding these blemishes, he must be allowed to have been the Glory of England, and one of the chief Founders and Ornaments of the Reformation.

(t) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 111, 112.

‘himself often been an eye-witness of the Archbishop's hospitality, gives this character of it: *Archiepiscopi domus, publicum erat doctis, et piis omnibus hospitium; quod ipse hospes, Mecenas, et pater, talibus semper patere voluit, quoad vixit, aut potuit; homo φιλοζενος nec minus φιλοδογος.*’

‘Among other instances of the Archbishop's charity, we have one recorded which was truly noble. After the destruction of monasteries, and before hospitals were erected, the nation saw no species of greater misery, than that of wounded and disbanded soldiers. For the use of such miserable objects, as were landed on the southern coasts of the island, the Archbishop fitted up his Manor-house of Beckesburn in Kent. He formed it indeed into a complete Hospital; appointing a Physician, a Surgeon, Nurses; and every thing proper, as well for food, as physic. Nor did his charity stop here. Each man, on his recovery, was furnished with money to carry him home, in proportion to the distance of his abode (66).’

(66) *Life of Cranmer*, p. 233.

It appears, that in his youth, and even after he became an Archbishop, Cranmer was a good horseman, and not unpractised in field-sports and exercises. Mr. Strype says, ‘Though his father were minded to have his son educated in learning, yet he would not he should be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises. Inasmuch that he used himself to shoot. And many times he permitted himself to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses. So that when he was Bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he would do very comely. As otherwise, at all times, there was not any in his house that would become

an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And sometimes he would shoot in the long bow, and many times kill his deer with the cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was pore-blind (67).’

It has been taken notice of in the text, that after the passing of the Act for the Six Articles, Archbishop Cranmer sent his wife into Germany. But she afterwards returned again to England; and Mr. Strype informs us, that ‘in the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the Clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her (68).’ Mr. Gilpin says, ‘He left behind him a widow and children; but as he always kept his family in obscurity, for prudential reasons, we know little about them. They had been kindly provided for by Henry the Eighth; who, without any solicitation from the Primate himself, gave him a considerable grant from the Abbey of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire; which his family enjoyed after his decease. King Edward made some addition to his private fortune: and his heirs were restored in blood by an Act of Parliament, in the reign of Elizabeth (69).’

(67) *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 2.

(68) *Ibid.* p. 418.

(69) *Life*, p. 235.

Mr. Hume says, that Archbishop Cranmer was undoubtedly a man of merit; ‘possessed of learning and capacity; and adorned with candour, sincerity, and beneficence, and all those virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the Protestant party (70).’

(70) *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 461. edit. 2^{vo}. 1763.

T.

* * [CRASHAW (RICHARD), (*) an accomplished Scholar and a devout Poet of the last century, whose genius and virtue, though celebrated by one of the most eloquent among his poetical cotemporaries, have suffered such unmerited neglect, that his name was omitted in the first edition of this work. The singular incidents of his life, and the peculiar turn of his compositions may, in great measure, account for the oblivion into which he sunk for so considerable a period. Few particulars of his personal history can be traced; and for these we are chiefly indebted to Anthony Wood; who placing the name of Crashaw in his List of Persons admitted to Degrees in Oxford [A] *Ann. Dom.* 1641, 17 *Car.* 1. proceeds to inform us, that he was the son of an eminent Divine whose name was William; that he was educated at the Charterhouse, that he became a Student of Pembroke-hall, and a Fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge, where he was distinguished for his poetical talents in 1637; for it appears from the signature to one of his academical Latin Poems, that he was at this time Fellow of Peterhouse (a). As the researches which have been made in the two societies of Cambridge to which this amiable scholar belonged, have furnished no new memorials of his person or his genius, we must content ourselves with repeating the few melancholy incidents which have hitherto formed the slender history of his life. In 1644, when the Earl of Manchester, under the authority of the Parliament, new-modelled the University of Cambridge, by expelling such Members as refused the Covenant, Crashaw, on the loss of his Fellowship, sought a refuge in France, and embraced the religion of that country [B]. Being found there in great distress by Cowley, his generous

(*) This article has been obligingly presented to the Editor by William Hayley, Esq.

(a) *Nichol's Poems*, vol. vii. p. 103.

[A] *Degrees in Oxford.* Not that it appears so in the public Register, says Wood, but in the private observations of a certain Master of Arts, that was this year living in the University; but in what degree he was incorporated those observations mention not (1).

(1) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. iii. Fast. p. 3.

The name of Richard Crashaw occurs in the Index to the manuscript Lives of illustrious men, educated at Cambridge, which were compiled by Morris Drake Morris, and are preserved in the Harleian collection. But this Index seems to comprize a List of all the Lives, which the author intended to execute; for in his work itself, which he left unfinished, no article is allotted to our Poet.

[B] *The religion of that country.* Those who have attributed the conversion of Crashaw to motives of interest, must have been utterly unacquainted with

the extreme tenderness and enthusiasm of his character. So far from being induced to change his religion from any worldly motives, he seems rather to have been converted by his passionate admiration for that fair canonized enthusiast, St. Teresa of Spain: her pious compositions appear to have been his favorite study, and the reader who peruses the following address to her, whatever he may think concerning the tender bigotry of the Poet, will hardly suspect that his piety was not perfectly sincere.

O thou undaunted daughter of desires,
By all thy dower of lights and fires;
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
By all thy lives and deaths of love;
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirsts of love more large than they;

By

generous admirer, in 1646. He was recommended by that Poet to the patronage of the exiled Queen, Henrietta Maria. This Princess, who wanted rather power than inclination to reward English Catholics, supplied Crashaw with Letters of Recommendation to Italy. He became Secretary to a Cardinal at Rome; and obtained the office of a Canon in the Church of Loretto, where he died of a fever soon after his election; and to use Wood's expression, about 1650—Had the interesting letters of Cowley been given to the world by his friend and biographer Dr. Sprat, they would probably have supplied us with many particulars relating to a literary exile, so warmly beloved by a Poet remarkable for the fervency and steadiness of his friendship. But although such particulars might have gratified our curiosity, they could hardly have added to the honour which the talents and virtues of Crashaw have received, from the Poem of Cowley on his Death [C]. Our author appears to have been personally regarded by another very eminent literary character of his time [D]. Whatever esteem his genius and his probity might obtain from

(2) Crashaw's
Poems, p. 197.

(3) Life of
Cowley.

By all thy brim-fill'd bowls of fierce desire,
By thy last morning's draught of liquid fire;
By the full kingdom of that final kiss,
That seal'd thy parting soul and made thee his;
By all the heavens, thou hast in him
Fair sister of the seraphim;
By all of him we have in thee,
Leave nothing of myself in me;
Let me so read thy life, that I
Unto all life of mine may die (2).

[C] *On his death.* "Cowley seems to have had," says Dr. Johnson, "what Milton is believed to have wanted, the skill to rate his own performances by their just value; and has therefore closed his Miscellanies with the Verses upon Crashaw, which apparently excell all that have gone before them; and in which there are beauties which common authors may justly think not only above their attainment, but above their ambition (3)."

The Poem, which our celebrated Critic has thus commended, with a quaint obscurity, rarely found in his forcible language, is indeed so beautiful, and so highly honourable, both to Crashaw and Cowley, that long as it is, the poetical reader may wish to find it inserted here at full length.

On the DEATH of Mr. CRASHAW.

Poet and Saint! to thee alone are given
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven;
The hard and rarest union which can be,
Next that of Godhead and humanity.
Long did the Muses banish'd slaves abide,
And built vain pyramids to mortal pride:
Like Moses thou (tho' spells and charms withstand)
Hast brought them nobly home, back to their
holy land.

Ah, wretched we, Poets of earth! but thou
Wert living the same Poet which thou'rt now;
Whilst angels sing to thee their ayres divine,
And joy in an applause so great as thine.
Equal society with them to hold,
Thou need'st not make new songs, but say the old;
And they (kind spirits!) shall all rejoice to see,
How little less than they, exalted man may be.

Still the old heathen gods in numbers dwell,
The heavenliest thing on earth still keeps up hell:
Nor have we yet quite purg'd the Christian land;
Still idols here, like calves at Bethel stand.
And tho' Pan's death long since all oracles broke,
Yet still in rhyme the fiend Apollo spoke;
Nay, with the worst of heathen dotage, we
(Vain men!) the monster woman deifie;
Find stars, and tie our fates there in a face,
And Paradise in them, by whom we lost it, place.
What different faults corrupt our muses thus?
Wanton as girls, as old wives fabulous.

Thy spotless muse, like Mary, did contain
The boundless Godhead; she did well disdain
That her eternal verse employed should be
On a less subject than eternity;
And for a sacred mistress scorn'd to take
But her whom God himself scorn'd not his spouse
to make:

It (in a kind) her miracle did do,
A fruitful mother was, and virgin too.

How well (blest Swan) did fate contrive thy
death,
And made thee render up thy tuneful breath
In thy great mistress' arms? Thou most divine,
And richest offering of Loretto's shrine!
Where, like some holy sacrifice t' expire,
A fever burns thee and love lights the fire.
Angels (they say) brought the fam'd chapel there,
And bore the sacred load in triumph thro' the air:
'Tis surer much they brought thee there; and they,
And thou, their charge, went singing all the way.

Pardon, my mother Church, if I consent
That angels led him, when from thee he went;
For ev'n in error, sure no danger is,
When join'd with so much piety as his.
Ah! mighty God, with shame I speak't, and grief;
Ah! that our greatest faults were in belief!
And our weak reason were ev'n weaker yet,
Rather than thus, our will's too strong for it!
His faith, perhaps, in some nice tenets might
Be wrong; his life, I'm sure, was in the right:
And I, myself, a Catholick will be;
So far at least, great Saint! to pray to thee.

Hail, Bard triumphant! and some care bestow
On us, the Poets militant below:
Oppos'd by our old enemy, adverse Chance,
Attack'd by Envy and by Ignorance;
Enchain'd by Beauty, tortured by desires,
Expos'd by Tyrant-love, to savage beasts and fires.
Thou from low earth in nobler flames didst rise,
And like Elijah mount alive the skies.
Elisha like (but with a will much less,
More fit thy greatness and my littleness;)
Lo here I beg (I whom thou once didst prove
So humble to esteem, so good to love)
Not that thy spirit might on me doubled be,
I ask but half thy mighty spirit for me:
And when my muse soars with so strong a wing,
'Twill learn of things divine, and first of thee to sing.

In these verses, fine as they are, Cowley has sometimes fallen into the principal defect of the Poet whom he is praising. He now and then speaks of sacred things with a vulgar and ludicrous familiarity of language, "by which (to use a happy expression of Dr. Johnson's) Readers, far short of sanctity, may be offended in the present age, when devotion, perhaps not more fervent, is more delicate."—Let us add, that if the poetical talents of Crashaw seem not to answer this glowing panygerick; yet in his higher character of *Saint*, he appears to have had the purest title to this affectionate Eulogy.

[D] *Another very eminent literary character of his time.* The learned Selden, who in his *Table Talk* has the following passage under the article *Poetry*.

"I never converted but two, the one was Mr. Crashaw from writing against plays, by telling him a way how to understand that place (of putting on women's apparel) which has nothing to do in the business; as neither has it that the fathers speak against plays in their time with reason enough; for they had real idolatries mixed with their plays, having three altars perpetually upon the stage."

his

(b) See Poetry,
by R. Crashaw,
published by Pe-
regine Philips,
1785.

his contemporaries, his poetry was sinking into utter oblivion, when the merits of this neglected Bard were asserted by an Editor who favoured the public with a judicious selection from his works (b). But his zeal in vindicating the memory of Crashaw, has led him to make some severe, and, we apprehend, unjust remarks on several English Poets; particularly on Pope, who seems to be wrongfully accused of an invidious desire to sink the reputation of his poetical and Catholic brother: A point, that for the credit of Par-nassus, we shall discuss in a note of considerable length [E]. One of the most striking perform-

[E] *A note of considerable length.* We shall begin with quoting the passages from Pope's Letters, in which he speaks of our author.

"This Poem (the celebrated Latin production of Strada, on the Nightingale) was many years since imitated by Crashaw, out of whose verses the following are very remarkable.

From this to that, from that to this he flies,
Feels Music's pulse in all its arteries;
Caught in a net, which there Apollo spreads,
His fingers struggle with the vocal threads" (4).

L E T T E R XXVI.

Dec. 17, 1710.

"It seems that my late mention of Crashaw, and my quotation from him, has moved your curiosity. I therefore send you the whole author, who has held a place among my other books of this nature for some years; in which time, having read him twice or thrice, I find him one of those whose works may just deserve reading. I take this Poet to have writ like a Gentleman; that is, at leisure hours, and more to keep out of idleness than to establish a reputation; so that nothing regular or just can be expected from him. All that regards design, form, fable, (which is the soul of poetry); all that concerns exactness or consent of parts (which is the body) will probably be wanting; only pretty conceptions, fine metaphors, glittering expressions, and something of a neat cast of verse (which are properly the dress, gems, or loose ornaments of poetry) may be found in these verses. This is indeed the case of most other poetical Writers of Miscellanies; nor can it well be otherwise, since no man can be a true Poet who writes for diversion only. These authors should be considered as versifiers and witty men, rather than as Poets; and under this head will only fall the thoughts, the expressions, and the numbers. These are only the pleasing part of poetry, which may be judged of at a view, and comprehended all at once. And (to express myself like a painter) their colouring entertains the sight, but the lines and life of the picture are not to be inspected too narrowly.

This author formed himself upon Petrarch, or rather upon Marino. His thoughts, one may observe, in the main, are pretty; but oftentimes far-fetched, and too often strained and stiffened to make them appear the greater. For men are never so apt to think a thing great, as when it is odd or wonderful; and inconsiderate authors would rather be admired than understood. This ambition of surprizing a reader, is the true natural cause of all fustian or bombast in poetry. To confirm what I have said, you need but look into his first Poem of the Weeper, where the 2d, 4th, 6th, 14th, 21st stanzas are as sublimely dull, as the 7th, 8th, 9th, 16th, 17th, 20th, and 23d stanzas of the same copy are soft and pleasing; and if these last want any thing, it is an easier and more unaffected expression. The remaining thoughts in that poem might have been spared, being either but repetitions, or very trivial and mean: and by this example in the first, one may guess all the rest to be like this, a mixture of tender gentle thoughts, and suitable expressions, of forced and inextricable conceits, and of needless fillers up to the rest. From all which it is plain, this author writ fast, and set down what came uppermost. A reader may skim off the froth, and use the clear underneath; but if he goes too deep, he will meet with a mouthful of dregs: either the top or bottom of him are good for little; but what he did in his own natural middle way is best.

VOL. IV.

To speak of his numbers is a little difficult, they are so various and irregular, and mostly Pindaric. 'Tis evident his heroic verse (the best example of which is his Music's Duel) is carelessly made up: but one may imagine from what it now is, that had he taken more care, it had "been musical and pleasing enough; not extremely majestic, but sweet: and the time considered of his writing, he was (even as uncorrect as he is) none of the worst versifiers.

"I will just observe, that the best pieces of this author are a Paraphrase on Psalm xxiii.—On Lessius,—Epitaph on Mr. Alliton,—Wishes to his supposed Mistress, and the *Dies Iræ*."

"The Reader must determine (says the Editor of Crashaw) whether Mr. Pope has mentioned the best pieces: on the contrary, whether many much superior are not to be met with in the little work before us; and if so, what fair reason could there be for such a partial selection (4)."

In answer to this question, it may be sufficient to observe, that Pope, when he drew this character of Crashaw, was writing, at the age of twenty-two, a private letter to a friend, and of course delivered his genuine sentiments of the author in question, without a chance of his being influenced by any invidious design. Whoever takes the trouble of comparing the opinion of Pope with the passages of Crashaw, to which he has referred in his letter, will find no reason to question the integrity of his judgement. His not commending the translation from Marino, might proceed from his contempt of the original author, who was then considered as the prime corrupter of Italian poetry. The Editor of Crashaw, in speaking of passages borrowed from his works, supposes that Pope's "faint praise might be the most probable means of secreting his obligations to one whom he affects rather to condemn." But Pope was so far from wishing to secrete his obligations to Crashaw, that he has professedly borrowed a line from this Poet in his *Eloisa*, and surely no compliment could be more flattering. If Pope has taken other passages without acknowledgment, it is but just to imagine that he thought the obligation too trifling to be noticed; or what is equally probable, that he was not aware of it. Many instances may be found in the records of Poetry, where an author has written the verse of another with a full persuasion that it belonged solely to himself. Gray, who seems to have been most scrupulous in noting his slightest imitations, has failed to remark that his line,

The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day,

is closely copied, in point of expression, from the following passage in Dryden's Prologue to his *Troilus and Cressida*;

For love they rhyme dispense,
That tolls the knell of their departed sense:

and if our memory does not deceive us, the following very beautiful verse in the *Elegy* just cited,

The paths of Glory lead but to the grave,

is literally translated from the Latin prose of Bartholine, in his *Essay on Danish Antiquities*. It is highly unjust to accuse an author of intentional and invidious secrecy, who does not always specify his obligations of this kind, because it is hardly possible, from the nature of the human faculties, that he should be able, at all times, to distinguish the genuine off-

5 R

spring

(5) Philip's
Crashaw, p. 22.

performances of Crashaw is, a Translation from a posthumous and scarce work of Marino, a Poet, to whom severe critics might apply, what Boileau said of Le Moine,

Il s'est trop élevé pour en dire du mal ;
Il s'est trop égaré pour en dire du bien.

that he is too sublime to be censured, and too fantastic to be praised. He had certainly a strong, though not a refined imagination; and as the version of Crashaw is executed with spirit, we shall select from it a few passages, with the corresponding stanzas of the Italian [F]. As the original verses of Crashaw are chiefly devoted to pious subjects, we ought

spring of his own imagination, from the adopted children of memory. As it is fair, however, that all such literary property should be marked with the name of the original proprietor, we shall, in justice to our author, transcribe the passages of Pope, with those from which they seem to be borrowed.

(6) Pope's *Eloise*. Oh! Death, all-eloquent, you only prove
What dust we doat on, when 'tis man we love (6).

(7) Crashaw's *Death's Lecture*. All-daring dust and ashes, only you
Of all interpreters read nature true (7).

(8) Pope's *Epitaph on Fenton*. This modest stone, what few vain marbles can,
May truly say, here lies an honest man (8).

(9) Crashaw's *Epitaph on Mr. Ashton*. The modest front of this small floor,
Believe me, Reader, can say more
Than many a braver marble can,
Here lies a truly honest man (9).

(10) Pope's *Elegy to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady*. Is it in heaven a crime to love too well (10)?

(11) Crashaw's *3d Elegy on St. Alexis*. And I, what is my crime? I cannot tell,
Unless it be a crime to have lov'd too well (11).

We shall hazard a conjecture, that these Elegies of Crashaw, suggested to Pope the idea of his *Eloise*. They are written as the complaint of a tender female deserted on her wedding night by her bridegroom, from motives of religion. But if Pope borrowed any thing from Crashaw in this article, it was only as the sun borrows from the earth; when drawing from thence a mere vapor, he makes it the delight of every eye, by giving it all the tender and gorgeous colouring of heaven.

[F] *Of the Italian.* The Poem of Marino was published at Venice 1633, eight years after the death of its author. It is entitled *Strage de gli Innocenti*; The Slaughter of the Innocents; and consists of four books with the following titles, 1. *Sospetto d'Herode*, Suspicion of Herod. 2. *Consiglio de Satrapi*, Council of Nobles. 3. *Esecutione della Strage*, Execution of the Slaughter. 4. *Il Limbo*—Limbo.—The complete Poem was published in English verse, by an anonymous Translator, 1675 (12): but in Crashaw we find only the first book, which opens thus,

(12) Maty's *Review*, April 1785.

I.

Muse, now the servant of soft loves no more,
Hate is thy theme; and Herod, whose unblest
Hand—what dares not jealous greatness?—tore
A thousand sweet babes from their mother's breast,
The blooms of martyrdom! O be a door
Of language to my infant lips, ye best
Of confessors! whose throats answering his swords,
Gave forth your blood for breath!—spoke souls
for words.

I.

Musa, non più d'amor cautiam lo sdegno!
Del crudo Ré che mille infanti afflitti
(Ahi! che non pote avidità di regno?)
Fé dal materno sen cader trafitti.
E voi reggete voi l'infermo ingegno
Nanti di Cristo, e testimoni invitti
Che destate fuor de le squarciate gole
Sangue in vece di voce, e di parole.

After an invocation to the Viceroy of Naples, the native city of Marino, the Poem exhibits this striking portrait of Lucifer.

V.

Below the bottom of the great abyss,
There, where one center reconciles all things,
The world's profound heart pants: there placed is
Mischief's old master; close about him clings
A curl'd knot of embracing snakes that kiss
His correspondent cheeks: these loathsome strings
Hold the perverse Prince in eternal ties
Fast bound, since first he forfeited the skies.

VI.

The Judge of Torments and the King of Tears,
He fills a burnish'd throne of quenchless fire;
And for his old fair robes of light he wears
A gloomy mantle of dark flames: the tire
That crowns his hated head on high appears,
Where seven tall horns, his Empire's pride, aspire;
And, to make up hell's majesty, each horn
Seven crested Hydras horribly adorn.

VII.

His eyes, the fullen dens of death and night,
Startle the dull air with a dismal red;
Such his fell glances as the fatal light,
Of staring comets that look kingdoms dead!
From his black nostrils and blue lips, in spite
Of hell's own stink, a worse stench is spread:
His breath hell's light'ning is; and each deep
groan
Disdains to think that heaven thunders alone.

VIII.

His flaming eyes, dire exhalation!
Unto a flaming pile gives fiery breath,
Whose unconsum'd consumption preys upon
The never-dying life of a long death.
In this sad house of slow destruction
(His shop of flames) he fries himself beneath
A mass of woes; his teeth for torment gnash,
While his steel sides sound with his tail's strong
lash.

IX.

Three rigorous Virgins waiting still behind,
Assist the throne of th' iron-scepter'd King
With whips of thorns and knotty vipers twin'd,
They rouse him when his rank thoughts need a
sting:
Their locks are beds of uncomb'd snakes, that
wind
About their shady brows in wanton rings.
Thus reigns the wrathful King; and while he
reigns
His scepter and himself both he disdains.

V.

Sotto gli abissi, in mezzo al cor del Mondo
Nel punto universal de l'universo,
Dentro la bolgia del più cupo fondo
Stasi l'antico spirito peruerso,
Conmordaci ritorte un groppo immondo
Lo stringe di cento aspidi a traverso.
Di tai legami in sempiturno il cinse
Il gran Campion, che'n Paradiso il vinse.

VI.

Giudice di tormento, e Re di pianto,
D'ineffinguibile foco ha' trona, e vesta;
Vesta, già ricco, e luminoso manto,
Hor di fiamme, e di tenebre contesta.

ought to observe, for the honour both of Poetry and Religion, that the works of our Poet have been neglected not merely because they are devotional, but because their author has frequently fallen into the worst defects of style, in his mode of treating subjects that peculiarly require a chaste dignity of expression [G]. He seems to have chosen the pious George Herbert for his model; and the anonymous poems subjoined to the works of that very religious and once popular Bard, are said, by Mr. Granger (c), to have been written by Crashaw. The publication which bears his name [H], first appeared during the exile of

(c) Biographical History. Article (HERBERT).

Porta (e sol questo è del suo regno il vanto)
Di sette corna alta corona in testa.
Fan d'oggi intorno al suo diadema regio,
Hidre verdi, e Cerafte horribil fregio.

VII.

Ne gli occhi, oue mestitia alberga, e morte,
Luce fiammeggia torbida, e vermiglia
Gli sguardi obliqui, e le pupille torte.
Sembran Comete, e lampadi le ciglia.
E da lenari, e da le labra smorte
Caligine, e fetor vomita, e figlia,
Iracondi, superbi, e disperati,
Tuoni i gemiti son, folgori i fiati.

VIII.

Che la vista pestifera, e sanguigna
Con l'alito crudel, ch' anampa, e fuma,
La pira accende horribile, e maligna,
Che'n consumabilmente altrui consuma.
Con amaro stridor batte, e digrigna
I denti aspri di augine, e di schiuma;
E de membri d'acciaio entro le fiamme
P'a con E'estremo suo sonar le squamme.

IX.

Tre rigorose Virgini vicine
Sonno assistenti, a l'infernal Tiranno,
E con sferze di vipere, e di spine
Intente sempre a stimular lo itanno
Crespi han di serpi innanellato il crine,
Ch' horrida intorno al Volto, ombra lor fanno
Scettro ei sostien di ferro, e mentre regna
Il suo regno, e se stesso abhorre, e sdegna.

We shall add a speech of Alecto to the infernal King, observing that Milton has been thought indebted to the Version of Crashaw.

34.

What thy Alecto, what these hands can do,
Thou mad'st bold proof upon the brow of heaven;
Nor should'st thou bate in pride, because that now
To these thy footy kingdoms thou art driven.
Let heavens, Lord, chide above, louder than thou,
In language of his thunder; thou art even
With him below. Here thou art, Lord, alone,
Boundless and absolute: hell is thine own.

35.

If usual riot and strength will do no good,
Vertues of stones, nor herbs; use stronger charms,
Anger and love, best hooks of humane blood;
If all fail, we'll put on our proudest arms,
And pouring on heaven's face the seas huge flood,
Quench his curl'd fires; we'll wake with our alarms
Ruine, wher'ere she sleeps at nature's feet,
And crush the world till his wide corners meet.

34.

Provasti in Ciel la magnanim' opra
Ciò che sà far con le compagne Aletto.
Nè perc' hoggi quaggiu t'accoglia, e copra
Ombroso albergo, e ferrugineo tetto,
Mem superbir dei tù; che se la sopra
Al Monarca tonante eri soggetto,
Qui siedi Ré, che libero, et intero
Hai de la Terra, e l'Abisso impero.

35.

Se vater potrà nulla industria, ò senno,
Virtu d'erbe, e di pietre, ò suon di carmi
Inganna, Ira, et Amor, che spesso fenno
Correr gli huomini al sangue, e trallar l'armi

Tu ci vedrai (sol che ti piaccia) à un cenno
Trar le stelle dal Ciel, l'ombre da i marmi
Por soffoura la terra, e'l mar profondo,
Crollar, spiantar da le radici il Mondo.

It is very remarkable that Milton has taken no notice of this Poem in his Latin Epistle to his elegant Italian friend, Manso, where he alludes to the other work of Marino, whose life is supposed to have been written by that accomplished Nobleman, the Biographer of Tasso. It is the more remarkable, as Milton visited Italy about four years after the publication of this singular performance, which it seems he has now and then condescended to imitate in his infinitely nobler poem the Paradise Lost, if indeed the similar passages may be justly called imitations, a point that we shall leave the Editors of our divine Bard to settle.

[G] *Require a chaste dignity of expression.* We shall insert a very striking example of the deplorable conceits by which pious poetry was sometimes debased in the pages of Crashaw upon the infant Martyrs.

To see both blended in one flood,
The mother's milk, the children's blood,
Makes me doubt if heaven will rather
Roses hence, or lilies gather.

Let us add, in justice to our unequal author, that he has passages as tender and as beautiful as the preceding lines are absurd and disgusting. The following verses from an Epitaph, on a faithful couple buried together, have a certain pathetic sweetness (bordering on affectation) highly characteristic of this singular Poet.

Peace, good Reader, do not weep!
Peace, the lovers are asleep!
They (sweet turtles) folded lye,
In the last knot love could tye.

[H] *The publication which bears his name.* This volume is divided into three parts, 1. *Steps to the Temple*; 2. *The Delight of the Muses*; 3. *Sacred Poems presented to the Countess of Denbigh, by her most devoted Servant, Richard Crashaw, in hearty acknowledgment of his immortal obligation to her Goodness and Charity.* Perhaps the last division to which Car's Poem is prefixed, was the only one published in 1646. The second edition appeared in 1649, and afterwards with the false date of 1670. Since the preceding pages were prepared for the press, the liberality of Dr. Farmer has indulged us with the sight of a literary curiosity, a Collection of Sacred Epigrams in Latin, printed at Cambridge, 1634, and dedicated to Benjamin Lany, Master of Pembroke-hall, with the signature of R. C. These are unquestionably the production of our Author, and the fruits (as he tells us in the Dedication) of a tender age. Indeed, tenderness and piety were the characteristics of Crashaw at every period of his life; many of the Epigrams contain precisely the turn which we find in his English compositions. For example, On the Infant Martyrs mentioned in a preceding note.

Sic pueros quisquis vidit, dubitavit an illos
Lilia cælorum diceret anne Rosas.

We shall insert one Epigram because it contains a well-known verse, which has been frequently celebrated without being appropriated to its real author.

Joan.

of the author, 1646. He entrusted his muse to a very affectionate Guardian, who, under the signature of Thomas Car, informs us in a few introductory verses,

Sweet Crashaw was his friend, he Crashaw's brother,
So Car hath title then: 'twas his intent
That what his riches penn'd, poor Car should print;
Nor fears he check, praising that happy one
Who was beloved by all, disprais'd by none.

Car's panegyrick does not appear extravagant; and we trust this article will not be thought too long, when it is remembered that Crashaw, however neglected in later days, was the companion of Selden, and the idol of Cowley.]

Joan. 2.

Aquæ in vinum versæ.

Unde rubor vestris, et non sua purpura lymphis
Quæ rosa mirantes tam nova mutat aquas.
Numen (Convivæ) præfens agnoscite numen
Nympha pudica deum vidit et erubuit.

We are indebted for an English Version of it to a

CREECH (THOMAS), famous for his Translations of *Lucretius* [A], *Horace* [B], and from other antient authors, both in prose and verse [C], was son of Thomas

[A] *His Translation of Lucretius.* It is intitled; *T. Lucretius Carus, Of the Nature of Things. Translated into English verse by Thomas Creech, A. M. and fellow of Wadham College in Oxford.* It was printed at Oxford in 1682, in 8vo. and recommended by a Latin Distich of Dr. Edward Barnard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in that University, and by a copy of English verses of Mr. Thomas Brown of Christ-Church. It was re-printed in the year following, with Commendatory verses by several eminent hands (1): among which, those, which pass under the names of Mr. Dryden and Mr. Waller, we are assured from undoubted authority, were not theirs. However, Mr. Dryden, who himself translated some parts of *Lucretius*, has given the highest character of Mr. Creech's performance, in the following words. 'This puts me in mind of what I owe to the ingenious and learned translator of *Lucretius*. I have not here designed to rob him of any part of that commendation, which he has so justly acquired by the whole author, whose fragments only fall to my portion. The ways of our translations are very different: he follows him more closely than I have done; which became an interpreter of the whole Poem. I take more liberty, because it best suited with my design, which was to make him as pleasing as I could. He had been too voluminous, had he used my method in so long a work, and I had certainly taken his, had I made it my business to translate the whole. The preference then is justly his, and I join with Mr. Evelyn (*) in the confession of it, with this additional advantage to him; that his reputation is already established in this poet, mine is to make its fortune in the world. If I have been any where obscure, in following our common author, or if *Lucretius* himself is to be condemned, I refer myself to his excellent Annotations, which I have often read, and always with some new pleasure (2).' Mr. Creech published an Edition of *Lucretius* in Latin, intitled; *Titi Lucretii Cari de Rerum Natura libri sex, quibus Interpretationem et Notas addidit Thomas Creech.* Oxon. 1695, 8vo. The Annotations on this Latin Edition were afterwards printed at the end of the English Translation, and all together by themselves. In the Edition of Mr. Creech's *Lucretius*, London 1714, in Two Volumes Octavo, all the verses of the Text, which Mr. Creech had left untranslated, are supplied. Those particularly that were omitted towards the end of the 4th book, where the poet treats of the nature of love, are taken from Mr. Dryden's translation of that part of the author. The Translator's Notes are disposed in the body of the Book, under the several places to which they properly belong; intermixed with several Annotations by another hand; and all together form-

little circle of poetical friends, who having translated the Epigram various ways, selected the four following lines—

Whence does the chrystal redden to the eye,
And lucid water take a roseate dye?
Here own him present who gives nature law!
This element saw God; and blush'd with awe.

ing a compleat System of the Epicurean Philosophy (3). And here impartiality obliges us not to suppress the severe censure passed on Mr. Creech by a certain writer, who, having observed, that *the only book now in being, which from one end to the other is an open defence of Atheism, is that of Lucretius*, tells us (4), that 'this most impious book in Charles II's reign was with infinite pains turned into English verse, that the smoothness and sweetness of the metre might supply what was wanting in the argument; that the elegance of the expression, the melodious harmony of numbers, and all those other bewitching beauties, which attend good poetry, might insensibly instil the poison into the minds of unthinking people, especially of the youth, whose imagination is generally too strong for their reason, and their fancy too powerful for their judgment. And this celebrated Translation was not only made by an Oxford Scholar (who was thereupon preferred) but it was licensed by the University of Oxford, where he was looked on as a raw lad, that had not read the *Lucretius* of Creech, who died, as he lived, like a true Atheist; but being a High-Church Priest, his murdering himself was not made to pass for a judgment.' This calumny is sufficiently answered in the Preface to the two volumes.

[B] *His Translation of Horace.* It is entitled; *The Odes, Satyrs, and Epistles of Horace. Done into English by Mr. Creech.* It is dedicated *To the very much esteemed John Dryden, Esq;* In the Preface, having observed, that Quintilian was of opinion, that all Horace's *Odes* ought not to be interpreted, he adds: 'what he means by *Interpretation* is evident to every one that understands the extent of the word, and the Ancients method of instructing: and why this caution is restrained to the *Odes*, and not applied to the *Satires* as well, since the reason upon which he fixes it seems common to both, must be taken from the design and subject-matter of the Poems. To describe and reform a vicious man necessarily requires some expressions, which an *Ode* can never want. The paint, which an Artist uses, must be agreeable to the piece which he designs. *Satire* is to instruct, and that supposeth a knowledge and discovery of the Crime; while *Odes* are made only to delight and please, and therefore every thing in them that justly offends is unpardonable.' These principles, he says, made him cautious of some *Odes*, though he omitted to translate three more upon a different Account. The *Odes*, not translated by Mr. Creech, are; the 6th, 9th, 21st, 25th, and 27th of the *Third Book*; the 4th of the *Fourth Book*; and the 12th *Epode*. As to the *Satires* of Horace, he was advised, he tells us, to turn them to our own time, since Rome was now rivalled in

(1) Wood, *Artb.*
Oxon. vol. ii. col.
1104, 1105.

(*) Mr. Evelyn
translated the
first Book of
Lucretius.

(2) Preface to the
First Part of *Miscellany Poems*,
&c. edit. 1727,
p. 21.

(3) See the Preface to Creech's *Lucretius*, Lond. 1714.

(4) The nation vindicated from the aspersions cast on it in a late Pamphlet, intitled, *A Representation of the present State of Religion*, &c. P. ii. p. 38. Lond. 1712, 8vo.

Thomas Creech, Gent. and born, in 1659, at Blandford in Dorsetshire. He was educated in Grammar learning under Mr. Thomas Curganven, Master of the Free-school at Sherburne; and admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford [D], in Lent-Term 1675, under the tuition of Mr. Robert Pit, and afterwards of Mr. Robert Balch, Fellows of that College. The 28th of September the year following, he was admitted a Scholar of that House, and acquired the reputation of a good Philosopher, Poet, and a severe Student (a). October the 27th, 1680, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (b). In 1680, he was appointed by his Tutor Mr. Balch, then one of the Proctors of the University, his Quodagesimal Collector of the Bachelors that were to determine the latter end of that year (c). June the 13th, 1683, he took the degree of Master of Arts (d); and about the beginning of November following, was elected a Probationer-Fellow of All-Souls College, having given singular proofs of his Classical learning and Philosophy before his Examiners (e). In 1701, having taken Holy Orders, he was presented by his College to the Living of Wellwyn in Hertfordshire: but, before he had taken possession of it, he unfortunately put an end to his own life [E], at Oxford (f). He has the character

(a) Wood, *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 1104.

(c) *Id. Atb. ib.*

(e) *Id. Atb. ib.*

(b) *Id. Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 212.

(d) *Id. Fasti, ib.* col. 221.

(f) Jacob's *Poetical Register*, &c. vol. i. p. 39.

her vices; and parallels for Hypocrisy, Profaneness, Avarice, and the like, were easy to be found. But those crimes, he declares, 'were much out of his acquaintance, and since the character is the same whoever the person is, he was not so fond of being hated, as to make any disobliging application.' Such pains, says he, would look like an impertinent labour to find a dunghill, only that I might satisfy an unaccountable humour of dirtying one man's face, and bespattering another. He concludes his Preface with acknowledging himself indebted to other writers, particularly Lord Roscommon, to whose admirable version he owed the sense, and the best lines in the *Art of Poetry*.

[C] His translations from other ancient authors, both in prose and verse. They are: I. A Translation of the *Idylliums of Theocritus*, with Rapin's *Discourse of Pastorals*, Oxford, 1684, 8vo; dedicated to Mr. Arthur Charlett of Trinity College in Oxford. II. The 2d *Elegy of Ovid's First Book of Elegies*: and the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 12th of *Ovid's Second Book of Elegies*: and the *Story of Lucretia*, out of *Ovid de Fastis*. III. The 2d and 3d of *Virgil's Eclogues*; and part of *Virgil's Fourth Georgic*. IV. The *Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal*, with Notes. V. A Translation into English of the verses prefixed to Mr. Quintinie's *Compleat Gardiner*. VI. The *Lives of Solon, Pelopidas, and Cleomenes*, from *Plutarch*. VII. The *Life of Pelopidas* from *Cornelius Nepos*. VIII. *Laconic Apophthegms, or remarkable Sayings of the Spartans*, from *Plutarch*. IX. A *Discourse concerning Socrates his Daemon*, and The two first Books of the *Symposiasts*, from *Plutarch*. X. A Translation of *Manilius's Astronomicon*.

(5) Vol. i. p. 39.

[D] Admitted a Commoner of Wadham College in Oxford. The Author of the *Poetical Register* (5) tells us, that his parents circumstances not being sufficient to support him in a liberal Education, his disposition and capacity for learning raised him a Patron in Colonel Strangeways, whose generosity supplied that defect; and that this gentleman sent him to Wadham-College, where he was admitted a scholar on the foundation.

[E] He put an end to his own life. Neither the motives to, nor the circumstances of, this affair are certainly known. The author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (6), informs us, that, in the year 1700, Mr. Creech fell in love with a woman, who treated him with great neglect, though she was complaisant enough to several others. This affront he could not bear, and resolved not to survive it. Whereupon he shut himself up in his study, where he hanged himself about the end of June 1700, and was found in that circumstance three days after. The *Poetical Register* says nothing of the particular manner of his death, but only that he unfortunately made away with himself in the year 1701; and ascribes (7) this fatal catastrophe of Mr. Creech's life to the moroseness of his temper, which made him less esteemed than his great merit deserved, and engaged him in frequent animosities and disputes upon that account.

(6) For Sept. 1701.

(7) *Ubi supra*.

(8) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

VOL. IV.

Our predecessor is mistaken, both with regard to the time in which Mr. Creech became possessed of the Rectory of Welwyn, and the time of his decease. In a bond for the payment of the first fruits of that Rectory into the Exchequer, (in the possession of the late John Baynes, Esq.) dated June the 9th, 1699; and in which Dr. Lloyd of Doctor's Commons, and Jacob Tonson the Bookseller, are bound along with him, he is called *Thomas Creech de Welwyn in Com. Herts*. It is evident, therefore, that he had been presented to that living in the year 1699. It is equally evident, from the Letters of Administration granted to the Executrix of his will, and from a clause added to the will, that he died in 1700, and that his death must have taken place between the 18th and the 28th of June in that year.

The account given in note [E], that our author destroyed himself because he was treated with great neglect by a woman whom he loved, appears to be groundless. From an original letter of Arthur Charlett, preserved in the Bodleian Library, it has lately been discovered, that this unhappy event was owing to a very different cause. There was a fellow Collegian of whom Creech frequently borrowed money; but repeating his applications too often, he met one day with such a cold reception, that he retired in a fit of gloomy disgust, and in three days was found hanging in his study (9).

From Creech's will, an authentic copy of which was, likewise, in Mr. Baynes's possession, and of which he favoured me with a transcript, several particulars may be collected concerning our Poet that have not hitherto been known. In this will he orders, that his body be buried in the Church-yard of the parish where he dies, that no stone or inscription be put upon the grave, and that nothing be given or distributed at his funeral besides one pair of white gloves to each of his bearers. He adds, that he would particularly remember his College, and his good friends Colonel Codrington, Dr. Charlett, Dr. Sykes, Dr. Bathurst, Dr. Eaton, Rivers, Hinton, Collins, Kenton, &c. but that he is not in a condition to give legacies, and he hopes none will think this omission to be disrespectful. He then directs, that all the goods he leaves behind him be sold, and the money arising by the sale, together with the ready cash he leaves, and what debts are owing him, after his debts are paid, be divided into two equal portions, one of which he gives and bequeaths to his dear sister Bridget Bastard of Blandford in the county of Dorset, to be employed to the best advantage for the use of his father Thomas Creech, during his natural life, and after his decease to his said sister for ever. The other portion he gives and bequeaths to Mrs. Philadelphia Playdell of St. Giles's parish in Oxford, Spinster, for ever. He likewise constitutes and appoints the said Philadelphia Playdell the sole Executrix of this his last Will and Testament. The will bears date, Jan. 18, 1699; and on the 18th of June, 1700, a direction is added, that all his written papers of all sorts, excepting those in his chest of drawers and his almanack, be burnt without reading. It was on the 28th of the same month that Letters of Administration were granted to his Executrix.

(9) Warton's *Life of Ralph Bathurst*, p. 198. note.

5 S

Mrs.

of having been a man of excellent parts and sound judgment; a perfect master of the Greek and Latin Languages; but naturally of a morose temper, and too apt to despise the understandings and performances of others (g).

(g) Jacob's Poetical Register, &c. vol. i. p. 39.

Mrs. Philadelphia Playdell was a Lady in Oxford whom Mr. Creech wished to have married, but he could not obtain the consent of her friends. There is reason to believe that their affection was mutual; for, in a will of her's, dated April 24, 1703, she makes the following bequest: "Item, I give and bequeath to Mr. Thomas Creech of Blanford in the county of Dorset the interest and produce of one hundred and fifty pounds for and during the term of his natural life." It is most probable, not to say certain, that it must have been the father of the Poet whom she thus remembers. This will, however, had no force, as she was married, in 1704, to Mr. Ralph Hobson, Butler of Christ-Church. That she did not long live with her husband, is evident from the following inscription, which was over her tomb at Oxford, on a brass plate, now supposed to be destroyed.

In
Memory of
Philadelphia,
Wife of
Ralph Hobson, and
Daughter of,
Richard Playdell, Gent.
She deceased Feb. 22th.
Ann. Dom. 1705.
Aged 34 (10).

(10) From Mr. Baynes's Communications.

As to Creech's poetry, it will scarcely at present be deemed an object which calls for much criticism. He has of late years been regarded rather as a good scholar than a good Poet. Dr. Joseph Warton, however, who will be allowed to be an admirable judge, has spoken of him in terms of applause. "Creech," says the Doctor, "in truth, is a much better Translator than he is usually supposed and allowed to be. He is a nervous and vigorous writer: and many parts, not only of his Lucretius, but of his Theocritus and Horace (though now decried) have not been excelled by other

Translators. One of his pieces may be pronounced excellent; his Translation of the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal; equal to any that Dryden has given us of that author (11)."

It has hitherto been almost universally understood, that Mr. Creech's Translation of Lucretius is his capital production. In Horace it is generally allowed that he failed; and this was early the sentiment of the public. Dr. William Coward, in his "Licentia Poetica discussed," has the following lines.

"Wherefore be wise, if once you've rais'd your
fame,
And by just merit gain'd a popular name.
After Lucretius was translated well,
Weak was th' attempt in Horace to excel (12)."

(11) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. vol. ii. p. 400, 401.

(12) From the Copy in the British Museum.

I have mentioned that for the historical part of this addition, I am indebted to the materials communicated by the late John Baynes, Esq. It was the same Gentleman who enabled me to write the curious note concerning Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, which is subjoined to the article of her father, George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland. Many other obligations would have been conferred upon the Biographia Britannica by Mr. Baynes, if he had not been cut off by a putrid fever, this month of August, 1787, in the 30th year of his age, to the great concern of his friends, and, it may be added, to the great loss of the public; for, if his life had been continued, there is no doubt but that he would have arisen to distinguished eminence, both as a Lawyer and a Scholar. It is proposed to pay a tribute of respect to his abilities and character, under the article of Dr. John Jebb, with whom he was closely connected in friendship, and with whom he concurred in an ardent zeal for liberty, civil and religious, though without adopting every particular idea which was entertained by that excellent man. J

K.

CRESSEY or CRESSY (HUGH-PAULIN, or SERENUS) a celebrated writer, in behalf of the Papists, and one of their Ecclesiastical Historians, who flourished in the seventeenth Century. He derived his descent from an ancient and honourable family, seated formerly in Nottinghamshire; but before his time it had removed into Yorkshire, of which county he was himself a native, being born at Wakefield in the year 1605 (a). His father was Hugh Cressley, Esq; Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn; his mother's name was Margery the daughter of Dr. Thomas Doylie, an eminent Physician in London (b). He was educated at a Grammar-school in the place of his nativity, till such time as he had attained the age of fourteen or thereabout, and then in Lent-term 1619, he was removed to Oxford where he studied with great vigour and diligence, and in the year 1626 was admitted Fellow of Merton-college in that University (c). After taking the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts he entered into Holy Orders, and became Chaplain to Thomas Lord Wentworth, then Lord President of the North, with whom he had the honour to live some years (d). About the year 1638 he went over to Ireland with that wife and worthy Nobleman Lucius Carey, Lord Viscount Falkland, to whom he was likewise Chaplain, and by him much countenanced and esteemed (e). By the favour of this noble person, when Secretary of State, he was in the year 1642, promoted to a Canonry in the Collegiate Church of Windsor, and to the dignity of Dean of Laughlin in the kingdom of Ireland, but through the disturbances of the times he never attained the possession of either of these preferments (f). After the unfortunate death of his patron, who was killed in the battle of Newbury, he found himself in a manner destitute of subsistence, and therefore readily accepted a proposal that was made him of travelling with Charles Bertie, Esq (g); afterwards created Earl of Falmouth, a great favourite of King Charles II. unhappily slain in a battle at sea in the first Dutch war after the Restoration (h). He quitted England in the year 1644, and making the tour of Italy with his pupil, moved by the declining state of the Church of England, he began to listen to the persuasion of the Romish Divines, and in the year 1646 made a public profession at Rome of his being reconciled to that Church (i). He went from thence to Paris, where he thought fit to publish what he was pleased to stile the motives of his conversion, which work of his, as might reasonably be expected, was highly applauded by the Romanists, and is still considered by them as a

(a) Thoresby's Topography of Leeds, p. 184.

(b) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 320.

(c) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 394.

(d) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. iii. col. 528.

(e) Epistle apologetical to a person of Honour, sect. vii.

(h) Historian's Guide, p. 52.

(d) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

(f) Fasti, Oxon. vol. i. col. 230. Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

(g) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 528.

(i) See the Preface to his Exomologesis. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 529.

very extraordinary performance [A]. After taking this step he was much inclined to become a Monk of the Carthusian Order, and had thoughts of entering into the Monastery of English Carthusians at Newport in Flanders, but from this he was dissuaded by some of his zealous countrymen, who were desirous that he should continue to employ his pen in defence of their religion, for which the severe discipline of that Order would have allowed him but little time; and therefore by their advice he laid aside that design, and being recommended to Henrietta-Maria, Queen Dowager of England, he was taken under her protection, and being invited by the Benedictine College of English Monks at Douay in Flanders, he at length resolved to retire thither, and for the expence of his journey received one hundred Crowns as a bounty from that Princess, who could but ill spare even so small a sum at that time. Sometime after his arrival at Douay he entered into the Benedictine Order, and upon that occasion changed the name he received at his baptism of Hugh-Paulin, for that of Serenus de Cressy, by which he was afterwards known to the learned world (k). He remained about seven years or more in that College, and during his residence there published a large work, of which the reader will find some notice taken at the bottom of the page [B]. After the Restoration and the marriage of King Charles II. Queen Catharine appointed our author, who was then become one of the Mission in England, her Chaplain, and thence forward he resided in Somerset-house in the Strand (l). The great regularity of his life, his sincere and unaffected piety, his modest and mild behaviour, his respectful deportment to persons of distinction, with whom he was formerly acquainted when a Protestant, and the care he took to avoid all concern in political affairs or intrigues of State, preserved him in quiet and safety, even in the most troublesome times. He was, however, a very zealous champion in the cause of the Church of Rome, and was continually writing in defence of her doctrines, or in answer to the books of controversy, written by Protestants of distinguished learning or figure, and as this engaged him in a variety of disputes, he quickly gained a great reputation with both parties, the Papists looking upon him to be one of their ablest advocates, and the Protestants allowing that he was a grave, a sensible, and a candid writer (m) [C]. But that which of all his performances contributed to make him most known, was his large and copious Ecclesiastical History, which was indeed a work of great pains and labour, and executed with much accuracy and diligence. He had observed that nothing made a greater impression upon the people in general of his communion, than the reputation of the great antiquity of their Church, and the fame of the old saints of both sexes, that had flourished in this island; and therefore he judged that nothing could be more serviceable, to that which he stiled the Catholick Interest, than composing such a History as might set these points in the fairest and fullest light possible. He had before him the example of a famous Jesuit, Michael Alford, alias Griffith, who had adjusted the same History under the years in which the principal events happened, in four large volumes, collected from our ancient Historians: but as this was written in Latin, he judged that it was less suited to the design which he had in view, of bringing it into the hands of common readers; and therefore he set himself this painful task of putting it into English, with such helps and improvements

(k) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

(l) Wood's *Artb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 530.

(m) See Dr. Whitby's Preface to his Reply to S. C's. Answer to Dr. Pierce's Court-Sermon. The Christian Moderator, Lon. 1652, p. 97.

[A] *As a very extraordinary performance.*] The author was pleased to entitle this work, EXOMOLOGESIS: or a faithful narration of the occasions and motives of his Conversion to Catholic Unity. Paris 1647 and 1653, in 8vo. To the last edition is an appendix, In which are cleared certain misconstructions of his Exomologesis, published by J. P. author of the Preface to the Lord Falkland's discourse of Infallibility. As soon as this was finished, he sent it over to his dear friend Dr. Henry Hammond, as to one whose sincerity he had experienced, and for whose judgment he had a high esteem. That learned person wrote him a very kind letter in answer; in which he thanked him for his book, but at the same time, told him there was a vein of fallacy ran through the whole contexture of it; adding, we are friends, and I do not propose to be your antagonist. At the close of this epistle, he invited him into England, assuring him that he should be provided with a convenient place to dwell in, and a sufficient subsistence to live comfortably, without being molested by any, about his religion and conscience. This offer, though our author did not accept, yet he returned, as became him, an answer full of respect and gratitude to the kind friend who had made it (1). Few books are more admired than this by the Papists, who flatter themselves, that he has fully answered the judicious Mr. Chillingworth, and his own kind patron the learned Lord Falkland; but we know that they are so apt to magnify the performances of all their converts, that there is no laying any great stress upon such commendations (2).

[B] *At the bottom of the page.*] This was a treatise

of the mystical theology, entituled, SANCTA SOPHIA; or, Directions for the prayers of contemplation, &c. extracted out of more than XL treatises, written by the late Reverend Father Aug. Baker, a Monk of the English congregation of the holy order of St. Benedict. Douay, 1657, in 2 vol. in a large 8vo. To which are added, Certain patterns of devout exercises of immediate acts and affections of the will. Of this Father Augustine Baker, whose true name was David Baker, who had studied the Law in the Middle Temple, and who from being little better than an Atheist, became a convert to Popery, and a very zealous devotionist, the Oxford Historian has given us a very large account (3). He had once it seems some intention of writing the Ecclesiastical History of England, for which he had made very copious collections, that were of great service to our author, when he entered upon the execution of the same project.

[C] *That he was a grave, a sensible, and a candid writer.*] The first work that he published after his return to England, bore this title *A non est inventus returned to Mr. Edward Bagshaw's enquiry and vainly boasted discovery of weakness in the Grounds of the Church's infallibility.* 1662. 8vo.

He wrote next, *A letter to an English gentleman dated July 6th, 1662, wherein Bishop Morley is concerned,* and therefore we find it printed amongst some of the treatises of that Reverend Prelate.

He published after this, *Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelty; or, an answer to Dr. Pierce's Court-Sermon, miscalled, The primitive rule of Reformation.* 1663, 8vo; answered by Dr. Daniel Whitby.

(1) This circumstance is taken from his Apologetical Epistle to a person of Honour, p. 47.

(2) The Christian Moderator, by John Austin, to which an Answer was written under the title of *Legenda Ligneæ*, in the 36th chapter of which our author is very harshly treated.

(3) Wood's *Artb. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 8.

(n) This account of his undertaking is collected out of his copious Preface to his Ch. Hist. of Britany.

(o) Wood's *Artb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 530.

(r) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 356.

(p) Nicholson's English Library, p. 1. 11.

(q) Wood's *Artb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 531.

as he thought necessary (n). His History was very much approved by the most learned of his countrymen, of the same religion, as appears by the testimonies prefixed to it. To speak impartially, the order, regularity, and coherence of the facts contained therein, deserve to be commended, and the gravity, or rather solemnity of the language is very agreeable to the author's aim and intention, as are likewise the care and punctuality shewn in citing his authorities (o). But, on the other hand, he is justly, though modestly, censured by a learned prelate, for giving in to the superstitious notions of many of our old writers, and transcribing from them such fabulous passages as have been long ago exploded by the inquisitive and impartial criticks of his own faith (p). Anthony Wood thinks this however excusable, because he tells us whence he had them; and perhaps we may render this excuse rather better, by observing that he meant to excite his readers to a zealous imitation of their pious ancestors, rather than afford them historical instruction, from a nice and critical examination of what the authors, from whom he collected his materials, had delivered. The book however still maintains its credit amongst the Romanists, is reputed a most authentic ecclesiastical chronicle, and is frequently cited by their most considerable authors, as a performance of established reputation (q) [D]. He proposed to have published another volume of this History, which was to have carried it as low as the dissolution of monasteries by King Henry VIII. but before he had proceeded full three hundred years lower than the Norman conquest, his life and labours were together suspended (r). We are not however to suppose from hence, that his whole time was devoted to this large work. On the contrary, we find him very warmly engaged in all the controversies of the times, and yet that he had some leisure to bestow upon works of another nature [E]. His last dispute was in reference to a book written by the learned Dr. Stillingfleet,

[D] *As a performance of established reputation.* The reader will form a very just and clear notion of the author's real intentions in composing this work, by perusing the title of it, which, for this reason, I shall insert at large. *The Church History of Britanny, from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest; under Roman Governors, British Kings, the English Saxon Heptarchy, the English Saxon and Danish Monarchy. Containing, I. The Lives of all our Saints, assigned to the proper ages wherein they lived. II. The erection of Episcopal Sees, and Succession of Bishops. III. The celebration of Synods, National, Provincial, and Diocesan. IV. The foundations of Monasteries, Nunneries, and Churches. V. And a sufficient account of the Successions of our Kings, and of the civil affairs of this Kingdom; from all which is evidently demonstrated, that the present Roman Catholic Religion hath from the beginning, without interruption, or change, been professed in this our holy Island, &c.* By the Reverend Father Serenus Cressley, of the Holy Order of St. Benedict, 1668, fol (4). He very fairly acknowledges that the bulk and substance of his work is taken from the three first volumes of the *Ecclesiastical Annals*, written in Latin by Father Griffith, and that for the additions and improvements he has made, he stands chiefly indebted to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, published by Sir William Dugdale, the *Decem Scriptores*, the *Flores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, by Dr. Smith, whom the Papists stiled Bishop of Chalcedon, and the large collection of manuscripts chiefly made by Father Augustine Baker, of whom some account has been given in the former note. He offers some apologies, for the fabulous relations inserted in his History; which however amounts to no more than this; that he did not think himself obliged to believe all that he had taken the pains to collect, and consequently he leaves the same liberty to his reader, who without doubt is not at all bound to have a larger measure of faith than the author. There is one thing very singular in his preface. His education at Oxford had taught him civility, his living at Court had improved it, and the obligations he lay under to several eminent and worthy persons of our religion, compelled him to shew it in the manner of his treating such prelates of our Church, as he had occasion to mention, in reference to the matters recorded in his History. But for this however, he thought himself obliged to make an apology to those of his own communion, which is so very remarkable as to deserve the reader's particular notice. 'But for my excuse, or defence, I must take leave to say, I. That herein I follow not only the example of the ancient best Fathers in their disputes, even against Arians, Photinians, Novatians, &c. but of the most learned author of the Protestant's Apology.

II. I am assured, that if my accusers were personally to converse with these Protestant prelates, they would not after such a manner change their titles. Now I see no reason, why an obligation should be imposed on any, to be uncivil with his pen, and not with his tongue. I do not find, that ever any Protestants esteemed such civility an advantage to them in the debate concerning their ordinations; for to instance in a case in just reason, far less disputable than that, yet not long ago actually and terribly disputed: If during the late rebellion, a faithful subject of the King should have petitioned for a pass to go through the rebels quarters, no man would have suspected him of disloyalty, because in his petition to Fairfax, Cromwell, or Waller, he stiled them Lords Generals. Has not the King himself, in addresses to the unlawful Parliament, done the like? yet all this surely without engagement to acknowledge their authority to be legitimate: particularly as touching the forementioned writers, it cannot be denied but that we are much obliged to their diligence in the search of public records, and their sincerity in delivering what they found. True it is, that B. Parker, according to the impulse of a Calvinistical spirit, often inserts malicious invectives against the Catholic Church as being indeed the patriarch of Calvinistical prelacy. B. Godwin is less cholerick, and may be excused, if now and then he seeks some advantage, particularly upon the account of married prelates. But as for B. Usher, his admirable abilities in Chronological and Historical Erudition, as also his faithfulness and ingenuous sincerity in delivering without any provoking reflections, what with great labour he has observed, ought certainly at least to exempt him from being treated by any one rudely and contemptuously, especially by me, who am moreover always obliged to preserve a just resentment of very many kind effects of friendship, which I received from him.'

[E] *Some leisure to bestow upon works of another nature.* We have already taken notice of his inclination to the Mystic Divinity, which led him to take so much pains about the works of Father Baker, and from the same disposition he also published *Sixteen revelations of divine love, shewed to a devout servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an Anchorite of Norwich, who lived in the days of King Edward III.* printed 1670, 8vo. and dedicated to the Lady Blount, of Sodingdon, widow of Sir George Blount; and likewise changed from old into Modern English more compendiously. A book written before the change of Religion, entitled, *An abridgment of the book called The cloud of unknowing, and of the counsel referring* to

(4) There is no name of the place in the title page of most of the copies, but it was actually printed at Roan.

lingfleet, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, to which, though several answers were given by the ablest of the Popish writers, there was none that seemed to merit reply, excepting that penned by Father Cressey; and this procured him the honour of a very illustrious antagonist, his old friend and acquaintance at Oxford, Edward Earl of Clarendon (s), who, notwithstanding, treated him upon this occasion somewhat severely, which induced our author to pen and publish that letter which is mentioned in the notes. Being now grown far in years and having no very promising scene before his eyes, from the warm spirit that appeared against Popery amongst all ranks of people, and the many excellent books written to confute it by the most learned of the Clergy, he was the more willing to seek for peace in the silence of a country retirement; and accordingly withdrew for some time to the house of Richard Caryll, Esq; a gentleman of an ancient family and affluent fortune, at East Grinstead in the county of Sussex, and dying upon the 10th of August 1674, being then near the seventieth year of his age, was buried in the parish church there (t). His loss was much regretted by those of his communion, as being one of their ablest champions, ready to draw his pen in their defence on every occasion, and sure of having his pieces read with singular favour and attention (u). His memory also was revered by the Protestants, as well on account of the purity of his manners, and his mild and humble deportment, as for the plainness, candour, and decency, with which he had managed all the controversies that he had been engaged in, and which had procured him in return, much more of kindness and respect, than almost any other of his party had met with, or indeed deserved (w).

(w) See Dr. Daniel Whitby's Preface to his Reply to our author's Answer to Dr. Pierce's Court-Sermon.

(s) His Work was called *Animadversions on a book intituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed, &c.*

(t) Wood's *Art. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 531.

(u) See the Character of our author by Edward Sheldon, Esq.

to the same. This is not printed, but in MS. and was shewn to Anthony Wood, by Father W. R. a Benedictine Monk (5).

(5) Wood's *Art. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 531.

The next performance of his was upon occasion of a famous treatise, written by Dr. Stillingfleet, against the Church of Rome, which made a very great noise in those days, and put for some time a stop to the encroachments their Missionaries were daily making, which highly provoked those of the Roman communion. This was entitled,

Answer to part of Dr. Stillingfleet's Book, entitled Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, 1672. 8vo. He published also,

Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted, &c. 1672. 8vo.

Question, Why are you a Catholic? Question, Why are you a Protestant? 1673. 8vo.

In support of Dr. Stillingfleet, the Earl of Clarendon

wrote *Animadversions upon our author's answer*; in which he very plainly tells him and the world, that it was not devotion, but necessity and want of a subsistence, which drove him first out of the Church of England, and then into a Monastery. As this noble peer knew him well at Oxford, it may be very easily imagined that what he said made a very strong impression, and it was to efface this, that our author thought fit to send abroad an answer under the title of

Epistle apologetical to a Person of Honour, touching his vindication of Dr. Stillingfleet, 1674. 8vo. In this work he gives a large relation of the state and condition of his affairs, at the time of what he styles his conversion, in order to remove the imputation of quitting his faith to obtain bread. The last work that he published was entitled,

Remarks upon the Oath of Supremacy.

C.

CREW (NATHANAEL), Bishop of Durham in the end of the seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth, century, was the fifth son of John Lord Crew of Stene in the county of Northampton [A], by Jemima, daughter and coheir of Edward Walgrave of Lawford in Essex, Esq (a). He was born at Stene, the 31st of January 1633 (b); and in 1652 admitted Commoner of Lincoln-college in Oxford (c), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts the 1st of February 1655-6 (d); soon after which he was chosen Fellow of that College (e). The 29th of June 1658, he took the degree of Master of Arts (f). At the Restoration, he declared heartily in favour of the Crown and Hierarchy (g); and in 1663 was one of the Proctors of the University (h). The year following, on the 2d of July, he took the degree of Doctor of Law (i); and soon after went into Holy Orders. August the 12th, 1668, he was elected Rector of Lincoln-college, upon the decease of Dr. Paul Hood. On the 29th of April 1669, he was installed Dean of Chichester, and held with that dignity the Præcentorship, in which he had been installed the day before. He was also appointed Clerk of the Closet to King Charles II (k). In 1671, upon the translation of Dr. Blandford to the See of Worcester, he was elected Bishop of Oxford in his room on the 16th of June, confirmed June the 18th, consecrated July the 2d, and enthronized the 5th of the same month; being allowed to hold with it in commendam the Living of Whitney, and the Rectorship of Lincoln-college (l). But this last he resigned the 18th of October 1672 (m). In 1673 he performed the ceremony of the marriage of

(a) Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 482.

(e) *Atten. ubi supra.*
(f) *Fasti*, col. 122.

(m) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 491.

(b) From his epitaph.

(c) Wood, *Art. edit.* 1721, vol. ii. col. 1177.

(d) *Ibid. Fasti*, col. 108.

(g) Wood tells us, that he turned about. But there is no evidence of his having been otherwise.

(h) *Atten. ubi supra*; & *Fasti*, col. 150.

(i) *Fasti*, col. 159; and Catalogue of Graduates.

(k) Wood, *Art. ubi supra*; and J. Le Neve's *Fast.* edit. 1716, p. 491. 61, 62.

(l) Wood, *Art. ibid.* and Survey of the Cathedral, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; vol. ii. p. 434.

[A] Was the fifth son of John Lord Crew of Stene, &c.] This John Lord Crew was son and heir to Sir Thomas Crew, Kt. one of the Serjeants at Law to King Charles I. Speaker of the House of Commons 21 Jacob. & 1 Caro. and descended from the ancient family of Crew in the County Palatine of Chester. Having been instrumental in the Restoration of K. Charles II. he was advanced by that King, in the 13th year of his reign, April 20, 1661, to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Crew of Stene, and to the heirs male of his body (1).
The elder brother of Sir Thomas Crew

above-mentioned, was Sir Randolph Crew, Kt. who on the 1st of July 1614, was made Serjeant at Law; and the 26th of January 1623 constituted Chief Justice of the King's Bench, but deprived of the same again on the 9th of November 1626, for openly manifesting his dislike at King Charles the 1st's. raising money by way of Loan. On his being displaced, we are informed, he discovered no more discontent, than the weary traveller is offended, when told that he is arrived at his journey's end. He is said, to have first brought the model of excellent building into Cheshire (2).

(1) Dugdale, *ubi supra.*

(2) Fuller's *Worthies*, in Cheshire, p. 178; and Dugdale's *Origines Juridicæ*, in the Lists.

(n) See Appendix to the Life of King James II. 8vo. edit. 1703. p. 41.
(o) Willis, *ibid.* p. 251.

(r) Compl. Hist. of England, by Bishop Kennet, edit. 1719, vol. iii. p. 442. Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 1178.

(s) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, vol. i. edit. 1724, p. 677.

(u) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 483.

(y) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 494; and N. Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops, &c. edit. 1731. p. 397.

(b) Tho. Sprat, and Tho. White.
(c) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 496.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 527.

(f) See Statut. 2 Will. & Mary, Sess. 1. c. 10.

(g) Compl. Hist. as above, p. 597, note (a); and Burnet, *ubi supra*, p. 822.

(i) Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 1178; and Willis, as above, p. 252.

(3) Hist. of his own Time, vol. i. edit. 1724, p. 676.

(4) Kennet, in Compl. Hist. as above, p. 597, note (b).

James Duke of York with Maria of Este (n). Through that Prince's interest, with whose measures he seems to have been very compliant, he was translated, the 22d of October 1674, to the rich Bishoprick of Durham; which had been kept vacant ever since the death of Bishop Cosin, January 15, 1671-2 (o). In the beginning of the year 1675, he baptized Katharina-Laura, the new born daughter of James Duke of York (p). The 26th of April 1676, he was sworn of the Privy Council to King Charles II (q). Upon the accession of King James II. to the Crown, he was in great favour with that Prince, who thought him most obsequious to his will. Accordingly, on the 29th of December 1685, he was made Dean of his Majesty's Royal Chapel in the room of Henry Bishop of London who had been removed; and within a few days after, namely January 8, was admitted into the Privy Council (r). In 1686 he was appointed one of the Commissioners in the new Ecclesiastical Commission erected by King James (s), and seemed to be proud of that honour [B]. By virtue of that Commission, he appeared, on the 9th of August, at the Proceedings against Henry Bishop of London, and was for suspending him during the King's pleasure; though the Earl, and Bishop, of Rochester, and Chief Justice Herbert, were against it (t). Immediately after that Bishop's suspension, Commissioners were appointed to exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the Diocese of London, of which Bishop Crew was one (u). The 20th of November following, he was present at, and consenting to, the degradation of Mr. Samuel Johnson (w); previously to the most severe punishment that was inflicted on that eminent Divine. In the fore-mentioned quality of an Ecclesiastical Commissioner, he countenanced with his presence a prosecution carried on, in May 1687, against Dr. Peachy, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refusing to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of Master of Arts in that University, without taking the oaths (x). And, in July the same year, he offered to attend the Pope's Nuncio at his public Entry into London; but his coachman refused to drive him that way (y). His name was put again in a new Ecclesiastical Commission issued out this year, in October (z); in which he acted, during the severe proceedings against Magdalen-college in Oxford, for refusing to elect one Anthony Farmer their President, pursuant to the King's mandate (a). The Bishop continued acting as an Ecclesiastical Commissioner till October 1688; when that Commission was abolished. Towards the end of the year 1687, he was employed, with the Bishops of Rochester and Peterborough (b), to draw up a Form of Thanksgiving for the Queen's being with child (c). Thus he complied with the King's designs, till he found that the Prince of Orange's party was likely to prevail. But, then, he absented himself from the Council-board, and told the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he was sorry for having so long concurred with the Court; and desired now to be reconciled to his Grace, and the other Bishops (d). Moreover, in the Convention that met January the 22d, 1688-9, to consider of filling the Throne, he was one of those who voted, on the 6th of February, that King James II. had abdicated the Kingdom (e). Notwithstanding all this, his thorough compliance with the late Court's arbitrary designs, had rendered him so obnoxious to the Nation, that he was excepted by name out of the Pardon granted by King William and Queen Mary, May the 23d, 1690 (f), which so terrified him, that he absconded for a time, and was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea [C]: and offered to compound, by resigning his Bishoprick (g). However he found means afterwards to make his peace, and to preserve his Bishoprick. But, in order to secure to himself the possession of that dignity, he was forced to permit the Crown to dispose of, or at least to nominate to, his Prebends of Durham, as they should become vacant (h). By the death of his two elder brothers, he became in 1691, Baron Crew of Stene; and, about the 21st of December the same year, he married, but left no issue (i). During the rest of King William's reign, he remained quiet and unmolested, though not much considered. In the year 1710, he was one of the Lords that opposed the prosecution then carried on against Dr. Sacheverell, and declared him Not Guilty; and likewise protested against several steps taken in that affair (k). He applied himself chiefly, in the latter part of his life, to works of Munificence and Charity. Particularly, he was a very great benefactor to Lincoln-college, of which he

(p) Life of King James II. p. 19.
(q) Wood, *Arb.* as above, col. 1177.

(s) See that Commission, published in 1688, 4to. It is also inserted in the Comp. Hist. as above, p. 452, &c. and in The Life of King James II. p. 146, &c. It bore date Aug. 3.
(w) *Ibid.* p. 450.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 501, 502.

(z) See Hist. of the Eccles. Commission, edit. 1711. 8vo. p. 27.
(a) See a full account of that whole affair, in Complete Hist. as above, p. 502, &c.

(c) Wood, *Arb.* *ubi supra*.

(h) From private information.

(i) See Annals of Queen Anne, ann. 1710; and History of Queen Anne, by A. Boyer, edit. folio, 1735, p. 428. 429. 444. 445.

[B] And seemed to be proud of that honour.] Bishop Burnet tells us (3), 'that he was lifted up with it, and said, now his name would be recorded in history: And when some of his friends represented to him, the danger of acting in a Court so illegally constituted, he said, he could not live, if he should lose the King's gracious smiles: so low and so fawning (adds the Bishop) was he.'

[C] And was ready to go, or actually went, beyond Sea.] This particular is variously related by two of our Historians. One of them (4) writes thus; 'The Bishop of Durham had paid so much court to the King, and to the very Nuncio of the Pope, that he despaired of any favour at the Revolution; and he was once got beyond Sea in a fright: but being brought back by the importunity of a domestick ser-

'vant, he made a new interest in the new Court and Parliament, and bought off the complaints of Mr. Samuel Johnson, and others, who had suffered by him.' The other Historian's words are as follows (5), 'The poor Bishop of Durham, who had absconded for some time, and was waiting for a Ship to get beyond Sea, fearing public affronts, and had offered to compound by resigning his bishoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new settlement to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done: which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character.' He did not attempt to go beyond sea till after he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity; so that the last writer is mistaken in that particular.

(5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, vol. i. edit. 1724, p. 822.

had

(1) *Mag. Britan.*
Sc. edit. 1718,
 4to. vol. i. p. 639.

(m) Willis, as a-
 bove, p. 251.

had been Fellow, and Rector [D]; and laid out large sums in beautifying the Bishop's Palace at Durham (l); besides many other instances of generosity and munificence of a more private nature. At length, his Lordship departed this life on Monday September 18, 1721, aged eighty eight; and was buried in his Chapel at Stene, the 30th of the same month (m), with an inscription on his monument [E]. He held the See of Durham forty-seven

[D] *He was a very great Benefactor to Lincoln-College, of which he had been Fellow, and Rector.* He added Twenty pounds *per annum*, to the Headship, or Rectory; and Ten pounds *per annum* to each of the twelve Fellowships, for ever. He made up the Bible Clerk's place, and eight Scholarships belonging to that College, Ten pounds a year each, for ever, which before were very mean. He made an augmentation of Ten pounds *per annum* a-piece for ever, to the Curates of four Churches belonging to the said College, viz. All-Saints and St. Michael in Oxford, Twyford in Buckinghamshire, and Comb in Oxfordshire. All these were to take place from Michaelmas 1717. He likewise settled Twenty pounds a year a-piece on twelve Exhibitioners, which took place at Lady-day 1718. His Lordship intended also to have rebuilt that College, or at least the best part of it; but the Fellows having disobliged him, in refusing to chuse for their Rector, a Gentleman whom he recommended to them, upon the death of Dr. Fitzherbert Adams; his Lordship thought fit to alter his design.

[E] *With an inscription on his monument.* Which is as follows.

Near this Place lyeth the Body
 Of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable
 NATHANIEL LORD CREW
 Lord Bishop of DURHAM, and Baron of STENE,
 Fifth Son of John Lord CREW.

He was born Jan. 31, 1633.
 Was consecrated Bishop of OXFORD 1671.
 Translated to DURHAM in 1674.
 Was Clerk of the Closet and Privy Counsellor
 In the Reigns of King CHARLES II. and
 King JAMES II.
 And died Sept. 18, 1721.
 Aged 88. M.

* [There was but little in the character and conduct of this prelate which could entitle him to a place in the Biographia. He was distinguished, indeed, by passing through a variety of ecclesiastical preferments, by being the Rector of a College, and by sustaining, for an uncommon length of time, a very high rank in the Church; but he was not celebrated either for his learning or for other eminent qualities. We do not read of any thing that was published by him; and his benefactions to Lincoln College did not take place till he was between eighty and ninety years of age. As a Peer of the Realm, he makes no figure in the annals of his country, unless his having joined in some Tory protests is to be considered in that light (6). The chief historical event of his life reflects nothing but dishonour upon him; we mean his being one of King James the second's ecclesiastical Commissioners, together with his behaviour in that character, which was marked with servility. Indeed, this servile spirit had been displayed by him many years before, on his promotion to the Bishopric of Durham. After he had obtained the promise of that Bishopric, it was long before he could get into the possession of it, though he solicited the matter with great diligence. Still there was something that hindered his success, and which he could not find out till he applied to Lord Lumley. That Nobleman discovered that the King had promised a sum of money to Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn, which was to be paid out of the Bishopric, and that without an agreement with her nothing could be done. Upon this our Prelate applied to her, by his agent, and agreed to pay her five or six thousand pounds. One Arden was bound with the Bishop for the money, and upon this he was put into possession of the See. The money, in the proper course of time, was duly paid, and the Bishop appointed Arden to be his Steward (7). Dr. Walter Pope, in his Life of Dr.

Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, relates the following circumstance concerning that Prelate. "I well remember the time, when he told me, he had the proffer of the Bishopric of Durham, after Bishop Cofin's death. Pray my Lord, said I, accept it: we shall have brave horses there, and the long journey betwixt Bishop's-Auclands and London will conduce much to the melioration of your health. He replied, I just now entered it in my blue book, that this day I refused it. I replied, and pray, my Lord, why did you so? *Because*, said he, *I did not like the conditions.* But what they were, it would have been unmannerly for me to inquire, and he did not think it convenient to tell me (8)." The conditions intended to be imposed on Dr. Ward will probably be thought to receive some illustration from the preceding anecdote concerning Bishop Crew.

So subservient was this Prelate to the designs of James the second, that he severely checked Dr. Patrick, who had preached strongly against popery, and refused to introduce that eminent Divine to the King, when his Majesty had sent for him (9). However, notwithstanding all the Bishop of Durham's compliances, he shrunk in the time of danger, and interposed his counsel for the retraction of the measures in which he had himself so zealously concurred. The following is the letter which he wrote to his Majesty on the occasion.

"To the King's most excellent;
 "The most humble and faithful advice of your Majesty's ever dutiful subject and servant the Bishop of Durham.
 "That your Majesty would be pleased to withdraw your protection of those Romish Chapels, which are daily made the occasion of so much disturbance and mischief here, and, if continued any longer, I fear, will unavoidably endanger the peace and safety of this your great city, and consequently of your whole kingdom.
 "That the Archbishopric of York, which your Majesty hath been pleased to offer me, may be filled with some other more deserving person: and that your Majesty would be pleased to make another Dean of Christ Church in Oxford, instead of Mr. Massey, who is utterly incapable thereof by law: that the Fellows of Sidney-College in Cambridge, for whom I have so often moved your Majesty, may have leave to elect a new Master, in the place of Mr. Bassett (he being also unqualified on the same account,) and to proceed on all other affairs relating to that society, according to their original statutes and constitution.
 "That your Majesty would be pleased to call a free Parliament so soon as may be, this being the only probable means for preserving your sacred person, for preventing the effusion of Christian blood, and for establishing your Throne and Government, both in Church and State, upon sure and lasting foundations."

N. DURHAM (10).

With regard to the Bishop's attempt to make his escape from this country, the tradition about Durham, some years ago, was, that he actually hired a Sunderland Collier, and went over to Holland; but that the Master of the vessel remonstrated with him, and prevailed upon him to return back, instead of going beyond sea (11). It was Dr. Burnet to whom he offered to resign his Bishopric, on the consideration of his receiving a thousand pounds a year during his life; and it was the intercession of Dr. Tillotson to which he was principally indebted for being admitted to favour by the Government (12).

Vanity was among the other qualities which detracted from the character of Bishop Crew. "The

(8) Life of Seth, Bishop of Salisbury, p. 90.

(9) Great General Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 196. It was Bishop Sprat who introduced Dr. Patrick to the King.

(10) Gentleman's Magazine for 1784, p. 673.

(11) From private information.

(12) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 137, 138.

seven years, as he had done that of Oxford three, continuing a Bishop fifty years, three months, and two days; which was a longer time than any Englishman ever enjoyed that honour,

"organ and ornaments about it at Durham Minster," says a valuable correspondent, "will be a lasting monument of the vain munificence of this man. His Baron's Coronet and Episcopal Mitre stuck up together, may afford some matter of exultation to those who consider the ornamenting of Churches as proceeding sometimes from motives foreign to Christian piety." A most striking instance of his vanity was his giving Dr. Mangey a Prebend of Durham, for a flattering Dedication prefixed to a Sermon, which Sermon he never read. He was fully satisfied with the Dedication (13).

(13) Granger's Biographical History, vol. iv. p. 285.

The conduct of our Prelate to Mr. Henry Wharton involves him in a more serious charge. When he was one of the Commissioners for exercising the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Diocese of London, he was present at the examination of that learned young man for Orders, and so much admired the readiness of his answers, that he promised to make him his Chaplain, which promise he violated. On this account, Mr. Wharton, in his manuscript Diary of his Life, speaks of the Bishop with great contempt, as a man of no veracity. His language is, *Levis iste ac versipellis episcopus. — Summam levissimi viri perfidum detestatus* (14).

(14) Birch, ubi supra.

Lord Crew was very zealous in maintaining the Palatine rights of his Diocese, and made strict enquiry into the ancient Records, which he caused to be thoroughly searched, and stated by his Secretary. In one instance he endeavoured to carry his authority to a most unjustifiable excess. During the latter end of his time, on the death of Serjeant Stroud, he made an entry upon an estate at Hullam and Sheraton, claiming the same as an escheat for want of an heir; and getting the tenants to attorn, he kept possession till the Heir at Law, Mr. Evans, brought his ejectment. All this was illegally done by the Bishop, without an office found; in consequence of which he was told by Mr. William Lee, the Heir at Law's Solicitor, that his predecessor, Anthony Beke, had been impeached in Parliament for the like offence. A letter of Mr. Lee's to our Prelate on the occasion, is so admirably written, and contains such a fund of constitutional and legal reasoning, that it deserves to be inserted, in honour to the memory of the writer. The letter was as follows:

"MY LORD,

"The rights and privileges of your Lordship's county palatine having been often examined in Parliament, upon several petitions and informations, which have been exhibited both by and against your Lordship's predecessors, Mr. Evans is advised by his Counsel, to exhibit his information in Parliament against your Lordship; for that your Lordship and agents have entered upon and detain his inheritance, (under pretence for being an escheat) without having either your Lordship's title first found upon record, or suing out of legal process, to warrant the entry of your Lordship's officers.

"This proceeding, my Lord, he is advised, is a manifest violation of the rights and privileges of the gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Durham, established to them by the public submissions of your Lordship's predecessors; confirmed and ratified by the Crown.

"That it is directly contrary to the known usage and constitution of the county palatine; that it tends to vest a higher prerogative in your Lordship, than is claimed and enjoyed by the Crown itself, who cannot, in this case, enter upon the estate of any subject, without an inquisition first taken to find the title of the Crown:

"That it tends to subvert and evade the several laws made for restraining of the prerogative, and for securing the rights and properties of the subject; particularly by the statute of Magna Charta, chap. 29, which provides, that no freemen be disseized of his freehold, without lawful judgment of his Peers. Stat. 28. Edw. III. chap. 3. which further provides, that

no man shall be disinherited without due process of law; and hath been since confirmed by the petition of right, 3 Char. I. chap. 1. and the Stat. 16 Char. I. chap. 14. that it is also contrary to the statute of 5 Rich. II. chap. 7. which provides, that none shall make entry into any lands, but where the entry is given by law: As also the statute 8 Hen. VI. chap. 9. made against forcible detainer of possession; and several other statutes and public laws, too tedious to be recited:

"That if such proceeding as this should be brought into practice, it would absolutely destroy the ancient privilege, which all the freeholders in this county have hitherto enjoyed, in having an opportunity given them to defend their rights both upon taking the inquisition, or finding the title of the Bishop, and traversing the inquisition after it is taken.

"And if this proceeding against Mr. Evans can be justified, it is conceived, the Bishop of Durham may, under colour of the same right, enter and seize upon all men's inheritances within the county, and put all to make out their title, before the Bishop makes out any.

"Your Lordship has certainly been very ill-advised in this affair, and if the opinion of any eminent Counsel has been taken, I doubt they have either been misinformed, or not very well instructed in the constitution, rights and usages of the county palatine.

"I dare, my Lord, undertake to produce five thousand precedents of inquisitions taken, for finding the Bishop's title upon record, before an entry was ever made; and it does appear, that the Bishop's officers used always to enter, in cases of this nature, by virtue of a special writ for that purpose, setting forth the title as it was found; and (indeed my Lord) I have reason to believe that such a seizure as this was never attempted by any of your Lordship's predecessors, since the time of Anthony Beke.

"That Bishop (whose character your Lordship cannot be unacquainted with) did take upon him to seize on several estates within the county, without suing out any writ or commission for having his title first found, and without awarding of any process, to warrant that entry: But how sensible the gentlemen of the county then were of the tendency it had to bring them under slavery and arbitrary government, what disturbance it bred within the county, and what were the consequences that attended that case, will best appear from the records of those times.

"I shall only beg leave to put your Lordship in mind, that one of the articles then agreed to between that Bishop and the gentlemen and freeholders of the county, upon the mediation of King Edward I. was, That neither the Bishop, nor any of his successors, should ever afterwards seize any man's estate without first suing a writ or commission out of the Bishop's Court of Chancery.

"I doubt (my Lord) your Lordship's agents do not distinguish very well betwixt the case of the Bishop of Durham, and of an ordinary Lord of any manor, where no person is in possession of the estate, against whom he may bring his escheat, for otherwise, the Lord of the manor would be without remedy.

"But the Bishop of Durham will appear, I believe, to stand upon a different foot; he has rather remedy for escheat, and ought to be considered as a public person, (*quasi rex*) and under a capacity much different from a private Lord of a petty manor; such a right in a private Lord, and in a particular case only, cannot be hurtful to the public; but such a power in the Crown, or in the Bishop of Durham, who has *jura regalia*, within his county palatine, may admit of a different consideration.

"It must be agreed, my Lord, that the Bishops of Durham have been always esteemed to be persons invested with royal dignity, or as it is expressed in the ancient record, *jurisdictionem temporalem in omnes subditos suos libertatis Dunelmensis et auctoritatem regium tanquam personæ privilegiis regalibus, insignite per ministros, exercuerunt*, or as another record expresses it,

tanquam

honour, excepting Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who held the Sees of Worcester, Ely, and Canterbury, fifty-one years and twenty-one days. His Lordship dying without issue, the title of Baron Crew of Stene became extinct with him.

tanquam reges et principes mitram gesserit loco coronæ in signum suæ regalitatis; yet it must be allowed at the same time, that all the liberties of the Bishop have been adjudged to be derived, and still dependent upon the Crown, to be circumscribed by the same laws, to be all forfeited upon the misuser or abuse of them, during the Bishop's time who commits the abuse; and that they have been accordingly seized, both upon judgment in Parliament, and other Courts; and that the reason given in some of these judgments, why the Bishop's liberty ought to be forfeit, for any misuser or abuse of it, is *quia justum est quod in eo quo peccat, in eo puniatur*; or as we find it expressed in another of them, *in eo quo insignius delinquit, sit de jure puniendus*.

"In short (my Lord) Mr. Evans is advised, this proceeding is a very great misuser of the liberty, and he having received your Lordship's answer, that he is not to expect any favour, or any restitution of his estate, until he does by law recover it; your Lordship having likewise thought fit to deprive him of all the best Counsel of the Circuit, he is partly necessitated, and does resolve to exhibit informations, both in Parliament and the Court of Queen's Bench, in order to have the illegality of these proceedings examined into.

"I was indeed desired by him to exhibit his information in Parliament, the first day that the Parliament sat, but I was unwilling, in a case of this nature, to take any advantage of your Lordship's absence, or to proceed any farther upon it, until I had given your Lordship fair notice of the measures intended to be taken; so that your Lordship might have an opportunity of advising further upon the case, and of being satisfied, in these matters, from your Lordship's own Counsel.

"Mr. Evans, my Lord, knows nothing as yet, of my writing any thing to your Lordship; but I must do justice to my client, and intend to let him know by next post, what I have done, for he is very pressing to have his prosecution carried on with all vigour and expedition; and it cannot, I think, reasonably be expected, that an estate of three or four hundred pounds *per annum* should be lost without some struggle; or that the title of Mr. Evans, which has been long since proved, allowed and decreed by the Court of Chancery, is to be easily overthrown by an imaginary title, that has not yet, in fifty years time, been so much as found by a common inquest.

"It is true, my Lord, Mr. Evans, at present, is somewhat a stranger to most of the Gentlemen of the country, and his interest in Parliament is not, perhaps, very considerable; however, he does not doubt, but that justice will prevail in that honourable House, and that some will be found to stand up in the defence of the liberties of the country.

"I am afraid, my Lord, I have trespassed too much upon your Lordship, but your Lordship may be assured, if it were not from a respect I have for your Lordship's honour, as well as interest, I should hardly have taken so much pains to convince your Lordship, and to deprive myself, at the same time, of those advantages, which I had reason to expect from such a prosecution as this might be.

"I shall submit the whole to your Lordship's censure and consideration, hoping your Lordship will believe me to be, with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"WILLIAM LEE."

It is to the credit of Lord Crew that he gave a due attention to this remonstrance. He surrendered the possession of the estate, and paid costs; beside which, he was so well satisfied with the Solicitor's plain dealing, or rather with his knowledge of the Palatine rights, that he granted to him and his son a Patent for life of the office of Register of the Court of Chancery at Durham (15).

With all the faults of this Bishop, he was possessed of some amiable qualities. He was hospitable, generous, and charitable; though it is said that his charity was sometimes observed to be exerted with too much ostentation (16). Besides the benefactions mentioned in note [D], he made large bequests, by his last will, to the purposes of Religion, education, and charity, an account of which may be seen in Mr. Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the county palatine of Durham. "Many men, says "that Gentleman, have been canonized for much "inferior works of beneficence than those of this "Prelate. His mistaken principles in the affairs of "Government, though they stain his memory, under "the pens of political writers, are all obliterated "from the benevolent mind by his charity and extensive acts of munificence (17)." This encomium would have been more just if the Bishop's generosity had not been displayed so late in life; and, indeed, if it had not been for the most part posthumous. His benefactions, during the space of forty-seven years, were not to be compared with those which in eleven years had flowed from his predecessor in the See of Durham, Dr. Cosin.

In the former edition of the Biographia, Bishop Crew is represented as having died on the 18th of September, 1722. Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hutchinson have both fallen into the same error with regard to the year of our Prelate's decease (18). It is the more remarkable that these two Gentlemen should have been guilty of such a mistake; as they immediately proceed to relate that it was in 1721 that Dr. William Talbot was translated from the Bishopric of Salisbury to that of Durham.] K.

(15) Hutchinson, *ubi supra*, p. 562—564.

(16) Granger, *ubi supra*.

(17) Hutchinson, *ubi supra*.

(18) Richardson's *Godwin de Præfulibus Angliæ*, p. 753.

* * [CRICHTON (JAMES), was a Scots Gentleman, who lived in the sixteenth century, and of whom very extraordinary things are related, with regard to his endowments, both of body and mind. These were esteemed so great, that he obtained the appellation of "The Admirable Crichton," and by that title he has continued to be distinguished, down to the present day. The accounts given of his abilities and attainments are indeed so wonderful, that they seem scarcely to be credible; and many persons have been disposed to consider them as almost entirely fabulous, though they have been delivered with the utmost confidence, and without any degree of hesitation, by various writers. It is, therefore, with diffidence, and even with anxiety, that I have entered upon this article; being desirous, on the one hand, not to detract from Crichton's real merit, and, on the other, to form a just estimate of the truth of the facts which are recorded concerning him. Upon mature deliberation, I have determined to relate, first, from his several Biographers, the representations they have made of his talents and exploits, and then to subjoin such observations, as may enable the reader to judge how far their stories are to be credited. In drawing up this life I am not only assisted by the printed accounts of Crichton, but by a manuscript memoir, composed by the Earl of Buchan for the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh; of which memoir his Lordship has obligingly permitted me to be favoured with a copy.

(a) Mackenzie's
Writers of the
Scot's Nation,
vol. iii. p. 198.
Pennant's Tour
in Scotland, vol.
i. p. 313.
Edinburgh Mag.
vol. ii. p. 464.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) Lord Bu-
chan's Memoir.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) Mackenzie,
ubi supra, p. 137,
138.

The time of Crichton's birth is said, by the generality of writers, to have been in 1551 (a); but, according to Lord Buchan, it appears, from several circumstances, that he was born in the month of August, 1560. What the circumstances were which determined his Lordship to fix upon the latter date, are not related; though it cannot be doubted but that it was in consequence of a more particular and accurate enquiry, that he was induced to differ in this respect from preceding authors. There is a difference, likewise, between the Earl of Buchan and other Biographers, with regard to the family of Crichton, and the rank and situation of his father. The common accounts assert that James Crichton's father was Robert Crichton of Clunie, in the county of Perth; and that this Robert Crichton commanded Queen Mary's army at the battle of Langside, in the year 1568 (b). But from the Earl of Buchan we learn, that this Gentleman was of Elliock in the same county [A], and that he was Lord Advocate of Scotland in Queen Mary's Reign, from 1561 to 1573; part of which time he held that office in conjunction with Spens of Condie. The mother of James Crichton was Elizabeth Stuart, the only daughter of Sir James Stuart of Beath, who was a descendant of Robert Duke of Albany, the third son of King Robert the second, by Elizabeth Muir or More, as she is commonly called (c). It is hence evident that when the admirable Crichton boasted (as he did abroad) that he was sprung from Scottish Kings, he said nothing but what was agreeable to truth. Nevertheless Thomas Dempster, who sufficiently amplifies his praises in other respects, passes a severe censure upon him on this account; which is the more remarkable, as Dempster lived so near the time, and was well acquainted with the genealogies of the great families of Scotland (d) [B].

James Crichton is said to have received his grammatical education at Perth, and to have studied philosophy in the University of St. Andrew. His Tutor in that University was Mr. John Rutherford, a Professor at that time famous for his learning, and who distinguished himself by writing four books on Aristotle's Logic, and a commentary on his Poetics. But nothing, according to Mackenzie, can give us a higher idea of Rutherford's worth and merit, than his being Master of that wonder and prodigy of his age, the great and admirable Crichton (e). However, it is not to this Professor alone that the honour is ascribed of having formed so extraordinary a character. There are others who may

[A] *This Gentleman was of Elliock in the same county.* Mr. Pennant's account says, that Robert Crichton was of Clunie and Elliock. But it is erroneous, according to Lord Buchan, to style him of Clunie. It may here be observed, that the life of the admirable Crichton, given in Mr. Pennant's tour, was not drawn up by that Gentleman, but is a narrative which was printed some years ago at Aberdeen. "I have had opportunity, says Mr. Pennant, of comparing it with most of the authorities quoted in support of the history of so extraordinary a person, and find them used with judgment and fidelity. Excepting a few notes, I present it to the readers in the state I found it (1)." The real character and authority of this compilation will hereafter appear.

(1) Pennant's
First Tour in
Scotland, p. 313.

[B] *Was well acquainted with the genealogies of the great families of Scotland.* Thomas Dempster, after speaking of the endowments of Crichton's mind, has these words: *Hanc sane ingenii ostentationem labentius ferrem et fidentius predicarem, quam possem pati jactabunde ad Scotiæ Reges genus ipsius referendum; nam inane est ea se gentis aut sanguinis gloria perperam arrogata venditare, cum tanta claritudo in tenui fortuna ridicula videatur; quare ut verum sit, familiam Clunium nobilem esse, ita illud mendacissimum, Reges Scotiæ Jacobi Crichtoni majores ullos extitisse (2).* In answer to this censure, Lord Buchan has traced the descent of Crichton from Robert the first and Murdoch the second Duke of Albany, through Sir James Stuart, the fourth lawful son of the last named Duke, to Elizabeth Stuart, who married Robert Crichton, as above-mentioned. The only difficulty that occurs, is with regard to the legitimacy of the descendants of Sir James Stuart. This Gentleman retired to Ireland, where, by a Lady of the family of the Mac Donalds, he had seven sons, three of whom were legitimated by King James the third, and were the ancestors of several considerable families, particularly those of Evandale and Ochiltree (3). Though, according to Lord Buchan, Sir James Stuart was really married to the Irish Lady, the marriage, nevertheless, having been contracted out of the kingdom, was, by the law of Scotland, at that time considered as illegitimate. "It is somewhat singular, says his Lordship, that although the marriage of Sir James Stuart, fourth son of Murdoch Duke of Albany, with

(2) Dempster's
Historia Ecclesiastica, p. 189.

(3) Douglas's
Peerage of Scotland,
p. 17.

his Irish Lady, seems to have been allowed, and that, by the law of Scotland, the ante-nuptial children were legitimated to all intents and purposes by the subsequent marriage; yet, weak as was the male stock of the House of Stuart at that time, the issue of this marriage was set aside from the Succession to the Crown, and Letters of Legitimation were passed in favour of Andrew Lord Evandale, Arthur and Walter Stuart his brothers, April 17th, Anno 1479. Thus injustice has been sanctified by the prejudices of a barbarous age, and a long lapse of time has now almost effaced the remembrance of it, even from the tables of our Genealogists (4)." Perhaps some of our readers may think that a cloud still rests upon the subject of Crichton's descent from Scottish kings; not with regard to the reality of it, but its strict legitimacy, according to the legal ideas which then prevailed in Scotland. This, however, is not a matter of great importance, since his celebrity has arisen from very different causes.

On the father's side, the family of the Admirable Crichton was undoubtedly noble; and this is acknowledged by Dempster. Three branches of that family have been raised to the Peerage of Scotland. These were James Crichton Earl of Caithness, in whom the title began and ended; the Crichtons, Lord Crichtons, and afterwards Viscounts Fren draught; and the Crichtons, Lord Crichtons of Sanquhar, afterwards Earls of Dumfries; which Earldom, by female descent, now belongs to the Earl of Stair. The title of Viscount Fren draught was lost by the attainder of Lewis the fifth Viscount. James Crichton of Auchingowl, Esq; is the present representative of the family (5). The great offices held by some of the Crichtons, and the high alliances formed by them, might be enlarged upon, were it necessary. William, the first Lord Crichton, was Chancellor of Scotland. James, the second Lord, was Great Chamberlain of that kingdom. His Lady was the daughter and co-heiress of James Dunbar, Earl of Murray, and was descended from the illustrious Thomas Randolph, the first Earl of that county. William, the third Lord Crichton, married Lady Margaret Stuart, daughter of King James the second (6).

(4) Lord Bu-
chan's Memoir.

(5) Douglas, *ubi supra*, p. 112.
164—167. 198
—201.

(6) Douglas, *ubi supra*.
Lord Buchan's
Manuscript.

put in their claim to a share in the same glory; for Aldus Manutius, who calls Crichton first Cousin to the King, says that he was educated, along with his Majesty, under Buchanan, Hepburn, and Robertson, as well as Rutherford (f). Indeed, whatever might be the natural force of his genius, many Masters must have been necessary, in order to his acquiring such a variety of attainments as he is represented to have possessed. For it is related that he had scarcely arrived to the twentieth year of his age, when he had run through the whole circle of the Sciences, and could speak and write to perfection in ten different languages. Nor was this all; for he had likewise improved himself to the highest degree in riding, dancing, and singing, and in playing upon all sorts of instruments (g).

(f) Pennant, *ubi supra*, p. 314. note. Ald. Manut. Paradox. Cic. Dedic.

(g) Mackenzie, *ubi supra*, p. 198. Pennant, *ubi supra*.

Crichton, being thus accomplished, went abroad upon his travels, and is said to have gone to Paris, of his transactions at which place the following account is given. He caused six placards to be fixed on all the gates of the Schools, Halls, and Colleges belonging to the University, and on all the pillars and posts before the houses of the most renowned men for literature in the city, inviting all those who were well versed in any art or science, to dispute with him in the College of Navarre, that day six weeks, by nine of the clock in the morning, where he would attend them, and be ready to answer to whatever should be proposed to him in any Art or Science, and in any of these twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish, and Sclavonian; and this either in verse or prose, at the discretion of the disputant. During this whole time, instead of closely applying to his studies, he regarded nothing but hunting, hawking, tilting, vaulting, riding of a well-managed horse, tossing the pike, handling the musket, and other military feats; or else he employed himself in domestic games, such as balls, concerts of music vocal and instrumental; cards, dice, tennis, and the like diversions of youth. This conduct so provoked the Students of the University, that, beneath the placard which was fixed on the Navarre gate, they caused the following words to be written: "If you would meet with this Monster of Perfection, to make search for him either in the tavern or bawdy-house, is the readiest way to find him." Nevertheless, when the day appointed arrived, Crichton appeared in the College of Navarre, and acquitted himself beyond expression in the disputation, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till six at night. At length, the President, after extolling him highly, for the many rare and excellent endowments which God and Nature had bestowed upon him, rose from his chair, and, accompanied by four of the most eminent Professors of the University, gave him a diamond ring, and a purse full of gold, as a testimony of their love and favour. The whole ended with the repeated acclamations and huzzas of the spectators; and henceforward our young disputant was called "The Admirable Crichton." It is added, that he was so little fatigued with the dispute, that he went on the very next day to the "Louvre," where he had a match of tilting, (an exercise then in much request,) and in the presence of some Princes of the Court of France, and a great many Ladies, carried away the ring fifteen times successively, and broke as many lances on the Saracen (h) [C] (*).

(b) Mackenzie, *ubi supra*, p. 199, 200. Pennant, *ubi supra*, p. 315, 316. Sir Thomas Urquhart's Tracts, p. 65—70. (*) What is meant by the Saracen no one has condescended to explain.

The

[C] And broke as many lances on the Saracen.] The account given above, and which is taken from Mackenzie and Pennant, rests entirely on the authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart, the language of whose narration has directly not been adopted, since it would only serve to cast an air of ridicule on the whole story. Mackenzie, however, and the writer in Pennant, have endeavoured still farther to confirm the truth of the extraordinary exploits performed by Crichton at Paris, by the testimony of an author whom they consider as an eye-witness. The passage which is produced for this purpose, is as follows: *In Navarrae Collegium venit adolescens quidam natus Annos XX, qui bonas Artes apprime callebat, ut peritissimi quique Academiae magistri testabuntur. Præclare fidibus canebat: Numeris, voce, modis, symphonia cunctos vincebat, pingebat, et imaginibus, colores inducebat optime omnium. In militia experimentissimus est: Gladium ambabus manibus distringebat tam bene et fortiter ut cum eo certare nullus auderet: statim atque videbit hostem suum, saltu se in eum projiciebat, remotus spatia Pedum XX aut XXIV. Erat magister in Artibus, in medicina, in utroque jure, in theologia. Nobiscum in Navarrae schola disputando congressus est, tametsi magistrorum quinquaginta perfectissimorum numerum excederemus. Mitto alios ter mille, et eo amplius, qui concertationi interfuerunt. Tam argute et cumulate respondit questionibus quæ propositæ sunt omnibus, ut nisi præsentium, certe absentium fidem superet. Latine, Græce, Hebraice, Arabice, et linguis aliis pluribus loquitur, ut qui politissime; equitabat quoque ut qui optime. Quin etiam si quis homo annos centum viveret, et sine cibo et potu, dies noctesque infomnes traduceret, quas ille animo complexus*

est scientias afficeretur nunquam, et revera metum ingentem nobis incussit, nam plura novit quam natura humana ferre possit. Doctores ecclesiæ quatuor redarguit; sapientia comparandus nemini videbatur; pro antichristo habitus est (7). For this passage Mackenzie refers to Steph. Pasch. Disquis. Lib. 5. Cap. 23. We shall insert the translation of it given in Pennant. "There came to the College of Navarre, a young man of twenty years of age, who was perfectly well seen in all the Sciences, as the most learned Masters of the University acknowledged. In vocal and instrumental music none could excel him; in painting and drawing in colours none could equal him. In all military feats he was most expert, and could play with the sword so dexterously with both his hands, that no man could fight him. When he saw his enemy or antagonist, he would throw himself upon him at one jump of twenty or twenty-four feet distance. He was a Master of Arts, and disputed with us in the Schools of the College in medicine, the civil and canon Law, and Theology: and although we were above fifty in number, besides above three thousand that were present, so pointedly and learnedly he answered to all the questions which were proposed to him, that none but they who were present can believe it. He spake Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other languages most politely. He was likewise a most excellent horseman; and truly if a man should live a hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he could not attain to this man's knowledge, which struck us with a panic fear; for he knew more than human nature

(7) Mackenzie's Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 199.

"can

The next account we have of Crichton is, that he went to Rome, where he affixed a placard upon all the eminent places of the city, in the following terms: *Nos Jacobus Crichtonus Scotus, cuicumque Rei propositæ ex improvise respondebimus.* In a city which abounded in wit, this bold challenge, to answer to any question that could be proposed to him without his being previously advertised of it, could not escape the ridicule of a pasquinade. It is said, however, that being no wise discouraged, he appeared at the time and place appointed; and that, in the presence of the Pope, many Cardinals, Bishops, Doctors of Divinity, and Professors in all the Sciences, he displayed such wonderful proofs of his universal knowledge, that he excited no less surprize than he had done at Paris (i). Bocalini, who was then at Rome, gives something of a different relation of the matter. According to this author, the pasquinade against Crichton, which was to the following effect, "*And he that will see it let him go to the sign of the Falcon and it shall be shewn,*" made such an impression upon him, that he left a place where he had been so grossly affronted as to be put upon a level with jugglers and mountebanks (k).

(i) Mackenzie, *ubi supra.*
Pennant, *ubi supra*, p. 317, 318.

(k) Pennant, p. 317, note.

From Rome he went to Venice, at his approach to which city he appears to have been in considerable distress, of mind at least, if not with regard to external circumstances. This is evident from the following lines of his poem, *In suum ad urbem Venetam appulsum.*

Sæpè meos animo casus meditabar iniquos,
Sæpè humectabam guttis stillantibus ora.

(l) *Delitæ Pæ-
tarum Sotorum*,
p. 268—272.

The chief design of Crichton, in his poem, was to obtain a favourable reception at Venice, and particularly from Aldus Manutius, whose praises he celebrates in very high strains (l). When he presented his verses to Manutius, that Critic was struck with a very agreeable surprize, and judged, from the performance, that the author of it must be a person of an extraordinary genius. Upon discoursing with the stranger, he was filled with admiration; and finding him to be skilled in every subject, he introduced him to the acquaintance of the men of principal learning and note in Venice. Here he contracted an intimate friendship not only with Aldus Manutius, but with Laurentius Massa, Speron Speronius, Johannes Donatus, and various other learned persons, to whom he presented several poems in commendation of the City and University. Three of Crichton's Odes, one addressed to Aldus Manutius, another to Laurentius Massa, and a third to Johannes Donatus, are still preserved. At length, he was introduced to the Doge and Senate, in whose presence he made a speech, which was accompanied with such beauty of eloquence, and such grace of person and manner, that he received the thanks of that illustrious body, and nothing was talked of through the whole city but this *rara in Terris Avis*, this Prodigy of Nature (m). He held, likewise, disputations, on the subjects of theology, philosophy, and mathematics, before the most eminent Professors, and large multitudes of people. His reputation was so great, that the desire of seeing and hearing him brought together a vast concourse of persons, from different quarters, to Venice (n). It may be collected from Manutius, that the time in which Crichton exhibited these demonstrations of his abilities, was in the year 1580 [D].

(m) *Joannis Im-
perialis Museum
Historium*, p. 140
—143.
*Aldi Manutii De-
dicatio ad Cicero-
nis Paradoxa.*
Mackenzie and
Pennant, *ubi
supra.*

(n) *Ald. Manut.
ubi supra.*
Lord Buchan's
Memoir.

During his residence at Venice, he fell into a bad state of health, which continued for the space of four months. However, before he was perfectly recovered, he went, by the advice of his friends, to Padua, the University of which city was at that time in great reputation. The next day after his arrival, there was a meeting of all the learned men of the place, at the house of Jacobus Aloysius Cornelius; when Crichton opened the assembly with an extemporary Poem in praise of the city, the University, and the company who had honoured him with their presence. After this, he disputed for six hours with the most celebrated Professors, on various subjects of learning; and he exposed, in particular, the errors of Aristotle and his commentators, with so much solidity and acuteness, and, at the same time, with so much modesty, that he excited universal admiration. In conclusion, he delivered, extempore, an Oration in Praise of Ignorance, which was conducted with such ingenuity and elegance, that his hearers were astonished. This exhibition of Crichton's talents was on the fourteenth of March, 1581. Soon after, he appointed a day for another disputation, to be held at the Palace of the Bishop of Padua; not for the purpose of affording higher proofs of his abilities, for that could not possibly be done, but in compliance with the earnest solicitations of some persons, who were not present at the former assembly. However, several circumstances occurred, which prevented this meeting from taking place (o). Such is the account of Manutius; but Imperialis relates, that he was informed by his father, who was present upon the occasion, that Crichton was opposed by Archangelus Mercenarius, a famous philosopher, and that he acquitted himself so well

(o) *Ald. Manut.
ubi supra.*

(8) Pennant's
First Tour in
Scotland, p. 314,
315.

"can well bear. He overcame four of the Doctors of the Church; for in learning none could contest with him, and he was thought to be Antichrist (8)." It will be seen in the sequel, how far this story relates to Crichton.

[D] Was in the year 1580.] As Aldus Manutius writes, in 1581, that he received the Ode addressed to himself in the former year, it is hence apparent that Crichton came to Venice in that year (9).

(9) Lord Bu-
chan's Memoir.

(p) *Joan. Imperial. Muse. Hist. ubi supra.*

as to obtain the approbation of a very honourable company, and even of his antagonist himself (p) [E].

Amidst the discourses which were occasioned by our young Scotsman's exploits, and the high applauses that were bestowed on his genius and attainments, some persons there were who endeavoured to detract from his merit. For ever, therefore, to confound these invidious impugnors of his talents, he caused a paper to be fixed on the gates of St. John and St. Paul's Church, wherein he offered to prove before the University, that the errors of Aristotle, and of all his followers, were almost innumerable, and that the latter had failed, both in explaining their master's meaning, and in treating on theological subjects. He promised, likewise, to refute the dreams of certain Mathematical Professors; to dispute in all the Sciences; and to answer to whatever should be proposed to him, or objected against him. All this he engaged to do, either in the common logical way, or by numbers and mathematical figures, or in a hundred sorts of verses, at the pleasure of his opponents (q) [F]. According to Manutius, Crichton sustained this contest without fatigue, for three days; during which time he supported his credit, and maintained his propositions, with such spirit and energy, that, from an unusual concourse of people, he obtained acclamations and praises, than which none more magnificent were ever heard by men (r).

(q) *Ald. Manut. Mackenzie and Pennant, ubi supra.*

(r) *Ald. Manut. ubi supra.*

The next account we have of Crichton, and which appears to have been transmitted, through Sir Thomas Urquhart, to later Biographers, is of an extraordinary instance of bodily courage and skill. It is said, that at Mantua there was at this time a Gladiator, who had foiled, in his travels, the most famous fencers in Europe, and had lately killed three persons who had entered the lists with him. The Duke of Mantua was much grieved at having granted this man his protection, as he found it to be attended with such fatal consequences. Crichton, being informed of his Highness's concern, offered his service, not only to drive the murderer from Mantua, but from Italy, and to fight him for fifteen hundred pistoles. Though the Duke was unwilling to expose such an accomplished Gentleman to so great a hazard, yet, relying upon the report he had heard of his warlike achievements, he agreed to the proposal; and the time and place being appointed, the whole Court attended to behold the performance. At the beginning of the combat, Crichton stood only upon his defence; while the *Italian* made his attack with such eagerness and fury, that, having overacted himself, he began to grow weary. Our young Scotsman now seized the opportunity of attacking his antagonist in return; which he did with so much dexterity and vigour, that he ran him through the body in three different places, of which wounds he immediately died. The acclamations of the spectators were loud and extraordinary upon this occasion; and it was acknowledged by all of them, that they had never seen Art grace Nature, or Nature second the precepts of Art, in so lively a manner as they had beheld these two things accomplished on that day. To crown the glory of the action, Crichton bestowed the prize of his victory upon the widows of the three persons who had lost their lives in fighting with the Gladiator (s).

(s) *Pennant, ubi supra, p. 320, 321. Mackenzie, ubi supra, p. Sir Thomas Urquhart's Tracts, p. 59—64.*

It is asserted that, in consequence of this and his other wonderful performances, the Duke of Mantua made choice of him for Preceptor to his son Vincentio di Gonzaga, who is represented as being of a riotous temper and a dissolute life. The appointment was highly pleasing to the Court. Crichton, to testify his gratitude to his friends and benefactors, and to contribute to their diversion, framed, we are told, a Comedy, wherein he exposed and ridiculed all the weaknesses and failures of the several employments in which men are engaged. This composition was regarded as one of the most ingenious satires that ever was made upon mankind. But the most astonishing part of the story is, that Crichton sustained fifteen characters in the representation of his own play. Among the rest, he acted the divine, the philosopher, the lawyer, the mathematician, the physician, and the soldier, with such inimitable grace, that every time he appeared upon the Theatre, he seemed to be a different person (t) [G].

(t) *Pennant and Mackenzie, ubi supra. Urquhart, ubi supra, p. 71—76.*

From

[E] *And even of his antagonist himself.* These are the words of Imperialis. *Mibi quidem ex patris mei, qui ipsum audit, sermonibus agnitus, ex Doctoribus unum, interriti spiritus acie, Arcangelum Mercenarium insignem philosophum, cum Critonio de Rebus Physicis copiose, graviterque, disseruisse, impugnando, resolvendo, interpretando subtiliter, ac promptè singula; qui propterea perhonorificum leatissimæ Coronæ, ac vel ipsius disceptatoris indicium est emeritus.*

[F] *At the pleasure of his opponents.* The following is the copy of this challenge, or of these two Theorems, as they are called by Manutius. *Ut iis qui (virtute veraque animi nobilitate aliis prælucentes) bene de virtutis amatoribus sentire consueverunt gratias agat immortales Jacobus Critonius Scotus, profligatissime et perditis hominibus omnem in posterum jactandi occasionem auferat, errores Aristotelis pene innumerabiles et omnium Latinorum Philosophorum, sive cum de ipsius mente disputant, sive cum Res Theologicas attingunt; et*

VOL. IV.

nonnullorum quoque Mathematicos Professorum Somnia refutabit, et ad objecta respondebit. Liberam ad hæc in omnibus disciplinis, sive illæ publice doceri soleant, sive sapientissimis tantum hominibus pervicæ sint, arguendi occasionem dat responsurus, sive logicis et consuetis responsionibus, sive per secretam numerorum rationem aut figuras mathematicas, sive per aliquot ex centum carminum generibus, ex proponentium arbitrio. In D. D. Johannis et Pauli Æde sacra, ipso sanctissimo Pentecostes Die, post meridiem,

EXORDIUM SUMET.

[G] *He seemed to be a different person.* As a specimen of Sir Thomas Urquhart's manner of writing, we shall insert part of his account of this transaction.

‘ It happened on a Shrove-Tuesday at night, that this ever-renowned Crichton, (who, in the afternoon of that day, at the desire of my Lord Duke (the whole Court striving which should exceed the

other

From being the principal Actor in a Comedy, Crichton soon became the subject of a dreadful Tragedy. One night, during the time of Carnival, as he was walking along the streets

other in foolery, and devising of the best sports to excite laughter; neither my Lord, Dukes, nor Prince, being exempted from acting their parts, as well as they could) upon a Theatre set up for the purpose, begun to prank it (*à la Venetiana*) with such a flourish of *mimick*, and *ethopoetick* gestures, that all the Courtiers of both sexes, even those that a little before that, were fondest of their own conceits, at the sight of his so inimitable a garb, from ravishing actors, that they were before, turned then ravished spectators. O! with how great liveliness did he represent the conditions of all manner of men! how naturally did he set before the eyes of the beholders the rogueries of all professions, from the overweening monarch to the peevish swaine, through all intermediate degrees of the superficial courtier or proud warrior, dissembled churchman, doting old man, cozening lawyer, lying traveler, covetous merchant, rude seaman, pedantick scholar, the amorous shepherd, envious artisan, vainglorious master, and tricky servant; he did with such variety display the several humours of all these sorts of people, and with a so-bewitching energy, that he seemed to be the original, they the counterfeit; and they the resemblance whereof he was the prototype: he had all the jeers, squibs, flouts, bulls, quips, taunts, whims, jests, clinches, gybes, mokes, jerks, with all the several kinds of equivocations, and other sophistical captions, that could properly be adapted to the person by whose representation he intended to inveigle the company into a fit of mirth, and would keep in that miscellany discourse of his (which was all for the spleen, and nothing for the gall) such a climacterical and mercurially digested method, that when the fancy of the hearers was tickled with any conceit, and that the jovial blood was moved, he held it going, with another new device upon the back of the first, and another, yet another, and another againe, succeeding one another, for the promoval of what is a stirring into a higher agitation; till in the closure of the luxuriant period, the decumanal wave of the oddest whimsy of all, enforced the charmed spirits of the auditory, (for affording room to its apprehension) suddenly to burst forth into a laughter; which commonly lasted just so long as he had leisure to withdraw behind the screen, shift off with the help of a page, the suite he had on, apparel himself with another, and return to the stage to act afresh; for by that time their transported, disparpled, and sublimated fancies, by the wonderfully operating engines of his solacious inventions, had from the hight to which the inward scrues, wheelles, and pullies of his wit had elevated them, descended by degrees into their wonted stations, he was ready for the personating of another carriage; whereof, to the number of fourteen several kinds, (during the five hours space, that at the Dukes desire, the solicitation of the Court, and his own recreation, he was pleased to histrionize it) he shewed himself so natural a representative, that any would have thought he had been so many several actors, differing in all things else, save only the stature of the body; with this advantage above the most of other actors, whose tongue, with its oral implements, is the onely instrument of their minds disclosing, that, besides his mouth with its appurtenances, he lodged almost a several oratour in every member of his body; his head, his eyes, his shoulders, armes, hands, fingers, thighs, legs, feet, and breast, being able to decipher any passion, whose character he purposed to give.

First, he did present himself with a crown on his head, a scepter in his hand, being clothed in a purple robe furred with ermyne; after that, with a mitre on his head, a crosier in his hand, and accourtred with a paire of lawn sleeves: and thereafter, with a helmet on his head, the visiere up, a commanding-stick in his hand, and arrayed in a buff-suit, with a scarf about his middle: then, in a rich apparel, after the newest fashion, did he shew himself, (like another *Sejanus*) with a periwig

daubed with Cypres powder: in sequel of that, he came out with a three cornered cap on his head, some parchments in his hand, and writings hanging at his girdle like Chancery bills; and next to that, with a furred gown about him, an ingot of gold in his hand, and a bag full of money by his side; after all this, he appears againe clad in a country-jacket, with a prong in his hand, and a *Monmouth*-like-cap on his head: then very shortly after, with a palmer's coat upon him, a bourdon in his hand, and some few cockle-shells stuck to his hat, he look't as if he had come in pilgrimage from *Saint Michael*; immediately after that, he domineers it in a bare unlined gowne, with a pair of whips in the one hand, and *Corderius* in the other: and in suite thereof, he *bondspondered* it with a pair of pannier-like breeches, a Mountera-cap on his head, and a knife in a wooden sheath, daggerways, by his side; about the latter end he comes forth again with a square in one hand, a rule in the other, and a leather apron before him: then very quickly after, with a scrip by his side, a sheep hook in his hand, and a basket full of flowers to make nosegays for his mistress: now drawing to a closure, he rants it first in *cuerpo*, and vapouring it with gingling spurrs, and his armes a kenbol like a *Don Diego* he strouts it, and by the loftiness of his gate plaies the *Capitan Spavento*: then in the very twinkling of an eye, you would have seen him againe issue forth with a cloak upon his arm, in a livery garment, thereby representing the serving-man; and lastly, at one time amongst those other, he came out with a long gray beard, and bucked ruff, crouching on a staff tip't with the head of a Barber's Cithern, and his gloves hanging by a button at his girdle.

Those fifteen several personages he did represent with such excellency of garb, and exquisiteness of language, that condignely to perpend the subtlety of the invention, the method of the disposition, the neatness of the elocution, the gracefulness of the action, and wonderful variety in the so dextrous performance of all, you would have taken it for a comedy of five acts, consisting of three scenes, each composed by the best poet in the world, and acted by fifteen of the best players that ever lived, as was most evidently made apparent to all the spectators, in the fifth and last hour of his action, (which, according to our Western account, was about six a'clock at night, and, by the calculation of that country, half an hour past three and twenty, at that time of the year) for, purposing to leave off with the setting of the sun, with an endeavour nevertheless to make his conclusion the master-piece of the work, he, to that effect, summoning all his spirits together, which never failed to be ready at the cal of so worthy a Commander, did, by their assistance, so conglomerate, shuffle, mix, and interlace the gestures, inclinations, actions, and very tones of the speech of those fifteen several sorts of men whose carriages he did personate, into an inestimable *Ollapodrida* of immaterial morsels of divers kinds, sutable to the very Ambrosian relish of the Heliconian Nymphs, that in the *Peripetia* of this Drammatical exercitation, by the enchanted transportation of the eyes and eares of its spectabundal audiorie, one would have sworne that they all had looked with multiplying glasses, and that (like that Angel in the Scripture, whose voice was said to be like the voice of a multitude) they heard in him alone the promiscuous speech of fifteen several actors; by the various ravishments of the excellencies whereof, in the frolickness of a jocund straine beyond expectation, the logofacinated spirits of the beholding hearers and auricularie spectators, were so on a sudden seized upon in their risible faculties of the soul, and all their vital motions so universally affected in this extremitie of agitation, that to avoid the inevitable charmes of his intoxicating ejaculations, and the accumulative influences of so powerful a transportation, one of my Lady Dutche's chief

Maids

streets of Mantua, and playing upon his guittar, he was attacked by half a dozen people in masks. The assailants found that they had no ordinary person to deal with, for they were not able to maintain their ground against him. In the issue, the leader of the company, being disarmed, pulled off his mask, and begged his life, telling him, that he was the Prince his pupil. Crichton immediately fell upon his knees, and expressed his concern for his mistake; alledging, that what he had done was only in his own defence, and that if Gonzaga had any design upon his life, he might always be master of it. Then, taking his own sword by the point, he presented it to the Prince, who immediately received it, and was so irritated by the affront which he thought he had sustained, in being foiled with all his attendants, that he instantly ran Crichton through the heart (*u*).

Various have been the conjectures concerning the motives which could induce Vincentio di Gonzaga to be guilty of so ungenerous and brutal an action. Some have ascribed it to jealousy, asserting that he suspected Crichton to be more in favour than himself with a Lady whom he passionately loved; and Sir Thomas Urquhart has told a story upon this head which is extravagant and ridiculous in the highest degree (*w*). Others, with greater probability, represent the whole transaction as the result of a drunken frolic; and it is uncertain, according to Imperialis, whether the meeting of the Prince and Crichton was by accident or design (*x*). However, it is agreed on all hands, that Crichton lost his life in this rencontre. The time of his decease is said, by the generality of his Biographers, to have been in the beginning of July, 1583; but Lord Buchan (we doubt not in consequence of a more accurate enquiry) fixes it to the same month in the preceding year. There is a difference, likewise, with regard to the period of life at which Crichton died. The common accounts declare that he was killed in the thirty-second year of his age; but Imperialis asserts that he was only in his twenty-second, when that calamitous event took place, and this fact is confirmed by Lord Buchan (*y*).

Crichton's tragical end excited a very great and general lamentation. If Sir Thomas Urquhart is to be credited, the whole Court of Mantua went, three quarters of a year, into mourning for him; the epitaphs and elegies that were composed upon his death, and stuck upon his hearth, would exceed, if collected, the bulk of Homer's works; and, for a long time afterwards, his picture was to be seen in most of the bed-chambers and galleries of the Italian Nobility, representing him on horseback, with a lance in the one hand, and a book in the other. The same Author tells us, that Crichton gained the esteem of Kings and Princes, by his magnanimity and knowledge; of Noblemen and Gentlemen, by his courtliness and breeding; of Knights, by his honourable deportment and pregnancy of wit; of the rich, by his affability and good fellowship; of the poor, by his munificence and liberality; of the old, by his constancy and wisdom; of the young, by his mirth and gallantry; of the learned, by his universal knowledge; of the soldiers, by his undaunted valour and courage; of the merchants and artificers, by his upright dealing and honesty; and of the fair sex, by his beauty and handsomeness; in which respect, he was a masterpiece of nature (*z*).

Extravagant as this account must appear, something as extravagant hath been advanced by earlier writers. Joannes Imperialis, an Italian Biographer, to whom we have already referred, says, in his life of Crichton, that he was the Wonder of the last Age; the prodigious production of Nature; the glory and ornament of Parnassus, in a stupendous and unusual manner; and that, in the judgment of the learned world, he was the phoenix of literature, and rather a shining particle of the divine Mind and Majesty, than a model of what could be attained by human industry. The same Author, after highly celebrating the beauty of his person, asserts that his extraordinary eloquence, and his admirable knowledge of things, testified that he possessed a strength of genius wholly Divine. "What, adds this writer, can more exceed our comprehension, than that Crichton, in the twenty-first year of his age, should be master of ten different languages, and perfectly well versed in philosophy, mathematics, theology, polite literature, and all other Sciences? Besides, was it ever heard, in the whole compass of the globe, that, to these extraordinary endowments of the mind, should be added a singular skill in fencing, dancing, singing, riding, and in every exercise of the gymnastic Art?" Nay, Imperialis, in his account of Crichton's death, declares that the report of so sad a catastrophe was spread to the remotest parts of the earth; that it disturbed universal Nature; and that in her grief

‘ Maids of Honour, by the vehemencie of the shock
‘ of those incomprehensible raptures, burst forth into
‘ a laughter, to the rupture of a veine in her body;
‘ and another young Lady, by the irresistible violence
‘ of the pleasure unawares infused, where the tender
‘ receptibilitie of her too too tickled fancie was least
‘ able to hold out, so unprovidedly was surpris'd, that
‘ with no less impetuositie of ridibundal passion then
‘ (as hath been told) occasioned a fracture in the
‘ other young Ladie's modestie, she, not able longer to
‘ support the well-beloved burthen of so excessive
‘ delight, and intranſing joys of such Mercurial

‘ exhilarations, through the ineffable extasie of
‘ an overmastered apprehension, fell back in a
‘ swoon, without the appearance of any other life
‘ into her, then what by the most refined wits of
‘ theological speculators is conceived to be exerce'd
‘ by the purest parts of the separated *entelechies* of
‘ blessed saints in their sublimest conversations with
‘ the celestial hierarchies: this accident procured the
‘ incoming of an Apothecarie with restoratives, as
‘ the other did that of a Surgeon, with consolidative
‘ medicaments (*10*).’

(*u*) Mackenzie,
Pennant, Edin-
burgh Magazine,
Adventurer, No.
81.

(*w*) Urquhart,
ubi supra, p. 79
—96.

(*x*) Consultò, an
Casu incertum.

(*y*) Imperialis,
ubi supra. Lord
Buchan's Me-
moir.

(*z*) Pennant and
Mackenzie, *ubi
supra*. Urquhart,
ubi supra, p. 78.

(*10*) Sir John
Hawkins's Life
of Dr. Johnson,
p. 300—307.
Urquhart's
Tracts, p. 71—
76.

for the loss of the Wonder she had produced, she threatened never more to confer such honour upon mankind [H]. Compared with these extravagancies, the assertion of Bayle, that Crichton was one of the greatest prodigies of wit that ever lived, and the testimony of Fœlix Astolfus concerning his wonderful memory, may be considered as modest encomiums (a).

(a) Mackenzie and Pennant, *ubi supra*. Astolfi *Officina Historica*, p. 102.

From the portraits which remain of Crichton, it appears that in his face and form he was beautiful and elegant, and that his body and limbs, though not muscular or athletic, were well proportioned, and fitted for feats of agility. Aldus Manutius describes him as distinguished by a mark of a red rose about his right eye. No such mark, however, is to be traced in any of the pictures or prints of him which have come down to our times. There are two portraits of him in Scotland, one of which is in the possession of Mr. Graham of Airth. From a copy of this picture, belonging to Lord Eliock, a Lord of Sessions, the print is taken which is given by Mr. Pennant. A friend of the writer of this article is of opinion, that in Mr. Graham's Original, Crichton does not appear to be so handsome as he is represented in Mr. Pennant's print. The other portrait of Crichton is the property of Mr. Morison, of Bògnie and Frendraught in Aberdeenshire. This Gentleman's father became possessed of the estate of Frendraught by purchase; at which time he found, in the principal Mansion, the picture of which we are speaking. It is said to be a very fine one, and is understood to have been sent over from Italy to Lord Frendraught by Crichton himself, and to have been painted in the year of his death (b). There is a print of him in *Imperialis*, which, though poorly executed, is probably authentic (c).

Several of the Biographers of Crichton have given a formal Catalogue of his works, though it does not appear that any productions of his have ever been committed to the press, excepting four Latin Poems. What his Encomiasts have been pleased to call his works are, for the most part, nothing more than the heads of the topics upon which he declaimed or disputed, at the public exhibitions of his talents. That we may not, however, detract, in any degree, from his just praises, we shall insert the Catalogue below [I]. Of the poetic encomiums that have been written upon him, three only have been preserved, and these are not distinguished by their merit. What they are, will be seen in the note subjoined [K].

[H] She threatened never more to confer such honour upon mankind.] As *Imperialis's* Museum Historicum is not in every hand, we shall insert the original passages. *Transacti dudum sæculi monstrum, prodigioso Naturæ opificis conatu editum, quò parnassi spacia stupendo, et inusitato spectaculo illustrarentur. Hic est totius adhuc orbis Judicio phœnix habitus ingeniorum, divinæ mentis igniculis summi potiùs datoris referens majestatem, quàm mortalem ad æmulandum laceffens industriam. — Præalta facundia, rerumque notitia præclarissimarum, dæmonicum prorsus ei subesse animi testabantur vigorem. Quid aut magnificentius, aut admirabilius, quàm in ipsis ephēbis, belli detentum studiis ingenium, tantam in doctrinarum arvis messem cogere potuisse? Quid humanum magis exsuperans caput, quàm vigesimo Etatis Anno, decem linguarum peritia; necnon philosophiæ, mathematicæ, theologiæ, mitiorum artium, cæterarumque omnium disciplinarum apicibus præstitisse? Porro quid magis in toto terrarum ambitu inauditum, quàm digladiandi, saltandi, sonandi, equitandi, totius gymnasticæ præstantiam singularem, tot arcanis elatæ mentis junxisse prærogativis? — Miserabilis herculè fati rumor in ultimas usque terras expansus nedum tetricis viuentes institutis homines perculit, sed naturam probe turbavit universam, quæ pompam excidisse suam ingemens, haud amplius tantis se mortales cumulatam honoribus minatus est (11).*

(11) *Joan. Imperial. Museum Historicum & Physicum*, p. 140 — 143.

[I] We shall insert the Catalogue below.] It is as follows: I. *Ode ad Laurentium Massam plures*. II. *Laudes Patavinæ, Carmen extempore effusum, cum in Jacobi Moyssii Cornelii Domo experimentum Ingenii coram tota Academiæ Frequentia non sine Multorum Stupore faceret*. III. *Ignorationis Laudatio, extemporale Thema ibidem redditum, post sex Horarum disputationes, ut Præsentis Somnia potius fovere quam Rem se veram videre affirmarint, ait Manutius*. IV. *De Appulsu suo Venetias*. V. *Ode ad Aldum Manutium*. VI. *Epistola ad Diversos*. VII. *Prefationes solennes in omnes Scientias sacras et profanas*. VIII. *Judicium de Philosophis*. IX. *Errores Aristotelis*. X. *Armis an Literæ præstant, Controversia oratoria*. XI. *Refutatio Mathematicorum*. XII. *A Comedy in the Italian Language (12)*.

(12) Dempster, *ubi supra*, p. 189. Mackenzie, *ubi supra*, p. 307. Pennant, *ubi supra*, p. 328.

[K] Will be seen in the note subjoined.] The first is by Dr. John Johnston, in his *Historical Inscriptions upon the Scottish Kings and Heroes*. It is observable, that this writer places the death of Crichton in the year 1581.

JACOBUS CRITTONIUS CLUNIUS,

Musarum pariter ac martis alumnus, omnibus in studiis admirabilis, Mantua a Ducis Mantuani filio cæsus, 1581.

Et genus et censum dat Scotia: Gallia pectus
Excolit. admirans Itala terra virum
Ambit, et esse suum vellet. Gens æmula vitam
Abstulit. An satis hoc, dicat ut illa suum?
Mantua habet cineres, scelus execrata nefandum,
At tumuli tanti gaudet honore tamen (13).

(13) *Delit. Poetarum*, p. 696.

The inscription prefixed, by Dr. Johnston, to these verses, is very inaccurately given in Mackenzie and Pennant.

The second encomium is by Georgius Rotinus, an Italian.

Ignoto latuit Phœnix, Critonius ævo,
Funereis postquam Mantua meruit aquis.
Scilicet ut surgat redivivus in æthera Phœnix,
Auxilium posset qui dare nullus erat.
Famigeras iterum Critonius exit in auras,
Et volat ingenio docta per ora virum.
Addit imperio mansuras dadalus alas,
Et penna has pennas imperialis habet.

The last is by Julius Ranconius, another Italian.

Fert præjudicium sapiens Critonius annis,
Dum vincit roseis tempora cana comis.
Hinc parat insidias quibus illa recedat
Invida quæ tantum nolle habere virum.
Ast iterum superat languens fera secula, namque
Quæ superest, famam non gelida urna capit.
Ingenio Phœnix, Phœnicis forte novare
Debuit occiduum non moritura Dies (14).

(14) *Imperial. ubi supra*, p. 143. Mackenzie, *ubi supra*, p. 206.

Who Rotinus and Ranconius were, it is not in my power to ascertain; nor is it a matter of any importance. From a perusal of their verses, it appears highly probable that they were written for the purpose of being annexed to *Imperialis's* Life of Crichton, and consequently long after Crichton's death.

Such

Such are the accounts which, by a succession of writers, and particularly since the time of Mackenzie, have been given of the Admirable Crichton, with little variation, and scarcely with any degree of hesitation or reflection. It is, therefore, an object of importance, to examine, somewhat more accurately and extensively than hath hitherto been done, what measure of faith is to be allotted to the different parts of the preceding narrative. And here it must be observed, that no credit can be granted to any facts which depend upon the sole authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart. Sir John Hawkins, indeed, seems to think that the stories told of Crichton by this writer may be considered as sufficiently authenticated to all the purposes of historical information (*d*). Mr. Pennant, likewise, speaks of him with approbation; and Dr. Samuel Johnson laid a stress on his veracity, in the account of Crichton which he dictated to Dr. Hawksworth, and is inserted in the eighty-first number of the *Adventurer*; of which account it may be observed, that it is only an elegant summary of the life written by Mackenzie. But with all deference to these respectable names, I must declare my full persuasion that Sir Thomas Urquhart is an author whose testimony to facts is totally unworthy of regard; and it is surprizing that a perusal of his works does not strike every mind with this conviction. His productions are so inexpressibly absurd and extravagant, that the only rational judgment which can be pronounced concerning him is, that he was little, if at all, better than a madman. To the character of his having been a madman must be added that of his being a liar. Severe as this term may be thought, I apprehend that a diligent examination of the treatise which contains the memorials concerning Crichton would shew that it is strictly true. But of his total disregard to truth there is incontestible evidence in another work of his, entitled, "The true Pedigree, and Lineal Descent, of the most ancient and honourable Family of the URQUHARTS in the House of CROMARTY, from the Creation of the World until the Year of God, 1652." In this work it is almost incredible what a number of falsities he has invented, both with respect to names and facts. Perhaps a more flagrant instance of imposture and fiction was never exhibited; and the absurdity of the whole pedigree is beyond the power of words to express. It can only be felt by those who have perused the Tract itself [K].

(*d*) Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, p. 299.

Such

[K] *It can only be felt by those who have perused the Tract itself.* Though a few specimens cannot sufficiently expose the absurdity and falshood of the whole performance, it may not be disagreeable to our readers to be presented with some examples of our author's fictions. In enumerating the Patriarchs before the Deluge, he regularly mentions the names of their wives, as he does those of the wives of other persons, through the whole succeeding series. Seth, he asserts, married Shifkah; Enos, Mahla; Cainan, Bilhah; Mahalaleel, Timnah; Jared, Aholimah; Enoch, Zilpah; Methuselah, Noema; Lamech, Ada; and Noah, Titea; who was the daughter of Tubal-Cain, the son of Jubal. Among his ancestors posterior to the Flood, he reckons ESORMON, in the eighteen hundredth and tenth year of the world, who was Sovereign Prince of Achaia. "For his fortune, says Sir Thomas, in the wars, and his affability in conversation, his subjects and familiars surnamed him *εποχάρτος*, that is to say, *fortunate and well-beloved*. After which time, his posterity ever since has acknowledged him the father of all that carry the name of URQUHART. He had for his arms three banners, three ships, and three ladies, in a field Or; with the picture of a young Lady above the waist, holding in her right hand a brandished sword, and a branch of myrtle in the left, for his crest: and for supporters two Javanites, after the soldier habit of Achaia, with this motto in the scroll of his coat-armour, *Ταυτα η τρια αξιοβιάτα*: that is, *these three are worthy to behold*. Upon his wife Narfesia, who was Sovereign of the Amazons, he begat CRATYNTER. He was likewise surnamed *εποχάρτος*, as ever since have been all the male-race of Esormon."—Of another of Sir Thomas Urquhart's ancestors, whom he calls Phrenedon, he says, "This Phrenedon was in the house of the Patriarch Abraham at the time of the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah."—Of Molin, who is placed in the Year of the World 2415, our author relates as follows: "This is he that came with Gathelus from Egypt into Portugal, and of whom are descended the Clanmoline-spick in Ireland. His wife Panthea was the daughter of Deucalion and Pirra, of whom Ovid maketh mention in the first of his *Metamorphosis*. In that part of Afric, which, after his name, is till this hour called Molinea, by cunning and valour together, he killed,

VOL. IV.

"in one morning, three lions, the heads whereof, in a basket, presented to his Lady Panthea, so terrified her, that (being quick with child) for putting her right hand to her left side, with this sudden exclamation, [*O Hercules, What is this?*] the impression of three lions heads was found upon the left side of the child as soon as he was born. How Portugal was so called, after Gathelus; the Scots after Scota; and that the Scotobrigantes were the race of Molin in Spain, is clearly set down in the ample History of the House."—Of Pamprofodos, previous to Molin, we are told that he married Ter-muth, who was that daughter of Pharaoh Amenophis, which found Moses amongst the bulrushes, and brought him up as if he had been her own child.—Concerning Propetes, who is placed fourth in succession from Molin, it is said, that he married Hypermetra, the choicest of Danaus's fifty daughters.—A few generations after, we meet with Cainotomos, who took to wife Thymelica the daughter of Bacchus, in recompence of his having accompanied him in the conquest of the Indies. "Cainotomos, adds our author, in his return from thence into Greece, passed through the territories of Israel, where being acquainted with Deborah the Judge and Prophetess, he received from her a very rich jewel, which afterwards, by one of his successors, was presented to Pentasilea, that Queen of the Amazons that assisted the Trojans against Agamemnon."—We must not omit Melleffen, and his wife Nicolia. "This Nicolia, says Sir Thomas, before she married to him, travelled from the remote Eastern countries, to have experience of the Wisdom of Solomon; and by many is supposed to have been the Queen of Sheba. Melleffen, nevertheless, sent some of his children to Ireland and Britain, to be brought up with the best of his own father and mother's kindred."—One specimen more shall be transcribed of Sir Thomas Urquhart's power of invention. In the Year of the World 3560, and before Christ 389, "NOMOSTOR married DIOSA. This Diosa was the daughter of Alcibiades, and Hipparete. Nomostor, after the lamentable decease of his father-in-law, whom his native country had so ungratefully used, took his farewell of Greece; and after many dangerous voyages, both by sea and land, arrived at last at the harbour of Ochondar, now called Cromarty, or *Portus Salutis*, first found

5 Y

"out

Such a man, therefore, can justly be entitled to no degree of credit, especially when he has a purpose to serve, as was the case with Sir Thomas Urquhart. His design was to exalt his own family and his own nation at any rate. With respect to his own nation, there was no occasion for having recourse to fiction, in order to display the lustre of Scotland, in the eminent men whom it has produced in Arms and Literature. The Pencil of Truth alone would have been amply sufficient for that purpose.

So far, therefore, as Sir Thomas Urquhart's authority is concerned, the wonderful exhibitions of Crichton at Paris, his triumph at Rome, his combat with the Gladiator, his writing an Italian Comedy, his sustaining fifteen characters in the representation of that Comedy, the extraordinary story of the Amour which is described as the cause of his death, the nine months mourning for him at Mantua, and the Poems hung round his hearse to the quantity of Homer's works, must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful, or rather as absolutely false. I cannot forbear mentioning two circumstances, which shew how much Sir Thomas Urquhart was destitute of prudence, as well as of scrupulosity in his violations of truth. He says that the Duke of Mantua was pleased to confer upon the young Lady that was Crichton's mistress, and future wife, a pension of five hundred ducats a year; and that the Prince also bestowed as much upon her, during all the days of his life, "which was, adds Sir Thomas, but short; for he did not long enjoy himself after the cross fate of so miserable an accident (e)." Now it is well known that Vincenzo di Gonzaga succeeded his father in the Dukedom of Mantua, in 1587, and that he did not die till the year 1612; which was almost, if not entirely, thirty years after Crichton's decease (f). The other instance of the imprudence of Sir Thomas Urquhart in the contrivance of his fictions, occurs at the conclusion of his narrative, where he asserts that the verity of the story which he hath related concerning the incomparable Crichton, "may be certified by two thousand men yet living, who have known him." *Two thousand men yet living!* that is, in 1652, sixty-nine, or seventy years after Crichton's death, for such was the time of Sir Thomas's publication (g). Our author would have been sadly puzzled to collect together these two thousand living witnesses, who could certify the verity of his story.

(e) Urquhart, *ubi supra*. p. 95, 96.

(f) *Traſſatus de Territoriis, &c. Principum, Rerum Publicarum, et eorum qui bodie in Italia Rerum Potiuntur*, p. 224.

(g) Urquhart, *ubi supra*.

With regard, however, to the account which is given of the prodigious exertions of Crichton, both corporal and mental, at Paris, Mackenzie imagines that he has found a full confirmation of them in a passage produced by him from the *Disquisitiones* of Stephen Pasquier, and which he considers as the testimony of an eye-witness. The passage is inserted in note [C]. But the whole of what has been built upon it, by Mackenzie, and succeeding Biographers, is founded on a mistake. In the quotation from the *Disquisitiones*, the name of Crichton is not mentioned, and the author doth not appear to have been personally present at the exhibitions of the extraordinary youth there described. The expressions which are supposed to carry that meaning may well be referred not to the writer himself, but to his countrymen the French, before whom the young man is said to have displayed his surprising talents. But the discussion of this point is totally needless, because the passage in question is not an original Authority. The book entitled, *Stephani Paschieri Disquisitiones*, is only an Abridgment, in Latin, of Pasquier's "Des Recherches de la France." Now in this last work there is, indeed, an account of a wonderful youth, such as is related in Mackenzie's quotation, and from which that passage was formed. But this wonderful Youth, whoever he might be, was not the Admirable Crichton; for Pasquier, who does not tell his name, expressly says, that he appeared in the year 1445 (h) [L]. The evidence, therefore, produced by Mackenzie falls entirely to the ground. Indeed,

(h) *Recherches de la France*, liv. 6. chapitre xxxix. p. 579.

"out by his predecessors Alypos and Beltistos, ag-
named Chonchar, inhabited by many of his kind-
red at the time of his landing there; and there-
after, all the days of his life, honoured with his
presence, as Prince of the race (15)."

(15) True Pedigree, p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 10.

(*) It is from a copy of Sir Thomas's Tracts obligingly lent me by Sir John Hawkins, that I have been enabled to make these extracts and remarks.

These fictions speak for themselves. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though Sir Thomas Urquhart had no regard to truth, he exercised an uncommon degree of ingenuity, as well as labour, in framing his pedigree (*).

[L] Says that he appeared in the year 1445.] This matter has lately been set in a clear light, by a learned and judicious writer, in the Edinburgh Magazine, for May, 1787, whose letter we shall transcribe.

"S I R,

"WE are informed by Sir John Hawkins, that Dr. Johnson dictated, from memory, that account of the person vulgarly named the Admirable Crichton, which is to be found in one of the papers of the *Adventurer*.

"That account is plainly an abridgement of the Life of Crichton, by Dr. George M'Kenzie (16).

"Dr. M'Kenzie supposes that Pasquier, the French

Lawyer and Antiquary, was an eye-witness of the feats performed, in arts as well as in arms, by Crichton.

"This is one of the grossest errors in Biography which has occurred to me in the course of my reading; and it is an error which, I perceive, is gaining ground daily, and bids fair, in a short time, to be received as an indisputable truth.

"The error seems to have arisen from the following circumstance: Dr. M'Kenzie had never read the original work of Pasquier, entitled, *Recherches de la France*; what he quotes concerning the wonderful young man, is taken from a Latin abridgement of that work; he refers to *Steph. Pasch. Disquis. lib. v. cap. 23.* and he gives his quotation in Latin; indeed it does not appear that Dr. M'Kenzie had ever heard of the original work.

"Now Pasquier, instead of saying that he was an eye-witness of the wonders exhibited by Crichton, says, in the most unequivocal terms, that what he relates was taken "from a manuscript which was occasionally used by him," (*d'un livre écrit à la main dont je m'aide selon les occurrences.*) And he adds, "I will represent the story in its own simple garb, without

(16) Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 196—207.

Indeed, if the story of Crichton's exploits at Paris had been true, no man was more likely to be acquainted with them than Stephen Pasquier, who lived at the time, and who would be fond enough of recording transactions so extraordinary. It may farther be observed, that Thuanus, who was likewise a contemporary, and who, in his own life, is very particular in what relates to learned men, makes no mention of Crichton. The only authority for his having ever resided in France at all (Sir Thomas Urquhart excepted) is that of Dr. John Johnston, who says, "*Gallia Pectus excolit.*" But this amounts to no proof of the truth of the transactions related by Urquhart. The whole which can be deduced from it is, that Crichton, in the course of his travels, might make some stay in France, for the purpose of improvement. Even this, however, doth not agree with the narration of Imperialis, who informs us, that when troubles arose in Scotland on account of Religion, and Queen Mary fell into so many calamities, Crichton was sent by his father directly from that country to Venice, as a place of security (i).

(i) *Museum Historicum, ubi supra.*

It is acknowledged by Sir John Hawkins, that Sir Thomas Urquhart has produced no authorities in support of his surprizing narrations. But this defect Sir John thinks is supplied in the Life of Crichton which is given in Mr. Pennant's Tour (k). I am under the necessity of saying, that this is by no means the case. The article in Pennant, was not drawn up by that ingenious and learned Gentleman, but is the transcript of a pamphlet that was printed some years ago at Aberdeen; and which pamphlet is nothing more than a re-publication, with a few verbal alterations, of the Life of Crichton written by Mackenzie. It doth not, therefore, furnish a single additional testimony in confirmation of Sir Thomas Urquhart's stories, excepting in the mistaken instance from Pasquier. In other respects, it only borrows facts from Sir Thomas Urquhart, without establishing them upon fresh proofs. It is observable, that the earlier Biographers of Crichton had no knowledge of most of the transactions enlarged upon by this extravagant writer; for, if they had known them, they would have been eagerly disposed to relate them, and to do it with every circumstance of exaggeration. How much this was the character of Thomas Dempster, with regard to his own countrymen, is sufficiently understood, and hath frequently been remarked; and yet his account of Crichton is uncommonly modest, compared with those of succeeding Authors. The extravagance of Imperialis in respect to Crichton has already appeared. There seems, indeed, to have been an universal tendency in the writers of this young Scotsman's life to produce wonder and astonishment. Mackenzie remarks, that Imperialis could not but know the truth of all, or at least of most of the things he has related concerning Crichton, since he lived upon the places in which they were transacted, and had them from an eye and ear witness, even his own father (l). It is, however, to be remembered, that Imperialis's Museum Historicum was not published till 1640, nearly sixty years after the events recorded by him happened; to which may be added, that the information he derived from his father was probably very imperfect. Imperialis the elder was not born till 1568, and consequently was only thirteen years old when Crichton displayed his talents at Padua (m). What real dependence, therefore, could there be on the accuracy of the account given by a youth of that age? He could only relate, and perhaps from inadequate intelligence, the things which were talked of when he was a boy. Besides, his authority is appealed to for no more than a single fact, and that a doubtful one, since it does not accord with Manutius's Narrative: and who ever heard of the famous Philosopher Arcangelus Mercenarius?

(k) Life of Dr. Johnston, p. 308.

(l) Mackenzie, *ubi supra*, p. 203.

(m) Collier's Historical Dictionary, vol. i. New Universal Biographical Dictionary, vol. vii. p. 399.

The truth of the matter is, that, some slight circumstances excepted, neither Dempster [M] nor Imperialis have produced any evidences of Crichton's extraordinary abilities

"without any artificial colouring, so that my readers may be the more inclined to give credit to it," (*vous representant cette Histoire en sa simplicité sans y apporter aucun fard pour ce que vous y adjousteriez plus de foy.*) He then transcribes the narrative from the MS. which places the appearance of this phenomenon in the year one thousand four hundred and forty-five, a full century before the birth of our Crichton. See *Recherches de la France*, lib. vi. c. 38, 39.

"Dr. M^rKenzie, although he had not read the original of Pasquier, appears to have read an author who quotes the same story: "The learned M. du Launoy, says he, in his History of the College of Navarre, finding the history of this dispute recorded in a MS. History of the College of Navarre, and the like account of a Spaniard in Trithemius, confounds the two together, and robs our author of the glory of this action, and places it in the year 1445; whereas it should be in the year 1571." This charge of robbery is singular enough!

"Let me only add, that Pasquier transcribes some verses written by George Chastelain, a French Poet, in the reign of Charles VII. King of France, which allude to the same story; and that Pasquier himself

was born at Paris in 1528, passed his life in that city, and was an eminent Lawyer and Pleader in 1571; so that it is impossible the feats of Crichton, had they been really performed at Paris, could have been unknown to him, and most improbable that, knowing them, he would have omitted to mention them; for, in the same, lib. vi. c. 39. he is at pains to produce examples of great proficiency, displayed by men in a much humbler rank of life than that of philosophers and public disputants.

"I am, &c."

[M] *Some slight circumstances excepted, neither Dempster.* It is related by Dempster, that Crichton was for some time at Genoa, and that he was offered a considerable salary, if he would remain in that city.

I shall take this opportunity of remarking, that there is no mention of an Italian Comedy in Dempster's Catalogue of Crichton's works. That article, therefore, was added to the Catalogue by Mackenzie, on the sole authority of Sir Thomas Urquhart.

abilities besides those which are recorded by the younger Aldus Manutius. He, therefore, is to be regarded as the only living authority upon the subject. Manutius was contemporary with Crichton; he was closely connected with him in friendship; and he relates several things on his own personal knowledge. He is a positive and undoubted witness with respect to our young Scotsman's intellectual and literary exertions at Venice and at Padua; and from him it is that our account of them is given above. Nevertheless, even Aldus Manutius is to be read with some degree of caution. Dedication is apt to assume the stile of exaggeration, and this is the case with Manutius's Dedication of the Paradoxa Ciceronis to Crichton. In addition to the general language of such addresses, he might be carried too far by his affection for his friend, which appears to have been very great: nor was the younger Aldus eminent for steadiness and consistency of character. It is even said that, by his imprudencies, he fell into contempt and misery (n). But independently of any considerations of this kind, it may be observed, that Manutius's narrative, previously to Crichton's arrival at Venice, could not be derived from personal knowledge. For that part of it (which is sufficiently erroneous) he was probably indebted to Crichton himself. Neither does he appear to have been an eye-witness of the whole of the disputations which were held at Padua; for speaking of his young friend's paise of ignorance, he relates that those who were present told him afterwards how much they were struck with that Oration. However, at the other Disputation, which lasted three days, Manutius seems certainly to have attended; for he concludes his accounts of it with saying, that he was not only the adviser but the spectator of Crichton's wonderful contests. It is evident, however, from the Dedication, that his extraordinary abilities were not universally acknowledged and admired. Some there were who detracted from them, and were displeased with Manutius for so warmly supporting his reputation. As this Dedication is not easy to be met with, and is in fact the chief foundation upon which all the Biographies of Crichton have been built, it shall be inserted below [N].

(n) New Biographical Dictionary, vol. ix. p. 53, 54.

As

[N] It shall be inserted below.]

Nobilissimo juveni JACOBO CRITONIO Scoto.

CUM nihil in te sit summissum, et popolare, (mi Jacobe Critoni) quin omnia tam ampla, excelsa, atque admiranda, ut elapsi temporis viris illustribus, ac sapientissimis gloriam, futuris vero etiam spem tua amplitudo auferat, nostro autem sæculo singulare afferat ornamentum: cumq. non minus opiniones tibi, quam vita sint admirabiles: sententias illas, quæ Paradoxa vocantur, quæ non sane probantur in vulgus philosophorum, in Stoicorum scholis natas, nudas admodum, et squalidas, nunc vero M. Tullii Ciceronis eloquentia exornatas, et auctoritate, meis Commentariis illustratas nomini tuo dicare volui: cui ista maxime conveniunt. non tantum, ut amoris erga te mei indicium præbeam, qui nisi jam antea tibi extantis constitit argumentis, nunquam ex ullo patebit officio, quam ut animi grati pro Carminibus, quæ in tuo ad urbem Venetam appulsu mihi dedisti. Nunc vero etiam lætor, toti Italiæ, et orbi fortasse universo perspectum esse judicium de te meum, et ea, quæ, cum huc venisses, scriptis commendavi. quæ tibi ipsi, ac nonnullis acerrimis censoribus, aspera atque injucunda videbantur. Nam, licet tuum amorem malui ostendere, quam prudentiam, nunc ambo cum amicis tuis, tum inimicis, si qui amplius tam feri, atque inhumani reperiuntur, manifesta sunt, postquam tua virtus tam clarum sui splendorem diffudit. Ego enim junctam invidiæ, ac multorum inimicitiiis eximiam quandam, atque immortalem gloriam sum consecutus. Nam, quid illustrius, quid honestius, quid vero etiam gloriosius ad nomen meum accedere potuit, quam ut a me prolata *παράδοξα* primum, tum *εγκωμιαστικά* viderentur, nunc vero *ιστορικά* ab omnibus habeantur. Cum multi homines sui judicii levitatem, infirmitatemque, cum essent stultitia obcæcati, mei vero constantiam, veritatemque perspiciant. Poteram enim (*) (*ἱστορίας σου μοι μόνους*) Illustriss. Critonium, et serenissimam Stuardam, quibus oriundus es, familias extollere. Sed, quid Reges tui majores (licet ea laus Scottorum Regibus merito tribui possit, quod inter omnes Europæ Reges vetustissimi Christiani sint) quos nunquam Romani imperio suo subegere; cum Cæsar, propter tumultus excitatos, et res Gallia fluctuantes, exercitum a regni expugnatione revocaret: quid, inquam, isti, tuis virtutibus, animiquæ dotibus amplius solidæ laudis afferunt? Quid Critonii, qui cum Scotorum militiæ Imperatores summi plerumque essent,

Anglos e Galliæ regno, et Scotiæ finibus toties, ac tanta virtute ejecerunt? Quid Robertus Critonius, pater tuus, Fifeensis in Scotia, et Stormondienensis, Elioki, et Clunæi, tot oppidorum, tot præsidiorum dominus, qui longo tempore inter omnes Regni proceres ærumnosissimæ simul, et beatissimæ Regiæ, quæ apud Anglos (pro dolor) jam captiva est, et Christianæ religionis acerrimus exstitit propugnator, præsertim qui copias ad proelium, quod Langsydium vocant, duxisset; quid ille tibi splendoris veri affert? Non tantum illi fortasse debes, quod te genuerit, quod maximos hujus tempestatis viros, Buchananum, Hepburnium, Robertsonium, et Rhetorfortem præceptores tibi dederit, quod tam amplas pecunias fortunasque in te erudiendo insumperit, et omnes vires animi, atque ingenii in educando profuderit, quantum quod ob intestinas seditiones, et proelia domestica, contra te suscitata, quæ cum patre gessisti, Regno discedere, et Regem relinquere, coegit. Sed laudem, quæ a majoribus ad nos derivatur, ne laudem quidem esse, sapientissimus ille vir Ulixes existimavit. Neque te vero multum commendo, quod specie, et corporis viribus polleas. Fateor tamen aliquid esse in his, quod non tam a fortuna, quantum ab animo pendet, immortalitatis memoria prosequendum. Quod scilicet Regno, patria, domoque ob Catholicæ fidei ardorem tam longe abes, nec ullum ex his aerumnis dolorem, sed incredibilem animo sentias voluptatem: neque Regis in consobrinum tuum Jacobum Stuardum clementia, cui cum Moraviæ principatu suam consobrinam uxorem dedit: neque communis cum Rege educatio permovet, immo ne movent quidem. Putas enim, majores quasdam opes, et firmiora, quam quæ amisisti, præsidia esse quærenda. In corporis vero bonis id habes, quod effigies oris, atque sermonis animi nobilissimi filia sit. Sed belli studia in ipsis ephebis inire, eadem animo, atque amore prosequi, et cum literis, et Philosophia, tanquam alter Brutus, conjungere, nemini unquam ab initio humani generis obtigit. Magna sunt ista profecto, et inaudita: mediocria tamen, si cetera spectemus. Quod scilicet decem linguarum, multorum idiomatum, omnium disciplinarum cognitionem ante vigesimum primum ætatis annum sis adeptus: et digladiandi, saltandi, omnium gymnasticarum exercitationum, et equitandi studia tanta cum alacritate ingenii, animique humanitate, mansuetudine, et facilitate conjunxeris, ut nihil te admirabilius, nihil etiam amabilius reperiri possit. Sed non innumerales vitæ tuæ transactæ laudes; non mirificam illam coram Serenissimo Principe, ac Illustrissimis Venetæ

(*) Sic. Orig.

As to the real cause and manner of our young Scotsman's death, both of them still remain in some degree of obscurity. That he was killed in a rencontre at the Carnival at Mantua, is testified by too many authors to be reasonably doubted. But whether there was that particular malignity on the part of Vincenzo di Gonzaga, which is commonly ascribed to him, may be considered as uncertain.

One important method yet remains, by which we may be enabled to form a judgment of Crichton's genius, and that is, from a perusal of the four Poems of his which are still preserved. It is, however, to be feared, that these will not exhibit him in a very high point of view. Some Fancy, perhaps, may be thought to be displayed in the longest of his Poems, which was written on occasion of his approach to the city of Venice. He there represents a Naiad as rising up before him, and, by the order of the Muses and of Minerva, directing him how to proceed. But this is a sentiment which so easily presents itself to a classical Reader, that it can scarcely be considered as deserving the name of a Poetical Invention. The three other Poems of Crichton have still less to recommend them. Indeed, his Verses will not stand the test of a rigid examination even with regard to quantity. That our readers may be able to judge for themselves upon the subject, the four Poems shall be given in a note [P]; and this will probably be the more acceptable,

not

Venetæ Reip. proceribus actionem; non subtilissimas tuas de Theologia, Philosophia, et rebus Mathematicis disputationes in plerisque maximorum hominum confectibus recensebo; non tantorum hominum ad te videndum concursus, ut olim Platoni a Sicilia revertenti, relicto Olympico spectaculo, tota Atheniensium celebritas occurrere fertur; cum te omnes rubeæ Rosæ, quod tibi natura circa dextrum lumen impressit, tanquam unicam, et raram in terris avem homines cognoscerent. Quæ enim gentes tam feræ sunt, quæ, te cum adspexerint, non maximum cepisse fructum putent? Sed, his prætermittis, nunc propria narrabo: quæ scilicet in Patavina Academia fecisti, tum quæ in hac urbe, totius orbis nobilissima, cujus amplitudinem, et augustissimam majestatem inter omnes alias civitates te accipere, fovere, atque amplecti decuit; te vero etiam humani generis miraculum, admirandam urbem incolere, amare, et omnibus aliis antepone. Nam, postquam adversa valetudine jam quatuor menses laborasses, priusquam in integrum præcæ sanitatis statum redires, amicorum consilio ad Patavinam Academiam, tanquam ad Sapientiæ officinam, profectus es, ubi Idibus Martii in diem sequentem, suscepto consilio omnes omnium disciplinarum professores in ædibus Clarissimi viri Jacobi Aloisii Cornelii, ejus auctoritate, et precibus, ut convocarentur, petisti. Cum autem maximus doctissimorum hominum coetus, et omnes ex imperato pæne studiosi, et nobiles Gymnasii juvenes una convenissent, statim in primi ingressus vestibulo elegantissimo carmine Patavinas laudes, (nam ea tibi propofita erat ad dicendum materia) ex tempore decantasti: deinde cum celeberrimis illis doctoribus multa ex variis disciplinis tam acute exagitasti, tam docte pertractasti, erroresque Aristotelis, ac interpretum tam solide refutasti, tanta denique cum maxime viris modestia egisti, ut omnes in virtutis admirationem et morum suavitatis amorem simul allexeris. Neque id silentio prætereundum est, quod ex tempore etiam, post sex horarum de re literaria colloquia, et disputationes, cum oblata tibi esset ignorantem laudandi occasio, tam ornate de ea re dixisti, ut illi ipsi, qui intererant, potius somnia fovere, quam rem veram, et præsentem videre se putasse mihi postea affirmarint. Alium postea diem indixisti in ædibus Illustrissimi Patavini Episcopi, non ut altius ingenii tui specimen præberes, quod profecto frustra fecisses, sed ut eorum, qui primis disputationibus non interfuerant, obnoxio (*) precibus satisfaceres. Variæ res huic proposito obstaculo fuere. Ad secundum certamen ventum non est. Sed plerique cum primis Europæ viris sermones habiti sunt. Nonnunquam hominum expectationes, licet propter facta tam illustria de te maximas, plerumque etiam et te ipsum superasse dictus es. Ex quibus actis cum illico surrexisset magna fama, obrectatores aliqui; quibus ex aliorum bene gestis et rebus secundis invidentia esse solet, homuli, nescio quid dicam, tuæ virtuti aliquid derogare frustra tentaverunt. Ostendentes in obscuro odio apertas inimicitias, et, in quo nihil nocere poterant, summam voluntatem nocendi. Tum tu, ut istas obrectationes malevolentissimas pusillorum malevolorumque prof-

terneres, atque obtereres, duo hæc Theoremata in hac urbe edidisti: [these Theorems are given in note[F].] et per triduum indefessus sustinisti; et, quamdiu tua auctoritas tibi defendenda fuit, sic acriter et vehementer præliatus es, ut clamor concursusque insolitus ad studia tua lenienda tanta cum laude fieret, ut nihil unquam magnificentius ab hominibus auditum sit. Tu vero me non solum auctorem consiliorum, sed spectatorem pugnarum mirificarum habuisti. Nunc, quoniam laudis semper avidissimus fui, et præter ceteros φιλοκρίσιος ab omnibus habeor, multorumque odia, pro tua causa suscepi, cura obsecro, et effice, ut facis, ut, quia veram virtutem cognovi, ab omnibus amer, amari, et laudari possim, et ut major in ea mihi indies spes resideat. Mea igitur in Ciceronis Paradoxa lubricationes, hoc ipso quia in Paradoxa sunt, sub tuo nomine prodire volui, quod veteribus gratiam, novis favorem conciliare solet. Tu autem has nostras vigilias, et Stoicorum opiniones simul (quoad veritas patitur) tuebere. Id enim tibi admodum erit facile. Jam enim pæne omnes homines aut gratiam, aut eloquentiam, aut tantarum rerum, ne dicam omnium, scientiam suspiciunt. Vive nostri memor et vale.

Venetis. XIV. Kal. Jun. 60. D. XXCI. [1581.]

[P] The four Poems shall be given in a note.]

JACOBUS CRITTONIUS.

IN SUUM AD URBEM VENETAM APPULSUM.

DUM procul à patria, Hadriaci prope littora Ponti—
Confedi, mediis celsam miratus in undis
Stare urbem, sævi obtingunt cui jura tridentis,
Et pelagi imperium constans, æternaque sceptrum:
Sæpe meos animo casus meditabar iniquos,
Sæpe humectabam guttis stillantibus ora:
Cum mihi sese offert diva veneranda figura
Naias, Eridani quondam propè cognita ripas,
Naias, una quidem doctis gratissima Musis.
Principio rebar simulacrum, aut vana videre
Somnia (nulla fides oculis) cum protinus illa
His me ultro aggreditur dictis: Non te tua fallunt
Lumina; nec nostri vana est, quam cernis, imago.
Nam mandata fero Musarum, et jussa facesso
Palladis armisonæ, quibus una est cura salutis
Certa tuæ: nec te per tanta pericula vectum
Urbem in præclaram tumido sub pectore curas
Fas premere est: meliora jubent sperare, monentque.
Non hæc ista tibi tantum infortunia nota
Contingunt: nec cede malis, neu te sine vinci.
Cernis enim, ut late terras Saturnus in omnes
Acer agit pestem, quæ fibris cæca sub ipsis
Conditur, atque alias magno jam turbine clades:
Haud secus, ac Phæbi juratos Aulide Graios:
Quando Agamemnonio tetigit pro crimine dextra.
Hic natos vitæ exfortes, ast ille parentem
Grandævum deflet, vel matris triste feretrum,
Proque viro conjux, aut vir pro conjuge luget.
Ast alios volacris fortunæ incommoda tangunt.
Reges, indomitas gentes, populosque rebelles,
Aut urbes domini terrarum, atque oppida cernunt.
Erepta,

(*) Sic in orig.

not only as they constitute the whole remains of Crichton's productions, but as copies of them, and especially of the two latter Odes, are extremely difficult to be obtained.

What, then, is the opinion, which, on the whole, we are to form of the Admirable Crichton? It is evident that he was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration,

Erepta, hic auri fulvum sibi pondus adeptum,
Morborumque cohors alios immissa fatigat.
Namque in hyperboreis tabes quæ coeperat oris,
Materiem inveniens primum, dehinc viribus ille
Sensim fota suis, Europam irrepsit in omnem.
Non secus ac lentus flatu succenditur ignis,
Paullatimque alimenta trahit, mox flamma per
auras

Illa crepat, seseque involvit lumine fulvo
Fumida, Vulcanum latè per inania jactans.
Primum exorta quidem flavos infausa Britannos,
Germanos tum cæruleos, Gallosque feroces,
Hinc etiam atra lues calidos infecit Iberos.
Fertilis Italiæ dehinc altas fusa per urbes
Invaluit. Sensere omnes (miserabile dictu)
Aut pauci evasere mali exitiale venenum.
Torquet adhuc primo pueros in limine vitæ,
Invalidosque senes extremo in limite vitæ,
Et juvenes rapido firmissima pectora bello
Disjicit: infractæ languent at prælia vires.
Una etiam matres petit, intonasque puellas,
Parcere nec formæ, nec parcere sueta juventæ.
Nec non armenta in campis errantia cernas,
Quæ vix ægra caput fessa cervice retentant,
Horribileque feras, picturatasque volucres
Languere, ut lassæ demissa papavera collo.
Nam circumfusus cunctis animantibus æther
Concepit nocuos gremio densosque vapores.
Utque aliquas leges, æternaque fœdera rebus
Imposuit natura parens, sine nomine multa
Sic in principiis latitant discrimina rerum, et
Mille movent. Nam ni Veneris placidissimus ignis
Sedaret varios infausi luminis ignes,
Discuteretque potens radiis contraria Phœbus,
Mille malis rueret sævis obnoxius orbis.
Namque intemperiem ostendit modò marcidus ær,
Sapèque mutatus, præsens occasio morbi est.
O genus humanum, quantas te audacia fecit
Japeti proles; species perferre malorum,
Cum nova supplicia, et pœnas immisit acerbas
Jupiter omnipotens subduclum infensus ob ignem
Curribus ætheriis, perfectaque corpora limo?
Quisque Deos, et fata vocat crudelia: culpæ
Nemo suæ justum capit imo in corde dolorem.
At placanda foret Divûm inclementia ture,
Et precibus, sic mortales, sic vivere dignum est.
Dixerat, et pressis tacuit formosa labellis.
Tum me luminibus tacitis intenta pererrat,
Ut responsa petens. Trepidanti ego pectore
tandem

Verba coacta dedi: Fateor me, candida Nais,
Promeritum quæcunque fero: nec turpis egestas;
Infandumve scelus servî mea pectora vexat.
At me quis miserum magna cognoscit in urbe,
Aut quis at æquoreas flentem solatur arenas?
Cumque sinum irroto lacrymis, verba irrita
ventis

Trado, nec quisquam est gemitus qui sentiat imos.
Collidunt vitreo auricomæ sub gurgite Nymphæ,
Assiduoque novos Glaucus meditatur amores,
Alma latet Doris, latet et Panopeia virgo,
Quas Siren blando mulcet sub gurgite cantu.
Nec me Carpathiis vates in fluctibus audit
Cæculus, et variis assuetus ludere formis,
Ac sese in rerum miracula vertere cuncta.
Sed nec equos bipedes tangunt tam parva furentes,
Quæ ficcis oculis turpes in gurgite Phocas
Depasci humanos pavitantes dentibus artus,
Cernunt Scylla vorax, aut navifragum Scylacæum,
Cum rapiunt fractas sinuosa sub æquora puppes,
Numina nil nostros miserantur torva labores.
Ergo præces scopulis, monstrisque natantibus ultro
Fundimus. Heu nimium sardent immania saxa.
At vos assuetæ nostras audire quærelas,
O Nymphæ, ad sacros latices quæ dulcia rura
Incolitis, gelidumque nemus, placidosque recessus,
Cur me numinibus disjungunt æquora vestris?
Cur non virgineas patiantur cernere Musas?

8

Pœnarum exhaustum satis est, heu parcite fata,
Tuque graves, ô Diva, meos miserere labores.
Illa autem roseo rursus sic ore locuta est:
Ipsa tibi expediam casus, si scire cupido est,
Auxiliumque feram certum modo rebus egenis.
Num te divini, divisque parentibus orti,
Aldi fama latet, totum diffusa per orbem?
Hunc Asiæ gentes norunt, et Cantaber atrox,
Decolor atque Indus, vel qui colit incola terras
Extremas penitus, sive auro insignis Orion,
Sive Hyades pluviae, seu septem adversa Trioni
Sidera clara caput semper sublime coronant.
Huic (pharetra tantum insignis) crinitus Apollo
Se Tritoniaca confessus arundine victum,
Atque lyra cedit: nec se negat esse secundum,
Formosæ natus Maiæ: neque docta Minerva
Dedignata parem est: tantum niter aurea virtus.
Hunc pete, namque regens filo vestigia cæca
Diriget ille tuos optato in tramite gressus.
Inde via pandet, sequere hunc quæcunque ju-
bentem:

Sic te Diva monet sævum quæ Gorgona gestat.
Quæ plerumque tuis præsens erit optima votis,
Namque hic contemptis tandem dominatur
Athenis.

Nec te tam longè disjungunt æquora Musis,
Imo hæc indigenæ veniunt at litora Musæ,
Necnon et Drymo, Lygeaque, Cymodoceque,
Nymphaque Junonis pulcherrima Deiopeja,
Quæque illas superant, atque Oceanitides ambas,
Hæc eadem Hadriacæ fulgent ad litora Nymphæ,
Doctæ Palladias Veneri conjungere curas.
Ipsa etiam, spretis Cnidoque, Paphoque, Cythe-
raque,

Aurea collucens Venetas Venus incolit arces.
Præterea summo coram te Principe ducet,
Quem tibi Diva dedit comitem, sacrumque Se-
natum

Adspicies, divosque omnes longo ordine Patres.
Non ita Tantalides, Regum cingente corona
Argolica, solio enituit sublimis ab alto,
Atque orbis dominos inter, patresque Latinos,
Augustus Cæsar, qualem fulgere videbis
Grandævum, atque annis, et majestate verendum,
Eximios inter proceres, gentemque togatam,
Patrem Urbis Venetæ: divumque ut Jupiter ipse
Confilio, in magno testum omnipotentis Olympi
Concutit, ac terras humiles, Erebumque so-
nantem

Apparens cælo ac terris, Ereboque tremendus:
Dique etiam fulgent reliqui splendore perenni:
Sic patri ætherio modo Principis æmula virtus
Semideumque, deis prædatur sidera et altum
Religione polum, hinc terras ditione, opibusque
Et bello quatit, ac sævum pietate Acheronta.

Donec nocturnis Dictynna investa quadrigis
Cum Phœbo alterno lustrabit lumine terras,
Pulchraque per tacitum labentur sidera mundum,
Stabunt res Venetæ, et præclaræ gloria gentis
Æternum positis tutissima fundamentis.

Dixerat, et levibus vix æquora tingere plantis
Visa petit binis propriis de cornibus unum,
Quo pater Eridanus violentibus influit undis
In mare purpureum, et vitreo caput abdidit amne.

AD ALDUM MANUTIIUM.

INTERMISSA diu Chelys:
Nec Lydiis cecini carmina tibiis,
Nec molles cytharæ modos,
Carmen perpetuo flebile personans.
Sed nunc mente feror nova,
Per sacrumque trahit Melpomene nemus.
Cinctum Pierius me rapit, et chorus
Phœbo, quâ tumidus sequor,

Te

admiration, and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and reten-

Te clarum recinens, Alde, in Apollinis
Arte, et conspicuum, tuæ
Laudes lætitiæ, dulceque gaudium,
Solamenque dabunt mihi,
Et mentem eripient, tristibus è malis.
Syren carminibus truces
Ceum mulcet pelagi præcipitis minas
Cantu vel fide Lesbica,
Dum lenit virides Nereidum Choros,
Et Thetis cupidè sonos
Dulces sub vitreo gurgite concipit:
Sic laudes quoties tuas
Pulsis exerior corde molestiis,
Non suspiria ab intimo
Ducam corde, dolens, ut soleo nimis:
Sed Phœbus facilis, meæ
Erranti injiciens fræna licentiæ,
Permittet pede candido
Errare, et gelidos visere liberum
Nympharum latices finet.
Tunc ipse ex adytis ritè Heliconiis
Metrum grandius eloquar,
Candoremque canam semper amabilem (17).

(17) *Delitiæ
Poetarum Scoto-
rum*, p. 268—
273. From a
Copy of the *De-
litiæ*, obligingly
lent me by Mr.
Pinkerton.

Prefixed to the CATO MAJOR of CICERO in the
Edition of ALDUS MANUCIUS, 1583.

JACOBI CRITONII, SCOTI,

AD CLARISSIMUM VIRUM, PATRITIUM VENETUM
JOHANNEM DONATUM.

O D E.

DUM cupidus, tumidusque Deo tua dicere facta,
Donate, quæro, maxime;
Mens desideriiis ardet; sed lenta fatiscit
Sub corde virtus anxio:
Non tenui tentanda videns freta turbida velo,
Tardoque Pontum remige,
Compresso fervore semel sub pectore anhelio
Labore desisto gravi.
Sed nihil intonsus frustra mihi Cinthius unquam
Suasit, vel alta numina.
Ergo Deum, et doctas sæpe in mea vota camænas
Rursus invoco furens.
Tum mente evehitur multa seu candidus aura
Olor levatus evolat,
Præpetibusque petit volitans sublimia pennis,
Magnumque inane dividit.
Victorem armatæ flammis si Musa Chimæræ
Canora vatis extulit,
Sive trucidantes immania monstra, vel ipsum
Vatum marinæ Tethyos,
Aut Anchisiaden Priameiumque Hæctora grande
Carmen poetarum beat,
Si vivunt Theronque Hieronque, atque Ithæus ille,
Ob vana Clari ludicra,
Quos nunquam obscura sub nube silentia condent
Obliviosa Tartari,
Hoc opus o vestrum, Musæ est; mihi cingite frontem
Tempusque lauro Apollinari (*).
Nec deerit divos inter regeſque, Deorum
Genus, Donato gloria.

(*) *F. Apollinis.*

Prefixed to the LÆLIUS of CICERO,

A. MANUCIUS in his Dedication LAURENTIO
MASSÆ, REIP. VENETÆ SECRETARIO.

“ Me studiorum paritas, virtutis amor, communisque
“ animorum ardor, quo Critonium nostrum, divinum
“ plane juvenem, prosequimur, subigit, ut te æque
“ ac ipsum amem, et, quæ ipse de te cecinit, in pri-
“ misque ea, quæ hic subscripsi, dulcis utriusque
“ vestrum memoria ergo sæpe, ac libenter usur-
“ pem.”

“ Vale, Venetius, Id. ib. Jun. CIO. IOXXCI.”

JACOBI CRITONI, SCOTI,

AD LAURENTIUM MASSAM.

O D E.

ERRANTEM ab oris me Caledoniis
Postquam triremis per Freta Nerei
Vexit, volentem, mox remotos
Conspicere, et populos, et urbes,
Musæ per undas præcipites piæ
Vagum secutæ, numine candido
Sævis obarmatum procellis
Incolumem sine labe servant.
Nati labores seu (+) dea Cypria
Secuta, longas per pelagi vias
Hostile per ferrum, per ignes
Perque minas comes ibat omnes.
Si forte Gades impiger ultimos,
Syrtesve aut Indos visere barbaros
Vellem, nec Indos, interve Syrtis
Destituent ope contumaces.
En obstrepentis qui Oceani freta
Mutavi amicæ fluctibus Hadriæ,
Latinus hospes, jam relictis
Diis patriis gelidoque cælo
At non egenum cœtus Aonius
Abjecit, adsunt mihi faciles deæ,
Præstantque dulces una amicos
Quos eadem pia cura jungit.
Te, Massæ, clari gloria sanguinis,
Pars una summi et maxima consili,
Ardensque virtus te nitentem,
Te decorant et opes beatum.
Musis amicus cum vigeas tamen,
Musis amico Critonio fove;
O digne Divarum favore,
Quique Deum faveas amicis.

(+) Probably for
sic.

The following remarks on the two last Odes have
been communicated to us by a learned friend.
There are few such glaring errors in prosody as
those to be found in the two Odes of Crichton; a man
who allowed himself such licences might well engage
to dispute in verse.

In the Ode to Massæ *Aut.* is made short; in the very
next line there is a syllable too much at the word
interve; presently after, we have two false quantities
in one word, “*Catus Aonius* instead of *Aonius*.”

“*Sævis obarmatum periclis*” means, in Latin,
“armed with dangers.”—in the last stanza but one *te*
is repeated to fill up the verse.—In the last stanza *fove*
is placed by a Typographical error for *fave*; if not, it
is false Latin: and, supposing *fave* to be the word,
fave, favore, faveas, all in a breath, is very ineleg-
gant. Of the last line I can make nothing.—

In the Ode to Donatus, there is a line out of all
shape.

“*rursus invoco furens.*”

And afterwards one more irregular, if possible,

“*Tempusque lauro Apollinari,*”

possible *Apollinis*, so, a typographical error.

He also uses

“*Ithæus*” for “*Ithacus*.”

He says,

“*Labore desisto gravi;*”

in prose there should be “*a labore*.” *Quere*, may
a be omitted in verse?

In this Ode the epithets are merely expletives, and
are just such as an idle boy would take from the *Gradus*
ad Parnassum.

tive

tive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of reply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities, enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment.

It is natural, on the present occasion, to recollect the case of John Picus of Mirandula. He is celebrated for having been such a prodigy of parts and literature as scarcely ever existed; and yet his works are not understood by any means to correspond with his once splendid reputation.

A circumstance has been pointed out to us concerning Crichton, which must not be omitted. He was very much dissatisfied (as appears from an incidental passage of Manutius) [2], with Socrates's manner of disputing against the Sophists. Manutius expresses great surprize at this sentiment of his friend, but surely without reason; for Crichton was himself too like the ancient Sophists not to be fond of their character.

I am under no apprehension that any single Gentleman of Scotland will be displeased with the present article. That country, as hath already been noticed, stands not in need of falsehood to support its reputation. It produced many eminent scholars at the time in which Crichton lived; and hath continued to produce writers of the first Order. The names that adorn the present age it is needless to mention. Lord Buchan, in his Memoir, lays no stress upon any account of Crichton's literary exhibitions, excepting that which is given by Manutius; and even Manutius is blamed by his Lordship, for having had a great share, by his own extravagance of language, in occasioning the bombastic and intemperate praises which afterwards appeared of his young friend. It is to a respectable and learned Gentleman of North Britain, who doth not permit me the honour of mentioning his name, that I am indebted for several hints and communications, by which I have been greatly assisted in my endeavours to furnish a more complete and authentic Narrative of the Life of the Admirable Crichton than has hitherto been written by any of his Biographers.]

K.

[2] From an incidental passage of Manutius.] Sed quid est, per Deum, mi Jacobe Critoni, quod Socratis disputandi Modum in Sophistas laceffis, aut si non

laceffis, favè non satis approbare videris? Sanè me fateor non hoc abs te planè intellexisse (18).

(18) Comment. in Paradox. p. 234. Pointed out to me by a friend.

(a) Stow's Survey of London, published by Strype, vol. i. c. iii. p. 203.
(b) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97. Monumental inscription in the Chapel at Hammer-smith.
(c) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

(e) See the monumental inscription in Hammer-smith Chapel.
(f) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferer, p. 627. Hist. of the English Trade to Guinea, p. 103.

(1) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

CRISPE (Sir NICHOLAS), an eminent and loyal citizen in the reigns of King Charles the First and King Charles the Second, was the son of a very eminent merchant, and grandson of an Alderman of London (a). He was born in the year 1598, and bred according to the custom of those times, in a thorough knowledge of business, though heir to a great estate (b). He made a considerable addition to this by marriage; and being a man of an enterprising genius, ever active and solicitous about new inventions and discoveries, and, which very rarely happens, wonderfully industrious and diligent about things he had brought to bear, he was soon taken notice of at Court, was knighted, and became one of the Farmers of the King's Customs (c). When the trade to Guinea was under great difficulties and discouragements, he framed a project for retrieving it, which required a very large sum of money to bring it about; but his reputation was so great, that many rich Merchants willingly engaged with him in the prosecution of the design (d): and to give a good example, as well as to shew that he meant to adhere to the work that he had once taken in hand, he caused the Castle of Cormantyn upon the Gold Coast, to be erected at his own expence (e). By this judicious precaution, and by his wise and wary management afterwards, himself and his associates carried their trade to such a height, as to divide amongst them fifty thousand pounds a year (f). When the times grew dark and cloudy, and the King's affairs were in such distress he knew not how to turn himself for want of money, Sir Nicholas Crispe, and his partners in the Farming of the Customs, upon very short warning, and when their refusing it would have been esteemed a merit with the Parliament, raised him so large a sum as one hundred thousand pounds at once (g); and that with such circumstances of cheerfulness as might be truly said to double the value of this service [A]. After the war broke out, and in the midst of all the distractions with

(d) Historical Account of the English Trade to Guinea, p. 31.

(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 627.

[A] As might be truly said to double the value of this service.] It was but a short time before the King was obliged to leave London, that he found himself under the necessity of applying to those four eminent citizens, who were then farmers of the customs, for no less a sum than one hundred thousand pounds, and that to be advanced immediately (1). These farmers of the customs, were Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir Abraham Dawes, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Wolstenholme. When the matter was proposed to Sir Nicholas, he said,

‘ it was a large sum and short warning, but that providence had made him able, and his duty made him willing to lay down his proportion, whenever his Majesty called for it.’ Sir Abraham Dawes had some relations, whose affections leaned the other way, and who besides had great expectations from him: they magnified the sum that was desired, the uncertainty of its been repaid, and the danger that it would be taken ill by Parliament, who might insist upon the like sum. ‘ Well, said Sir Abraham, this then is the worst

(b) Characters of
eminent Citizens
in London, p. 97.

which it was attended, he continued to carry on a trade to Holland, France, Spain, Italy, Norway, Moscovy, and Turkey, which produced to the King nearly one hundred thousand pounds a year, besides keeping most of the Ports open and ships in them constantly ready for his service. All the correspondence and supplies of arms which were procured by the Queen in Holland, and by the King's agents in Denmark, were consigned to his care, and by his prudence and vigilance safely landed in the North, and put into the hands of those for whom they were intended (b). In the management of so many nice and difficult affairs, he was obliged to keep up a very extensive correspondence, in doing of which he discovered a most surprising dexterity, for he hardly ever made use of cypher, but penned his letters in such a peculiar stile, as removed entirely his intentions from the apprehension of his enemies, and yet left them very intelligible unto those with whom he transacted (i). He had also an incomparable address in bringing any thing to bear that he had once contrived, to which it contributed not a little, that in matters of secrecy and danger he seldom trusted to any hands but his own, and to facilitate this, he made use of all kinds of disguises. Sometimes when he was believed to be in one place he was actually at another; letters of consequence he carried in the disguise of a porter; when he wanted intelligence he would be at the water side with a basket of flounders upon his head, and often passed between London and Oxford in the dress of a butter-woman on horseback between a pair of panniers (k). He was the principal author of that well-laid design for publishing the King's Commission of Array at London, which was defeated by another design that Mr. Waller through fear betrayed, for which Tomkins and Chaloner suffered (l), and of which we have but a very obscure account in a very celebrated history (m) [B]. It is however

(i) Lloyd's Loyal
Sufferers, p. 628.

(k) Characters of
eminent Citizens
in London, p. 97.
Lloyd's Loyal
Sufferers, p. 627.

(l) Vicar's Parli-
amentary Chro-
nicle, p. 359.
(m) Clarendon's
Hist. of the Re-
bellion, p. 317,
very 318, 319.

(2) From a MS.
formerly belong-
ing to Peter Le
Neve, Esq;

' worst that can happen, and I bless God, who has
' made me able to pay my allegiance, and to pay for
' it (2). Something of the same kind was insinuated
to Sir John Jacob, who was not only very sincerely
loyal, but a man of a warm temper and a tender
heart. ' What, said he in reply, shall I keep my
' estate, and see the King want wherewithal, to pro-
' test me in it? If it please God to bless the King,
' though I give him all I have, I shall be no loser; if
' not though I keep all I have, I shall be no savor
' (3). Sir John Wolstenholme, a stout and plain
man, advanced his proportion, as he afterwards did
larger sums, without any speeches (4). He and Sir
Nicholas Crispe lived to see the Restoration, and to
be Farmers of the Customs again under King Charles
the second, after they and the rest had paid deeply
for this proof of their loyalty.

(3) English Baro-
netage, vol. iv.
p. 450.

(4) From the in-
formation of the
family.

[B] And of which we have but a very obscure ac-
count, in a very celebrated History.] We have in the
Earl of Clarendon's Work, a very large account of
Mr. Waller's design, and the methods employed by
him to bring it to bear, and of the manner in which
it was discovered. His Lordship then takes occasion
to tell us, that the Parliament, to magnify their dan-
ger, blended this with another design that was formed
in the King's quarters; and as this relates expressly
to the person of whom we are speaking, it is necessary
the reader should see it (5). From the King's com-
ing to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who
were prosecuted or jealously looked upon, in London,
had resorted to the King, and hoping if the winter
produced not a peace, that the summer would carry
the King before that city with an army, they had
entertained some discourse of raising upon their own
stocks of money and credit, some Regiments of Foot
and Horse, and joining with some Gentlemen of
Kent, who were likewise inclined to such an under-
taking. Among these was Sir Nicholas Crispe, a
citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active
spirited man; who had been lately prosecuted with
great severity by the House of Commons, and had
thereupon fled from London for appearing too great
a stickler in a petition for peace in the city. This
Gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence
still therein, by which he gave the King often very
useful intelligence, and assured him of a very con-
siderable party which would appear there for him,
whenever his own power should be so near as to give
them any countenance. In the end, whether invited
by his correspondents there, or trusting his own
sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and
concluding that all who were equally honest, would be
equally bold, he desired his Majesty ' to grant a com-
' mission to such persons whom he would nominate
' of the city of London, under the Great Seal of

(5) Clarendon's
History of the
Rebellion, p.
318.

England, in the nature of a Commission of Array,
' by virtue whereof, when the season should come,
' his party there would appear in discipline and order,
' and that this was desired by those who best knew
' what countenance and authority was requisite, and
' being trusted to them, would not be executed at all,
' or else at such a time, as his Majesty should receive
' ample fruits by it, provided it were done with se-
' crecy equal to the hazard they should run, who were
' employed in it.' The King had this exception to
it: ' The improbability that it could do good, and
that the failing might do hurt to the undertakers.'
But the promoter was a very popular man in the city,
where he had been a Commander of the Trained-
bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia removed
him, which rather improved than lessened his credit,
and he was very confident it would produce a notable
advantage to the King. However they desired it,
who were there, and would not appear without it, and
therefore the King consented to it, referring the no-
mination of all persons in the commission to him,
who he verily believed had proceeded by the instruc-
tion and advice of those that were nearest the con-
cernment; and for the secrecy of it, the King referred
the preparing and dispatch of the commission to Sir
Nicholas Crispe himself, who should acquaint no
more with it than he found requisite. So without the
privity or advice, of any Counsellor, or Minister of
State, then most trusted by his Majesty, he procured
such a Commission as he desired, (being no other than
the Commission of Array in English,) to be signed by
the King, and sealed with the Great Seal. This being
done and remaining still in his custody, the Lady
Aubigny, by a pafs, and with the consent of the
Houses, came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her
own fortune with the King, upon the death of her
husband, who was killed at Edghill; and she having
in a few days dispatched her business there, and being
ready to return, Sir Nicholas Crispe came to the
King, and besought him ' to desire that Lady, who
' had a pafs, and so could promise herself safety in
' her journey, to carry a small box (in which that
' Commission should be) with her, and to keep it in
' her own custody, until a Gentleman should call to
' her Ladyship for it, by such a token.' That token
he said, ' he could send to one of the persons trusted
' who should keep it by him, till the opportunity came
' in which it might be executed.' The King ac-
cordingly wished the Lady Aubigny to carry it with
great care and secrecy, telling her ' it much con-
' cerned his own service,' and to deliver it in such
manner, and upon such assurance, as is before-men-
tioned, which she did; and within few days after her
return to London, delivered it to a person who was
appointed to call for it. How this Commission was

very certain that there was nothing dishonourable in the design itself, so far as Sir Nicholas Crispe was concerned, or any just grounds of throwing reproach, or so much as suspicion upon him, for the discovery of it. But it seems the noble author was not entirely possessed of the facts relating to it, and either willingly or inadvertently confounds Sir Nicholas Crispe's design of executing the King's Commission of Array in London (n), which might have been done as legally as any where else, with another design, superinduced by Mr. Waller, of surprizing the Parliament, in bringing which to bear he proceeded very vigorously at first, till finding that he had engaged in a matter too big for his management, he suddenly lost his spirits, and some of the chief men in the House of Commons gaining intelligence that something was in agitation to their prejudice, May 31st, 1643 (o), they presently seized Mr. Waller and drew from him a compleat discovery, which, from the account they published, plainly distinguished these two projects [C]. By the discovery of this

(n) May's Hist. of the Parliament of England, l. iii. p. 45.

(o) Rushworth's Collections, p. iii. vol. ii. p. 324.

discovered, I could never learn, for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believed by her to be a Gentleman of most entire affections to the King's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladyship herself not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else. It is very evident from this account, that the noble Historian was not much in the secret himself; and this perhaps might incline him not to entertain a better opinion of it: for it is very apparent, that he looked upon Sir Nicholas Crispe's zeal as pushing him a little too far in this business; that he very much doubted whether that Commission, however managed, could turn to the King's advantage, because of the want of spirit in those concerned; and that after all, he could never find out how the original Commission came into the Parliament's hands; because the Lady Aubigney delivered it, as she was directed, so that it was out of her hands before it was discovered; and while it was in her hands, she could say nothing about it to Mr. Waller, because she herself did not know what it was.

[C] Which from the account they published, plainly distinguished these two projects.] We have, at the close of the last note, pointed out the difficulties under which, from his own account, it is very plain that the noble Historian laboured. It is true, that he remarks it as a point of insincerity in the Parliament, that they kneaded these two projects together, which remark of his is very well founded; but then it is very evident, that he does not himself distinguish them sufficiently, but imputes the failing of Sir Nicholas Crispe's design, to the want of spirit in those who were to manage it. To say the truth, there is no one point of so great importance, in the History of those times, that is so darkly, so imperfectly, and so confusedly related by all our general historians. Mr. Archdeacon Echard (6) takes all that he says about it, from the Earl of Clarendon, and blames the Parliament for blending these two designs, at the same time that he justifies them, by not shewing how they ought to be distinguished. This afforded occasion to another writer (7) to attack the sincerity, or at least the consistency, both of the noble Peer and of the reverend writer; and he thinks that he has fully proved his point, and justified the Parliament, by producing some passages from the dying speeches of Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Challoner. A little attention to facts and dates will clear up this whole affair, and enable us to set it in its proper light, which is certainly one of the most useful purposes to which this kind of writing can be applied. Sir Nicholas Crispe remained at London, as long as he could remain there with safety, or had any hopes of doing his Majesty service; but being removed from his command in the Trained-Bands, censured for promoting a petition for peace, and seeing Sir Richard Gurney then Lord Mayor of London, imprisoned, deposed, and punished for doing what he took to be his duty, in publishing the King's Proclamation, which tended to the execution of the Commission of Array, he retired to Oxford (8). As he had the King's ear, it is no wonder that he informed his Majesty, that there was a strong party for him in the city of London; who were desirous of acting for his service, and of levying regiments of horse and foot, at their own expences, which they were the rather induced to do, because while they remained

under the power of the Parliament, they were obliged to contribute both arms and money, against the dictates of their consciences, and to act in some measure against the side to which they wished well. But to enable them to carry their intentions into execution, and to have what they took to be a legal authority to warrant their proceedings, it was necessary they should have the King's Commission, empowering them to do what they inclined to do, as well as to appoint a General, and to grant Commissions, which was the purport of the Commission under the King's Broad Seal, dated at Oxford, March 16th, in the eighteenth year of his Majesty's reign (9). The person, they had in view, to command the men they were to raise, was Sir Hugh Pollard, a Member of Parliament, but at that time a prisoner in the Compter; and a body of the King's Forces were to advance within fifteen miles of London, to countenance their proceedings, to support them, if that was found practicable, or to join them in case they were forced to retreat (10). This Commission was directed to Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir George Stroud, Knights; to Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knight, Recorder of London; Sir George Binion, Knight, Richard Edes, and Marmaduke Royden, Esquires; Thomas Brown, Peter Passon, Charles Gennings, Edward Charleton, Roger Abbot, Andrew King, William White, Stephen Bolton, Robert Alden, Edmund Foster, Thomas Blinkhorne, of London, Gentlemen, and to all such other persons, as according to the true intent and purport of that Commission should be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Serjeant-Majors, or other officers of that Council of War. It is hence very evident, that this Commission was not at all intended to countenance a secret conspiracy, or to cover a dark and private plot against the Parliament, but to enable those who, in this dispute between the King and Parliament, were for the former, to declare themselves. This business was carried with so much secrecy, that it was entirely ripe for execution, and the day fixed for the rising was the last of May (11). But amongst the persons trusted in this affair was one Mr. Tomkins, an old and faithful servant of the King's, who was brother-in-law to Mr. Waller, and to him that Gentleman communicated his designs, which were of another nature, and by his assistance Mr. Waller had likewise a considerable party in the city, whom he encouraged by assuring them that most of the Lords, and many Members of the House of Commons, wished well to, and would at a proper season join with, them. Tomkins depending upon this, got his other friends to postpone their insurrection, and that very day on which it was to have been made, Mr. Waller's schemes were discovered (12). How that happened, is not material to be discussed here, but it was this that gave occasion to the seizing Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Blinkhorne, and several others. As to the finding the Commission, though the noble Historian was ignorant of it, it was nevertheless a thing very publicly known; for Mr. Tomkins was the person who was sent for it to the Lady Aubigney, and for his own security he buried it in his cellar, as he confessed upon his examination; upon which it was immediately dug up, and thus it came into the Parliament's hands (13). Yet it does not appear that any great discoveries were made of the persons originally embarked in that design, though it was, as has been already observed, ripe for execution,

(9) Rushworth's Historical Collections, P. iii. vol. ii. p. 324—327.

(10) Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359.

(11) See the Original Commission in Rushworth.

(12) May's Hist. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 43—45.

(13) Rushworth's Collections, P. iii. vol. ii. p. 324—327.

(6) Hist. of England, p. 570.

(7) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 222.

(8) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 570.

(p) Lloyd's Loyal
Sufferers, p. 627.
Heath's Chron.
p. 52.

this business, Sir Nicholas Crispe found himself obliged to declare openly and plainly the course he meant to take; and having at his own expence raised a regiment of Horse for the King's service, he put himself at the head of it, and distinguished himself as remarkably in his military as he had ever done in his civil capacity. When the siege of Gloucester was resolved on, Sir Nicholas Crispe was charged with his Regiment of Horse to escort the King's Train of Artillery from Oxford, which important service he very gallantly performed (p). In the month of September following a very unlucky accident befel him, in which he was no way to blame; and though the circumstances attending it clearly justified his conduct to the world, yet the concern it gave him was such as he could not shake off so long as he lived. He happened to be quartered at Roussidge in Gloucestershire, where one Sir James Ennyon, Baronet, of Northamptonshire, and some friends of his took up a great part of the house, though none of them had any commands in the army, which however Sir Nicholas bore with the utmost patience, notwithstanding he was much incommoded by it. It fell out some time after, that certain horses belonging to those gentlemen were missing, upon which Sir James Ennyon, though he had lost none himself, came to Sir Nicholas Crispe on their behalf, insinuating that some of his troopers must have taken them, and after a long expostulation conceived in pretty rough terms, insisted that he should immediately draw out his regiment, that search might be made for them. Sir Nicholas answered him with all the mildness imaginable, offered him as full satisfaction as it was in his power to give, but excused himself from drawing out his regiment, as a thing improper and inconvenient at that juncture, for reasons which he assigned him (q). This however was so far from contenting Sir James, that he left him abruptly, and presently after sent him a challenge, accompanied with a message to this effect, that if he did not comply with it he would pistol him against the wall. Upon this Sir Nicholas Crispe taking a friend of his with him, went to the place appointed, where he found Sir James Ennyon and the person who brought him the challenge. Upon their meeting, Sir Nicholas began to use his utmost endeavours to pacify him, but to no purpose: he was determined to receive no satisfaction but by the sword (r), and they accordingly engaged, and in this duel Sir James having received a wound in the rim of the belly, languished for near two days and then expired; but first of all sent for Sir Nicholas Crispe, and in a manner becoming a Gentleman and a Christian, was sincerely reconciled to him (s). Upon the 2d of October following Sir Nicholas was brought to a Court Martial for this unfortunate affair, and upon a full examination of every thing relating to it, was most honourably acquitted [D]. He continued to serve with the same zeal and fidelity during the year 1644, and in the spring following. When a Treaty was set on foot at Uxbridge, the Parliament thought fit to mark him, as they afterwards did in the Isle of Wight Treaty, by insisting that he should be removed from his Majesty's presence (t). A few months after, they proceeded to an act of greater severity; for April 16th, 1645, they ordered his large house in Bread-street to be sold (u), which had been for many years belonging to his family. Neither was this stroke of their

(q) Whitlock's
Memorials, p. 75.
Lloyd's Loyal
Sufferers, p. 627.
Heath's Chron.
p. 52.

(r) The Civil
Wars of Great
Britain and Ire-
land, p. 96.

(s) Heath's Chron-
icle, p. 52.
The Civil Wars
of Great Britain
and Ireland, p. 96.

(t) Thurloe's
State Papers,
vol. i. p. 81.

(u) Whitlock's
Memorials, p.
142.

tion, when Mr. Waller's plot was but in embryo. On the 30th of June, a Council of War sat at Guildhall, of which the Earl of Manchester was President, before whom Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Blinkhorne, Mr. Abbot, and Mr. White, were tried; of whom the four first received sentence of death. Mr. Tomkins was executed over against his own house, and at his death he called the matter for which he suffered a *foolish business*, and said he was drawn into it by affection for his brother-in-law; which plainly shews, that by *foolish business*, he meant Mr. Waller's scheme. As to Mr. Challoner, he was assisted by Mr. Peters, and appears to have been a zealot in the Puritan way. He does indeed say, that he died justly, but then he was acquainted only with Mr. Waller's design. He was executed the same day, before the Royal Exchange. In his dying speech he observes, that he had been wrongfully charged. With respect to the Commission; he said, he knew nothing of the procuring it, nor of the Commission itself, till the Friday before the discovery (14). The day before these men suffered, Mr. Waller received sentence of death, at the Court-martial, though a Member of the House of Commons; was reprieved by the Earl of Essex, as General; and afterwards pardoned for his discoveries (15). Upon the whole it appears, that Sir Nicholas's design was open and honourable, and was conducted with great secrecy and success, and that it was disappointed by the breaking out of a thing quite different from it in its nature, of which Sir Nicholas Crispe had no knowledge, and in the credit or event of which therefore he could have no concern.

[D] Was most honourably acquitted.] The best justification of what has been said in the text, is to give the reader the sentence of the Court-martial, by which

he was tried, and which was conceived in the following terms (16). 'In the cause depending against Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knight, concerning the death of Sir James Ennyon, Knight, slain by him in a Duel, in September last; the Court being informed that an assize was duly set up upon the Court-house door, according to their Order, of the 28th of September last, and the assize afterwards taken down, and brought into the Court, and Proclamation being made, and no man appearing against him, yet upon examination of all the matter, and difference between them, and that the friends of the slain taking notice thereof, the Court proceeds to sentence. That although the Court doth condemn all manner of Duels, and utterly disallow them; yet in this particular case of Sir Nicholas Crispe, in consideration of the great injury he received, in his own quarters, and how much he was provoked, and challenged, the Court have thought fit to acquit him of any punishment in this Court, and doth leave, and recommend him to his Majesty's mercy, for his gracious pardon; the 2d of October, 1643.'

Signed Forth Lord Lieutenant-General and President. Dorset, Bristol, Northampton, Andover, Dunsmore, Jacob Astley, Arthur Ashton, William Brumchard, and John Byron.

By whom the whole matter was reported to the King, and Sir Nicholas brought to kiss his hand, from whom he received a gracious pardon, under the Great Seal of England, and was afterwards intrusted in high commands for his Majesty, both by land and sea.

(16) The Civil
Wars of Great
Britain and Ire-
land, p. 97.

(14) See these
Dying Speeches
at large in Ruth-
worth.

(15) May's Hist.
of the Parlia-
ment, l. iii. p. 46.

(x) Hist. of the Civil War, p. 395. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 200.

(d) Kennet's Historical Register, p. 133.

(f) Antiquities of Middlesex, p. ii. p. 2.

(h) English Baronetage, vol. v. p. 279. (k) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 99.

(m) Antiquities of Middlesex, p. ii. p. 42.

(17) Characters of eminent Citizens, p. 98, 99.

vengeance judged a sufficient punishment for his offences, since having resolved to grant the Elector Palatine a pension of eight thousand pounds a year, they directed that two thousand should be applied out of the King's revenue, and the remainder made up out of the estates of Lord Culpeper and Sir Nicholas Crispe (w), which shews how considerable a fortune he had left at their mercy. The King's affairs were now grown desperate, when Sir Nicholas finding himself no longer in a capacity to render him any service, thought it expedient to preserve himself, with which view, in the beginning of the month of April, 1646, he embarked with Lord Culpeper and Colonel Monk, and a few days after was safely landed in France (x). As he had many rich relations who had a great interest with those in power, they interposed in his favour; and as Sir Nicholas knew very well that he could be of no service to the Royal Cause abroad, he did not look upon it as any deviation from his duty to return and live quietly at home (y). Accordingly, having submitted to a composition, he came back to London and took all the pains he could to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was indeed a person of so clear a head, had such thorough and extensive notions of trade, and was withal of so quick an invention, that he very soon engaged again in business, with the same spirit and success as before (z). In this season of prosperity he was not unmindful of the wants of his Royal Master then in exile, but contributed cheerfully to his relief, when his affairs seemed to be in the most desperate condition (a). Upon the great change that happened after the death of Oliver Cromwell, he was instrumental in reconciling many to their duty, and so well were his principles known, and so much his influence apprehended, that when it was proposed that the Royalists in and about London should sign an instrument signifying their inclination to preserve the public tranquillity, he was called upon and very readily subscribed it (b). He was also principally concerned in bringing the city of London, in her corporate capacity, to give the encouragement that was requisite to leave General Monk without any difficulties or suspicion (c), as to the sincerity and unanimity of their inclinations. It was therefore very natural, after reading the King's Letter and Declaration in Common-Council, May 3d, 1660, to think of sending some Members of their own Body to present their duty to his Majesty. Accordingly, having appointed nine loyal Aldermen and their Recorder, the next person they thought of was Sir Nicholas Crispe (d), whom, with several other worthy persons, they added to that Committee, from an assurance that the King would receive a double satisfaction from the nature of their message, and from its being brought by several of those who had suffered deeply in his own and in his father's cause. His Majesty received these Gentlemen very graciously in their public capacities, and afterwards testified to them separately the sense he had of their past services. Upon the King's return, Sir Nicholas Crispe and Sir John Wolstenholme, though the latter was then near fourscore, were re-instated as Farmers of the Customs, which they put into very good order (e). As Sir Nicholas was now in years and somewhat infirm, he spent a great part of his time at his noble country seat near Hammersmith, where he was in some measure the Founder of the Chapel (f). He had now an opportunity of returning the obligation he had received from some of his relations, nor did he neglect it, but procured for them that indemnity from the King gratis, for which he had so dearly paid during the late confusion (g). The last testimony he received of his royal Master's favour, was his being created a Baronet, April 16th, 1665 (h), nor did he long survive it; dying February 26th the same year (i), in the sixty-seventh year of his age (k), leaving a very large estate to his grandson Sir Nicholas Crispe. His corps was interred with his ancestors in the parish Church of St. Mildred in Bread-street, and his funeral sermon was preached by his reverend and learned kinsman Mr. Crispe of Christ-church, Oxford (l). But his heart was sent to the Chapel at Hammersmith, where there is a short and plain inscription upon a cenotaph erected to his memory (m); or rather upon that monument which himself erected in grateful commemoration of King Charles I. as the inscription placed there in Sir Nicholas's life-time tells us, under which, after his decease, was placed a small white marble urn, upon a black pedestal, containing his heart. As to the character of this active, generous, and loyal person, who lived universally admired, and died generally lamented, it has been already represented from his actions, and if any thing be still wanting, it will be found in the Eulogy of this loyal subject which is inserted in the notes [E].

[E] *Inserted in the notes.* We have taken all possible care, to prevent his character from appearing a repetition of what is said, either in the text or notes, by avoiding, as much as we could, the mention of most of the particulars that are contained therein (17). Amongst the worthy citizens of those times, who, in the midst of most epidemic corruption, escaped the smallest stain of infection, was Sir Nicholas Crispe; a Gentleman descended both by father and mother, from the richest families in the city, in which they had borne the highest offices, to which, however, Sir Nicholas did not aspire. He came very young into business, and with a fortune larger than most men carry out of it. He had excellent

notions of Commerce, and he knew how to reduce them to practice, and to bring whatever he engaged in up to them. He was the most general trader of his time, but was principally concerned in the commerce to Guinea, which was immensely profitable to him and his associates. He was very remarkable for interesting himself in all domestic Arts and Manufactures, for any improvements, in which he gave extraordinary gratuities. All new inventions he also encouraged, and the art of brick-making, as since practised, was his own, conducted with incredible patience, through innumerable trials, and perfected at a very large expence. His principles were equally sound, in religion and politics, and as he

(w) See Votes and Ordinances of Parliament. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 145.

(y) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 623. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 26.

(z) Characters of eminent Citizens of London, p. 97. (a) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 623.

(b) Kennet's Chr. p. 124.

(c) Skinner's History of the Restoration, p. 44, 45.

(e) English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 446.

(g) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 618. (i) As appears from the inscription mentioned in the text.

(l) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 628.

he derived these from a good education, so their effects not only appeared early, but were conspicuous through the course of his whole life. In 1630, he gave in money and materials, towards building the new Chapel at Hammer-smith, seven hundred pounds; besides being at the expence of adorning the roof, with the arms of the crown, and sprinkling it with roses, thistles, and flower de lues, all effaced in the troublesome times that ensued. Himself with his partners in the customs, having advanced one hundred thousand pounds to the King, were fined one hundred and fifty thousand to the Parliament, which was levied to the last farthing upon their estates. He loved exercise, and was remarkable for the pains he took to render his company in the London trained-bands, as well disciplined as any troops could be; and this natural inclination to military affairs, proved very serviceable to him, when he became a Commander of Horse in the Royal Army. He was basely betrayed at Cirencester, to the Earl of Essex, who surprized him with the small force he commanded, and gained thereby an advantage fatal to the King's design upon Gloucester, and which, to say the truth, had a very unhappy influence on the general state of his affairs. When Sir Nicholas was obliged to quit the kingdom, and fly into parts beyond the seas, he made his private misfortunes turn public benefits; by making such nice inquiries into agriculture, manufactures, and mechanic arts, as enabled him, upon his return, to make vast improvements in England of every kind. By his instructions, and through his

encouragement, the farmers and gardeners in Middlesex changed their old system for a better. At his expence, the banks of the river were secured, and the channel cleansed; by his communication, new inventions, as to water-mills, paper-mills, and powder-mills, came into use. After the Restoration, he caused to be erected at his own expence, in the south-east corner of the Chapel at Hammer-smith, near the pulpit, a very neat and beautiful monument of black and white marble, eight feet in length, and near two in breadth, upon which he placed a brass busto of his beloved master, with this short and plain inscription underneath. *This Effigie was erected by the especial appointment of Sir Nicholas Crispe, Knight and Baronet, as a grateful Commemoration of that glorious Martyr King Charles I. of blessed Memory.* He also directed that after his decease, his own heart, in token of undying affection to his Royal Master, should be here in a white urn entombed. He spent twenty-five thousand pounds, in building his noble seat, which attracts all eyes from the river. This house was purchased by Prince Rupert, for Mrs. Margaret Hughes, and was not long since sold to Mr. Lannoy, a scarlet dyer. It was there he spent the calm evening of his day, in honour and repose, loved by the great, prayed for by the poor, universally esteemed by all ranks of people; and being full of years and glory, with much patience and piety, resigned his soul to the mercy of his Creator, in the sixty-seventh year of his life.

C.

CROFT (HERBERT), an eminent and worthy Divine, as well as venerable prelate of the Church of England, in the seventeenth century, was descended, though not from a noble, yet of an ancient and honourable family, which had flourished in great wealth and credit in the county of Hereford (a) from before the Norman Conquest; and amongst his ancestors there were many highly distinguished by their personal reputation and merit, as well in respect to arms as arts, whose names we find recorded with honour, by authors of unquestionable veracity [A]. He was the third son of Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft-Castle, by Mary, daughter and coheirefs of Anthony Browne, of Holt-Castle in Worcestershire (b), and was born October 18th, 1603, at Great Milton near Thame in Oxfordshire, in the house of Sir William Green, his mother being then on a journey to London (c). He was very carefully educated in his junior years in Herefordshire, and having pregnant parts, joined to great steadiness of mind and unwearied application, he very early qualified himself for academical studies; and in order to his improvement in these, he was in the year 1616 sent to Oxford, and entered as is supposed of Christ-church College (d). But he had not been long there before his father unhappily joined himself with the Church of Rome, and became a Lay Brother in the Benedictine Monastery at Douay, and a most zealous advocate for the Romish religion (e) [B]. Upon his father's command he went over to him,

[A] By authors of unquestionable veracity.] We have no distinct account of the original of this family; only the tradition of the country refers the building of Croft-Castle, which has always been the seat of it, to the Saxon times, which is the more probable, since, from the earliest accounts we have, at least with any tolerable degree of certainty, this appears to have been a family of eminence in Herefordshire, and to have been even then, reputed of great antiquity (1). Thus it occurs in the famous inquisition taken in the reign of King Henry VI (2). In the reign of his successor Edward IV. Sir Richard Croft, of Croft-Castle, was High Sheriff of the county; and at the battle of Tewksbury, took Prince Edward, eldest son to Henry VI. prisoner; whom, upon proclamation, and promise of safety for his person, he produced, but had no hand whatever in the barbarous murder of that young Prince, which was committed by the King's two brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester (3). From this Sir Richard Croft, in a direct line, descended Sir James Croft, Knight, who suffered severely in the reign of Queen Mary, upon a suspicion of his having some intercourse with Sir Thomas Wiatt, for which however he had ample amends made him by Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was Comptroller of the Household, and a Member of the Privy-Council (4). This Sir James Croft married Alice, daughter of Richard Warwick, Esq; by whom he had issue

Edward Croft, Esq; who espoused Mrs. Anne Brown, and dying in the life-time of his father, left behind him a son Herbert (5), afterwards Sir Herbert Croft, Knight, who was the father of our prelate.

[B] And a most zealous advocate for the Romish religion.] This gentleman, Sir Herbert Croft, received the honour of Knighthood from King James I. at Theobalds, in the year 1603 (6). And about fourteen years afterwards, turned Papist, and went over to Douay, where he died (7). He had four sons, and two daughters. His eldest son William, was knighted by King Charles I. in the beginning of his reign, and adhering firmly to the interests of that Prince, became a Colonel in his service, and was killed gallantly fighting against the Parliamentary forces at Stone-Castle, near Ludlow in Shropshire, June the 9th 1645 (8). His loyalty was the more extraordinary, since he had been very ill treated by the Court, on account of his opposition to the great favourite Buckingham; and therefore the King took particular notice of his fidelity, when he saw him putting himself at the head of his regiment at the battle of Edge-hill (9). James, the second son, was also a Knight, and a Colonel in the King's service, and died, as Wood assures us, in the year 1659, after suffering deeply for his loyalty (10). Robert, the fourth son, was a Colonel likewise (11), but of him we have no farther account. Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Sir Herbert

(a) Camd. Brit. Lond. 1594, 4to. p. 477. Pedigree of the Croft family.

(b) Wood's *Art. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 469.

(1) Fuller's *Worthies*, in Herefordshire. (2) See that List as published in Fuller.

(3) English Baro-nettage, vol. iv. p. 535.

(4) Camd. *Annal. Eliz.* p. 567.

(b) Wood's *Art. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 864. (c) English Baro-nettage, vol. iv. p. 537.

(d) English Spanish Pilgrim, by James Wadsworth, Lond. 1630, 4to. c. 111.

(5) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 469.

(6) List of Kts. made by King James. (7) *Antiq. Oxon.* l. ii. p. 269.

(8) *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(9) Lloyd's *Loyal Sufferers*, p. 673.

(10) *Art. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(11) *Id. ibid.*

him, and after some short stay at Douay was sent to the English College of Jesuits at St. Omer's, where by the persuasion of Father Lloyd he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, and by the insinuations of the same person and some others, contrary to his father's advice in that particular, was wrought upon to enter into the order (f). Some time before his father's death, which happened about five years after his going abroad, he was by him sent back again to England, in order to manage some family affairs, and becoming happily acquainted with Dr. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, he was by his arguments brought back to the Church of England, and soon after, at the desire of Dr. William Laud, he went a second time to Oxford, and was admitted a Student of Christ-church (g). Having supplicated the University November 21st, 1635, that the time he had spent in his studies in foreign nations might be reckoned as if he had continued there, and that on performing the exercise requisite by statutes for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he might have his Grace proposed in Congregation, this was granted; and having performed his exercise with applause, he was admitted to the said degree, and entering into Holy Orders became Minister of a Church in Gloucestershire, and Rector of Harding in Oxfordshire (h). In the spring of the year 1639, he attended the Earl of Northumberland, as his Chaplain, in his expedition into Scotland (i); and on the 1st of August following was collated to a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, vacant by the resignation of Mr. William Townson (k). In the year 1640, being then the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, he was admitted to his degree of Doctor of Divinity (l). He was employed by his Majesty upon various occasions, in those dangerous and difficult times, and always discharged his duty with fidelity and credit, though sometimes at the hazard of his life. The same year he became a Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, on the death of Dr. Charlet (m). July 10th, 1641, he was installed Canon of Windsor in the place of Dr. John Pocklington, who was deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments by Parliament (n). In the year 1644, upon the death of Dr. Jonathan Brown, he was nominated Dean of Hereford, where he married Mrs. Ann Brown, the daughter of his predecessor. He resided chiefly in this city, and discharged his duty with great punctuality and freedom, even in the worst of times, at the constant peril of his then small fortune, and sometimes to the imminent endangering of his life (o) [C]. His circumstances were but very narrow for some years, notwithstanding he had so good preferments, for the dissolution of Cathedrals following so close upon his coming to have any relation to them, he had very little if any benefit from his several promotions; but at length, in the year 1659, by the successive deaths of his elder brothers, Sir William and Sir James Croft, he became possessed of the estate of the family. The provocation he had given to the persons who were then vested with power was so great, that he did not conceive it safe, even after he was possessed of the estate, to live in his own county; and therefore chose for the place of his retreat the house of his good friend Sir Rowland Berkeley, at Cotheridge in Worcestershire, where he patiently expected the restoration of Church and State, by the restitution of his Royal Master, which happening in May, 1660, Dr. Croft, as well as other loyal subjects, came again into possession of his livings and spiritual preferments (p). Upon the death of Dr. Nicholas Monk, Lord Bishop of Hereford, he was promoted to that See December 27th, 1661, and consecrated on the 9th of February following at the Archbishop's Chapel in his Palace at Lambeth, Dr. Jasper Maine preaching the Consecration Sermon (q). He officiated likewise in his spiritual function frequently in the King's Chapel, and being very remarkable for his plain and practical preaching, and for the corresponding sanctity of his manners and purity of his life, King Charles II. offered him more than once a better See, that which he then possessed being scarcely of the value of eight hundred pounds a year, but he very conscientiously refused it. He became afterwards, about the year 1667, Dean of the Chapel Royal, which he held to 1669 (r), and then resigned it, being weary of a Court life, and finding but little good effects from his pious endeavours. He then retired to his Bishopric, where he was exceedingly beloved for his constant preaching, edifying conversation, hospitable manner of living, and most extensive charity. He gave weekly alms to sixty poor people at his Palace-gate in Hereford, whether resident there or not; and besides this he augmented several small livings, supported many decayed families, and did various other Christian acts

(f) English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 538.

(g) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 364.

(h) English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 539.

(i) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 365.

(k) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 529.

(l) *Fassi Oxon.* vol. i. col. 284.

(m) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 676.

(n) Antiquities of Berkshire, vol. iii. p. 273.

(o) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

(p) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 365.

(q) *Godwin. de Praeful.* Lond. fol. 1743, p. 457. *Regist. Junon.* f. 283.

(r) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 365.

(12) English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 537.

(13) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 469.

(14) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34.

Herbert Croft, married Sir Thomas Cave, of Stamford in the county of Northampton (12). But whether Mary, the other daughter, was married or not, does no where appear: only this we know of her, that she was a zealous Protestant, and wrote an answer to her father's letter, persuading her to change her religion, to which Sir Herbert Croft made a warm reply (13).

[C] *And sometimes to the imminent endangering his life.* He shewed upon all occasions, as far as fell within the compass of his power, or the sphere of his employment, not only the same loyalty, but the same courageous spirit that animated the rest of his brethren. After Hereford fell into the hands of the Parliamentary forces, he not only continued to preach,

but to preach that kind of doctrine, which how much soever they needed to learn, was nevertheless what they could hardly bear to hear. Once particularly in the Cathedral, he undertook to shew them the wickedness and impiety of sacrilege, which he painted in such lively colours, as provoked them to return the argument in their own way; for they primed and presented their pieces, and asked their Governor, Colonel Birch, whether they should fire upon him in the pulpit; but being restrained by him they forbore (14); and Dr. Croft soon after very wisely quitted a place, where he was every moment in danger of suffering evil, and was thoroughly satisfied it was no longer in his power to do any good.

of the same nature, with such privacy that they were never known till after his decease. His country house being conveniently situated in the very centre of his Diocese, he spent a considerable part of his time there, where he was no less charitable in relieving the poor and visiting the sick in all the neighbouring parishes. He was very strict in his manner of admitting persons to Holy Orders, and more especially to that of the priesthood, which gained him some ill will, yet but little in comparison of what arose from another method in which however he was inflexible, and that was his refusing to admit any Prebendaries into his Cathedral Church, excepting such as lived within his Diocese, that the duty of the Church might not be neglected, and that the addition of a Prebend might be a comfortable augmentation to a small living (s). He expressed a great desire to be able to accomplish this design of his, so as to see all the dignities of his Church bestowed in this manner, and God was pleased to grant him his desire, which he hoped might prove a precedent to his successors. He was very modest and charitable in his opinions, and though a true son and a worthy father of the Church of England, yet he had a great abhorrence of whatever carried the aspect of persecution, desiring that his zeal should appear in the soundness of his doctrines and the holiness of his life, as the surest and most effectual means of supporting his authority, and drawing reverence to the Episcopal character, in which no man was more successful (t). His Sermons preached at Court, had given the world a specimen of the fervency of his spirit, and at the same time of his charity and forbearance; but when the controversy with the Nonconformists came to its greatest height, and the quarrel was so artificially widened that the Papists entertained hopes of entering through the breach, our wise and tender condescended Prelate thought it his duty to interpose, and to offer his assistance for healing these wounds in the Protestant Church. Accordingly, in the year 1675, he published his truly famous work, which though no more than a small pamphlet of four or five sheets, made a prodigious noise in the world, and was read and studied by all people of sense and learning in the kingdom (u). It is indeed a most extraordinary performance as it was then thought, and has kept its character to this day; for though it has often been re-printed it has never been common; and notwithstanding the numberless volumes written on the same subject since, it is yet looked upon as inimitable in its kind, and worthy of all the praises that have been bestowed upon it. As to the title and the circumstances attending this piece, the reader will find them at the bottom of the page, where we mention his Lordship's works [D]. We there likewise mention the answers that were given to it, and the

(s) Willis's Survey, vol. ii. p. 529. *Athen Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 865, 866.

(t) English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 541.

(u) *Athen Oxon.* vol. i. col. 866.

[D] *Where we mention his Lordship's works.* While his Lordship continued about the Court, and was generally applauded for his pathetic manner in the pulpit, he was prevailed upon to print two of his sermons.

I. *Sermon on Isaiah Chap. XXVII. the last verse, preached before the Lords assembled in Parliament upon the Fast-day, February 4th, 1673.* London 1674. 4to.

II. *Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, April 12, 1674. on Philippians I. and the 21st verse.* London 1675. 4to.

III. *The naked truth; or, the true state of the Primitive Church.* London 1675. 4to; again in 1680. fol. and many times since. This is that extraordinary work mentioned in the text, and the press being at that time under a licence, he found himself under the necessity of causing it to be printed privately, though he intended it for the most public use; and for that reason, addressed it to the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. After having observed, that notwithstanding all the laws made for establishing Uniformity in religion, Protestants remain still more divided than ever, to the great scandal as well as danger of the Church, he proceeds thus. 'Many, who were formerly very zealous for our Church, seeing these our sad divisions, and not seeing those of the Roman Church, nor their gross superstitions, which their priests conceal till they have got men fast, are easily seduced by their pretended Unity, and daily fall from us. This makes my heart to bleed, and my soul with anguish ready to expire, rather than live to see that dismal day of relapse into their manifold idolatries. Wherefore I humbled my soul before God, in fasting and prayer, begging daily the assistance of his Holy Spirit, to direct me to some healing salve for these our bleeding wounds; and therefore I have some reason to believe that what is contained in these following papers, comes from the great goodness, who never fails those who seek him in humility and sincerity, both which I am confident I have done; and this I am sure of, that no worldly designs have moved me to this, but have often

tempted me to give it over. I am also sure that there is nothing contained therein, which is contrary to the laws of the land: in this only I confess I have transgressed, in putting it forth without a licence; and for this I beg of God, and you, as Naaman did of Elisha, *In this thing the Lord and you pardon your servant*; and I hope you will say unto me, as Elisha did unto Naaman, *Go in peace.* And I farther hope, this shall not cast such a prejudice upon it, as to make you cast it by, or read it with disgust.' In this work he begins with articles of faith, and having shewn the danger of imposing more than are necessary, more especially as terms of communion, he proceeds next through all the great points, in dispute between the Church of England, and those that dissent from her; labouring throughout to prove, that Protestants differ about nothing, that can be truly stiled essential to religion, and that for the sake of Union compliances would be more becoming, as well as more effectual, than enforcing Uniformity by penalties and persecution. The whole is written with great plainness and piety, as well as with much force of argument and learning. If we consider however the temper of those times, and the warm disposition of most of the Divines in the established Church, we need not at all wonder at the fate this piece met with, which was immediately written against with much heat and zeal, not to use the harsher terms of fury and resentment. It was first attacked by Dr. Francis Turner, Master of St. John's College in Cambridge, in a piece intitled,

Animadversions on a Pamphlet, called the Naked Truth, &c. Lond. 1676. 4to. printed twice the same year. This was penned, like all the rest of the writings of the same author, in a very elegant and flowing style, which however could hardly atone for the severity and bitterness expressed in it. But even this fell very far short of the vivacity with which it was replied to, by the famous Andrew Marvel, who entitled his piece, *Mr. Smirke, or the Divine in mode*, and in which he ridicules the Animadvertiser with all that life and spirit, of which he was so much master. In this

the long and warm controversy which it occasioned; though it was certain that our Prelate meant nothing less than not to enter into a debate, and therefore very prudently declined making any reply to his opponents. What he wrote was with a view to promote charity and peace, and when he saw this was not to be done by any kind of writing whatever, he took care to add no new fuel to the fire by labouring to support principles which he had stated in such a manner as he thought must have rendered them self-evident (w). We have another pregnant instance of his sincerity and disinterestedness, in the resolution he took of resigning his Bishopric, the motives to which he expressed in a long letter to the learned Dr. Stillingfleet (x), and they are such as shew him to have been a truly primitive and pious Prelate. He thought the receiving the income of his See, as it rose in a great measure out of impropriate tythes which were withheld from parochial Ministers, was hardly justifiable. He was troubled at the power of Lay Chancellors, who under pretence of the Bishop's authority did wrong things, and likewise often hindered Bishops from redressing many disorders. It grieved him to ordain men poorly qualified, though it was but to poor livings, which men of better capacities would hardly accept. The law-suits to which

(w) See the Account of this matter at large in the notes.

(x) Miscellaneous Discourses by Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester. Lond. 1735, 8vo. p. 1—36.

this reply he gives the following character of the original work. 'It is a treatise, which if not for its opposer, needs no commendation, being writ with that evidence and demonstration of truth; that all sober men cannot but give their assent and consent to it unasked. It is a book of that kind, that no Christian scarce can peruse it, without wishing himself to have been the author, and almost imagining that he is so: the conceptions therein being of so eternal idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original of his own mind.' Another answer came out with this title:

Lex Talionis; or, the author of the Naked Truth stripped naked, Lond. 1676. 4to. This was at first ascribed to Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Chichester, afterwards of Ely; who, upon the first coming out of the Naked Truth, had preached a warm Sermon at Court against it. It was afterwards attributed to Dr. William Lloyd, Dean of Bangor, a very learned and pious Divine. But upon better grounds it was ascribed to the Reverend Mr. Philip Fell, one of the Fellows of Eton College. There was yet a third answer published to this work of our author's, which was entitled,

A modest survey of the most considerable things in a discourse lately published, entitled the Naked Truth, Lond. 1676. 4to. This Anthony Wood affirms (15) was written by Dr. Gilbert Burnet afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, upon the credit, as he says, of a Bookseller's Catalogue, at the end of another book, in which this treatise is ascribed to that Prelate.

(15) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 866.

It was indeed afterwards owned by his Lordship, and that upon the following occasion. The famous Dr. Hickee, in a bitter invective he wrote against Bishop Burnet (16), charged him with stealing the materials of this answer from Bishop Gunning, who intended to answer it, as has been before observed, and who upon his communicating the method he intended to pursue in his answer, was supplanted by the appearance of this of which we are speaking. In his Defence Bishop Burnet declares that the fact was absolutely false (17). That Bishop Gunning had indeed great learning, and true piety, but his ideas were so confused, and so over subtle, that he could never learn any thing from him, in all the time that he conversed with him. Thus much may serve for the answers written to this work. We will next say somewhat of the imitations and copies that it produced, and these were what follow, viz.

(16) Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 23.

(17) Reflections upon a pamphlet intitled, Some Discourses, &c. p. 93.

There was a second part of *Naked Truth* published in 1681, in fol. which was written by Edmund Hicckeringhill, Rector of All-Saints in Colchester; who likewise wrote a *Vindication* of it. There also appeared the same year a treatise called the *third part of Naked Truth*, which was said to be a posthumous work, written by one Dr. Benjamin Worsley. The year following appeared the *fourth part of Naked Truth; or the complaint of the Church to some of her sons for breach of their Articles, &c.* The reader may hence see the credit of this work of Bishop Croft, when so many different authors placed the hopes of procuring a reading for their performances, by giving them a likeness in their titles to his. This was still farther pursued by persons of quite different principles, as appears from the following book.

The Catholick Naked Truth; or, the Puritans Converted to Christianity. 1676. 4to. The author sets the initial letters of his name to his work, viz. W. H. which stand for William Hubert, alias Berry, who being a Minister of the Church of England, went over to the Papists, and wrote this and several other treatises for the support of that cause. To this we may add,

Naked Truth, or Truth manifesting itself in several particulars, &c. by way of question and answer, 1677. 8vo. This piece was written in support of the Quakers, for which reason Mr. Wood gave it the title of *the Quakers Naked Truth*.

As for our author, Bishop Croft, we have observed, in the text, that he wrote no reply to any of his adversaries, or vindication of his own performance, the design of which was to try, whether the legislature could be prevailed upon to take any measures for reconciling the differences subsisting among Protestants for the common benefit of all, and for securing and strengthening the Church against the endeavours of the Papists, whether by force or fraud, to subvert or undermine it. His view was unquestionably truly pious, though perhaps his scheme might not be very practicable, of which he left the determination to the proper judges, fully satisfied in his own mind, with having discharged what he took to be his duty, and not in the least affected with the warm things that were said by his adversaries, who treated his performance as if it had been intended to overturn what he seemed to maintain, by giving up the cause of the Church to those who differed from her, without reason. There were however no grounds at all for these suspicions, since our Right Reverend Author had, upon all occasions shewn an exact and punctual conformity to her Canons, and even in this work, professes himself fully satisfied with her doctrine and discipline, though he could not prevail upon himself, to be absolutely unconcerned for those who did not see the reasons for being satisfied so clearly as he did. Therefore it is exceedingly unjust, to cast any aspersions upon this Prelate, for publishing in the sincerity of his heart, what his real sentiments were, about things indifferent, more especially as it never was pretended, that he had any other view, than that of promoting a real Union, and unfeigned harmony amongst Protestants, and this at a time, when he apprehended no other method could be effectually taken for their preservation; since the measure of tolerating, which has been since found very practicable, was held to be not so at that time. Thus much seemed to be necessary in respect to a work, which however small in its bulk was then, and will be ever, esteemed of very great importance, in regard to its matter, and which, considering the station and circumstances of its author, was by judicious persons in those times allowed to be the highest mark of candour and unaffected piety that could be given, as well as of the most disinterested temper and unfeigned humility, virtues highly capable of adorning the episcopal character, and of recommending it to the veneration of all, who have a real attachment to the Doctrines of the Reformation, as they are professed and taught by the Church of England, as it is by law established.

Bishops became liable, for the sake of defending the right of their Sees, was very troublesome to him, and he was very much dissatisfied with being obliged to attend the service of Parliament, when scarcely any thing fit for a Bishop to meddle with was treated there. His scruples taking air, as well as his settled resolution of resigning, the Papists and Nonconformists made advantage of it to serve their respective purposes, and this gave him infinite disquiet; more especially when he found that some churchmen also reflected deeply upon him for inclining to retire from his Bishopric in so dangerous a season, and when his zeal and labours might be as useful, as such a deserting of his charge might give scandal to its Members, and advantage to its enemies. The answer given by Dr. Stillingfleet satisfied his conscience, and disposed him to continue his labours with the same earnestness and vigour. He saw that various attempts were making to the prejudice of the Church from different quarters, which served only to inspire him with stronger sentiments of the necessity there was, that such as had her cause at heart, and were more immediately called upon to espouse it, should do it with cheerfulness and diligence, and shew at once their courage and constancy by defending it in their words and writings, and adorning it by their lives. Full of these laudable and generous notions he resumed his former spirit, and let no opportunity slip of signalizing his attention to and affection for the Protestant cause. He contented himself, therefore, with doing all the good that was in his power, within that sphere of action which providence had allotted to him, and was more especially attentive to the preservation of his Diocese from the attempts of Popish Missionaries, in order to which he was very assiduous in the pulpit, where with great clearness he discovered, and with much solidity refuted, the errors of that religion; but as he grew in years, and yet had no prospect of less danger from that quarter in succeeding times, he thought fit to leave these discourses which had been delivered to a numerous audience, and received with very uncommon marks of satisfaction and attention, under a very endearing title to those for whose use they had been composed (y) [E]. He continued the same pious care upon particular occasions, and never failed to supply proper antidotes to every kind of spiritual poisons that were spread by the different enemies of the Protestant Religion. In the reign of King James, when the famous Declaration that was ordered to be read in Churches was transmitted to him, he thought fit to digest in writing his thoughts upon that subject, in which as he clearly expressed his willingness to give a sanction to whatever might tend to the indulgence of tender consciences; so he shewed with equal plainness the danger the Church of England would be in, in case of the repeal which was then endeavoured of the penal laws and of the test. This, which was the last employment of his pen, was shewn by a certain courtier to King James, who directed that so much of the discourse as concerned the reading of the Declaration should be published to the world, but ordered the rest to be suppressed, as being directly contrary to the views with which that Declaration had been set forth (z). At length, full of years and in the highest reputation, this venerable Prelate ended his days in his Palace at Hereford, on the 18th of May, 1691 (a), and as he lived so he died, a true member and a zealous defender of the Protestant Church, as appears from a very remarkable clause in the preamble to his will (b) [F]. He had for some years before his death

(y) Legacy to his Diocese, London, 1679, 4to.

(z) *Atben. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(a) Godwin, de Præsul. p. 497.

(b) See that clause in the note.

paid

[E] *For whose use they had been composed.* We shall here give the reader the title of the second edition of this work, that we may speak of it, and of the Supplement his Lordship thought fit to make at once. It runs thus:

IV. *The Legacy of the Right Reverend Father in God, Herbert, Lord Bishop of Hereford, to his Diocese; or a short determination of all controversies we have with the Papists by God's holy word. The second impression corrected, with additions, by the Author.* Lond. 1679. 4to. This piece contains an epistle to all the people within his Diocese, especially those of the city of Hereford; then comes the Preface, afterwards, three Sermons upon this text, JOHN V. 39, *Seek ye the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life.* Lastly, a supplement to the preceding sermons, together with a tract concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper promised in the Preface. If we take the whole together, we may certainly pronounce it as plain, as clear, and as convincing a defence of the Protestant religion, as is to be met with in our own, or any other language. There is one passage in the Preface, that is very remarkable; which for that reason we will insert, as it tends to shew how difficult a thing it is to decide, who was the author of a certain excellent treatise, or of the other treatises that were said to be written by the same author. The passage referred to is as follows: 'I have this one thing more only to trouble the reader with. The first of my three sermons on that text, *Search the scriptures*, was preached in September 1677, and in June 1678 comes out a little Book to the same intent with that

VOL. IV.

sermon, and expressing several things in it, and in the very same manner, by what means I know not; but this I and many others know, that my sermon was preached almost a year before that book came forth, and therefore I could not have them from that author, called the same author that wrote *The whole Duty of Man*, who it seems must countenance books to the world's end. However I thought it fit to print that sermon with the other two, first because it contains several things not in that book; and secondly, the other two would be very defective without it.'

V. *A second call to a farther humiliation, being a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church in Hereford, the 24th of November.* Lond. 1678. 4to.

VI. *A Letter written to a friend concerning Popish Idolatry.* Lond. 1679. 4to.

VII. *Some Animadversions on a book entitled, the Theory of the Earth.* Lond. 1685. 8vo.

VIII. *A short discourse concerning the reading his Majesty's late Declaration in Churches.* Lond. 1688. 4to.

[F] *As appears from a very remarkable clause, in the preamble to his Will.* The passage referred to in the text, is conceived in the following terms (18). 'I do in all humble manner most heartily thank God, that he hath been most graciously pleased, by the sight of his most holy Gospel, to recall me from the darkness of Popish Errors and gross superstitions, into which I was seduced in my younger days, and to settle me again in the true antient Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed by our Church of England, in which

(18) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 868.

(c) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 868.

(d) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 529.

(f) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 529; English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 541.

(g) Dugdale's List of Baronets, p. 113. Parliamentary Regist. p. 1. 11.

paid the sum of fourteen pounds a year by way of augmentation to the small living of Yarpoll, and the sum of twelve pounds by way of addition to the living of his own parish Church at Croft, both which charities were settled and secured by his will, and lands assigned for the payment of them (c). He likewise gave the remainder of the produce of twelve hundred pounds, after these augmentations were deducted, to the relief of indigent persons, and other such purposes (d). He was buried in his Cathedral Church, where there remains a short and modest memorial of him (e) [G]. He sat almost thirty years in the Bishopric of Hereford, and in that space of time established thoroughly the regulations that he had very wisely contrived, as well for the particular benefit of the Chapter, as the general advantage of his Diocese; the people of which regarded him with the utmost veneration, and the Clergy, as they had a particular relation to him, so in the latter part of his time more especially, they loved and respected him for that diligence and care with which he promoted their welfare, by preserving all the dignities of his Church to the Clergy beneficed in his Diocese, the consequences of which at first some of them did not so fully comprehend (f). He married the daughter of his predecessor in the Deanery, Dr. Jonathan Brown, as we before observed, and by her had his only son Herbert, who was educated as a Commoner in Magdalen-college in Oxford, and becoming a person of great worth and honour, a true patriot, and a warm friend of the Protestant Religion, he was by his Majesty King Charles the II^d. created a Baronet November 18th, 1671, and was twice Knight of the Shire in the reign of King William (g). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Archer of Umberlade in the county of Warwick, Esq; (b) by whom he had Sir Archer Croft, the second Baronet, and several other children.

(e) See this inscription in the note.

(b) English Baronetage, vol. iv. p. 542.

(19) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. ii. p. 529.

"I was born and baptized, and in which I joyfully die, with full assurance, by the merits of my most blessed Saviour Jesus, to enjoy eternal happiness."

[G] *Where there remains a short and modest memorial of him.* The inscription upon his grave-stone, which is within the Communion rails, runs thus (19). *Depositum Herberti Croft de Croft Episcopi Herefordensis obiit 18 die Maii A.D. 1691 ætatis suæ 88, in vita conjuncti; that is, Here are deposited the remains of Herbert Croft, of Croft, Bishop of Hereford, who died May 18th, 1691, in the 88th year of his age, in life united.* The last words allude to his lying next Dean Benson, at the bottom of whose grave-stone is this, *In morte non divisi, i. e. in death not divided*: The two grave-stones having hands engraven on them, conjoined, reaching from one to the other, to signify the lasting and uninterrupted friendship, which had subsisted between those truly pious and venerable persons in their life-times. Dr. Croft was succeeded in his Bishopric by Dr. Gilbert Ironside. C.

* * [There seems to have been some slight tincture of Enthusiasm in what Bishop Croft says, in note [D], concerning the influence of his prayers in obtaining extraordinary aid from the Divine goodness, with regard to what he wrote in his "Naked Truth." It was, however, an enthusiasm of the most generous and gentle kind, since it only led him to plead the cause of Christian Union, Forbearance, and Humanity. Our author hath added to the instances of those who have obtained great celebrity by a single composition; for his other writings, whatever may be their value, have been very little noticed by the world. Few productions were more read, or excited more attention

for a time than the "Naked Truth." Our ingenious Predecessor, Dr. Campbell, represents it as still being esteemed a work of very great importance; but this is no longer the case. It is now, I believe, known only to the few persons who love to search after curious Tracts. Notwithstanding the merit of the performance, such is the change in the circumstances, manners, and controversies of the times, that the perusal of it is not at present deemed a matter of peculiar moment. It ought to be remembered, with respect to our worthy Prelate, that it was not from any predilection for the principles or persons of the Nonconformists, that he so zealously pleaded their cause. It is related in Wodrow's History, that Dr. Croft, in a Sermon before the King, which was preached in 1660, inveighed warmly against the Presbyterians, and represented God as having defeated his Majesty at Worcester, and pursued him with a nine years exile, on account of his having taken them into his Councils (20). If this be a fact, it is evident that age and reflection added greatly to the improvement of the Bishop's Christian temper.

(20) From the information of a Correspondent.

It is rather surprizing that Dr. Gilbert Burnet should be one of the writers against the "Naked Truth." Perhaps that eminent Divine was not then so enlarged in his sentiments as he afterwards became.

The Rev. Herbert Croft, Author of the Life of Dr. Young, in Johnson's Lives of the Poets, and who is engaged in the arduous design of forming the most extensive and important Dictionary of the English language which hath ever yet been attempted, is a descendant of our Prelate.] K.

CROMWELL, or CRUMWELL (THOMAS), an eminent Statesman in the sixteenth century, and created by King Henry VIII. Earl of Essex, was the son of — Cromwell, a black-smith, at Putney near London, and in his latter days a brewer; after whose decease, his mother was married to a Sheerman in London (a). His honest parents gave him a good and strong constitution; which, accompanied with excellent endowments of mind, and an uncommon industry, raised him to that high pitch of honour to which he afterwards arrived. What education he had, was in a private School (b): and all the learning he attained to, was, (according to the standard of those times,) only reading, and writing, and a little Latin. When he grew up, having a very great inclination for travelling, he went into foreign countries; though at whose expence is not known; and, by that means, he had an opportunity of seeing the world, of gaining experience, and of learning several languages, which proved of great service to him afterwards. Coming to Antwerp, where was then a very considerable English Factory, he was by them retained to be their Clerk, or Secretary. But that office being too great a confinement to his roving and aspiring mind, he embraced an opportunity, that offered, in 1510 (c), of taking a journey

(a) J. Fox's A.D.s and Monuments, &c. edit. 1583, p. 1177; and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 580.

(b) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1678, p. 58.

(c) Fox, ubi supra, p. 1178.

to Rome [A]. Whilst he remained in Italy, he served for some time as a Soldier under the Duke of Bourbon, and was at the sacking of Rome: and at Bologna, he assisted John Russel, Esq; afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his escape, when he had like to be betrayed into the hands of the French; being secretly in those parts about our King's affairs (d). An instance we have, moreover, at this time, of Cromwell's great industry, and of his improving every moment; namely, that, in his journey to and from Rome, he learned by heart the New Testament, of Erasmus's translation (e). After his return from his travels, he was taken into the family and service of the famous Cardinal Wolsey; who observing his great parts and diligence, made him his Solicitor, and often employed him in business of great importance (f). Among other things, he had the chief hand, in the foundation of the two Colleges begun at Oxford and Ipswich by that magnificent Prelate, and in suppressing, in 1525, small Monasteries for the endowment of them (g). Upon his master, the Cardinal's disgrace, in 1529, he used his utmost endeavours and interest to have him restored to the King's favour (h): And when Articles of High-treason against him were sent down to the House of Commons, of which Cromwell was then a Member, he defended his master with so much wit and eloquence, that no treason could be laid to his charge: which honest beginning procured Cromwell great reputation, and made his parts and abilities to be much taken notice of (i). After the Cardinal's household came to be dissolved, Cromwell was taken into the King's service, upon the recommendation of Sir Christopher Hales, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Russel, Knt. above-mentioned; as the fittest person to manage the disputes the King then had with the Pope: though some endeavoured to hinder his promotion, and to prejudice his Majesty against him, on account of his rude behaviour in defacing the small Monasteries that were dissolved for endowing Wolsey's Colleges. But he discovering to the King some particulars that were very acceptable to him [B], he took him into the highest degree of favour (k). Soon after, he was sent to the Convocation, then sitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire (l) [C]. In 1531 he was knighted; made Master of the King's Jewel-house, with a salary of fifty pounds *per annum*; and constituted a Privy-Counsellor (m). The next year, he was made Clerk of the Hanaper, an office of good profit and repute in Chancery; and, before the end of the same year, Chancellor of the Exchequer (n). As also, in 1534, Principal Secretary of State; and Master of the Rolls (o). About the same time, he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; soon after which followed a general visitation of that University; whereupon the several Colleges delivered up their Charters, and other instruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell (p). The year before, he assessed the fines laid upon those, who having forty pounds *per ann.* estate, refused to take the Order of Knighthood (q). In 1535 he was appointed Visitor-general of the Monasteries throughout England, in order for their suppression (r): and in that office, is accused of hav-

(d) Fox, *ubi supra*, p. 1179.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 1179; and Stow's *Annales*, *ubi supra*.

(h) Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. by Edw. Lord Herbert, in *Compl. Hist. of England*, edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 125.

(i) Herbert, as above, p. 129; and Fuller's *Hist.* edit. 1655, B. v. p. 177.

(l) *Ibid.* See also Dr. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, 2d edit. P. l. p. 166—112.

(m) Pat. 23 Hen. VIII. p. 2. See Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 370.

(q) Holinshed's *Chron.* edit. 1587, vol. ii. p. 929.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 1178 1179.

(g) Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 370; and Fox, as above, p. 1179; and also Stow, p. 553. After the Cardinal's fall, he had the care of the New College, now Christ-Ch. Oxon. Stow, *ibid.* Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memor.* vol. i. p. 117.

(k) Fox, as above, p. 1179.

(n) Pat. 24 Hen. VIII. p. 1, 2. (o) Pat. 26 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(p) Fuller's *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr.* edit. 1655, p. 108, &c.

(r) Herbert, as above, p. 186.

[A] He embraced an opportunity that offered — of taking a journey to Rome.] That opportunity was as follows. There being at that time a famous Gild of our Lady in the Church of St. Botolph's at Boston in Lincolnshire, to which several Popes had granted very large Indulgences, or Pardons, which were then highly valued, and held in the utmost veneration, and very much resorted to; the brethren and sisters of that Gild were very desirous of having those Indulgences renewed, and confirmed, by the then Pope Julius II. They dispatched therefore two persons to Rome with a considerable sum of money, to obtain the desired confirmation: which persons taking Antwerp in their way, became acquainted there with Thomas Cromwell; and observing that he was as perfectly qualified for procuring easily what they wanted from the Court of Rome, as they were themselves unqualified for it, they persuaded him to go along with them. Accordingly he was of very great service to them. For, being informed, that Pope Julius was a great lover of delicacies, and dainty dishes, he presented him with fine dishes of Jelly, made after the English fashion, then unknown at Rome; wherewith the Pope was so delighted, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they came about. See this whole matter related at full length, in J. Fox's *Acts and Monuments* (1).

[B] But he discovering to the King some particulars that were very acceptable to him.] He acquainted the King, that his princely authority was abused within his own realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn a-new unto the Pope, so that he was but a half-King, and they but half his subjects in his own land; which, said he, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common Laws of his Realm: Declaring thereupon, how his Majesty

might accumulate to himself great riches, nay as much as all the Clergy in his Realm were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion now offered. The King giving ear to this, and liking right-well his advice, asked, if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain: And thereupon shewed the King the Oath which the Bishops took to the Pope at their consecration; wherein they swore: 'To help, retain, and defend against all men, the Popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy Fathers, and the regalities of St. Peter, &c (2).'

[C] He was sent to the Convocation then sitting, to acquaint the Clergy, that they were all fallen into a præmunire.] When he discovered to the King what is mentioned in the last note, his Majesty taking his ring, or signet, off his finger, sent Cromwell with it to the Convocation: who placing himself among the Bishops, began to declare to them the authority of a King, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under public Laws; which Laws notwithstanding they had all transgressed and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal estate, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*: in that, they had not only consented to the power Legatine of Cardinal Wolsey, but also because they had all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their goods, chattles, lands, possessions, and whatever livings they had. The Bishops hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after Cromwell had shewed them the very copy of the Oath they took to the Pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain, they could not deny it. And to be quit of that *Præmunire* by Act of Parliament, the two Provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the King a present of 118,840 pounds (3).

(2) J. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1583, p. 1179, 1053.

(3) *Ib.* p. 1179.

ing

(1) Edit. 1583, p. 1178.

(1) *Ibid.* and Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 371.
(u) Stow, *ubi supra*.

The Lord Cromwell had a particular seal for this his new office.

N. Sanders *de Schismate Anglicano*, edit. Colon. Agrippin. 1610, 8vo. p. 151.

(w) See Burnet's History of the Reformat. P. i. 2d edit. p. 213; and Collier's Ecclesiast. History, vol. ii. edit. 1714, p. 104.

(x) *Idem*, p. 122, &c. and Fuller's Church History, Book v. p. 213, &c.

ing committed some illegal acts of violence [D]. However, having behaved in that affair, generally to the satisfaction of the King and his Courtiers, he was, on the 2d of July 1536, constituted Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, when he resigned his Mastership of the Rolls (s). On the 9th of the same month he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandshire; and, six days after, took his place in the House of Lords (t). The Pope's Supremacy being now abolished in England, the Lord Cromwell was made, on the 18th of July, Vicar-general, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King [E], who was declared supreme Head of the Church (u). In that quality, his Lordship sat in the Convocation holden this year, above the Archbishops, as the King's representative (w). Being invested with such extensive Power, he made use of it for destroying Popery as far as he possibly could, and for promoting a Reformation in this Kingdom. For that purpose, he caused certain Articles to be set forth and enjoined by the King's Authority (x), differing in many essential points from the established system of the Roman-Catholic Religion [F]. Next, in September this same year, he put out some Injunctions to all Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered, to preach up the King's Supremacy; not to lay out their rhetoric in extolling Images, Relicks, Miracles, or Pilgrimages, but rather to exhort their people to serve God, and make provision for their families: to put parents and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's-prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue: to provide a Bible in Latin and English, to be laid in the Churches, for every one to read at their pleasure; and the like (y). He likewise encouraged the translation of the Bible into English [G]; and, when it was finished, enjoined, that

(s) Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. p. 1.
Stow's Annales, p. 573.

(y) Fox, p. 1094.
Collier, as above, p. 129, 130; and Lord Herbert, as above, p. 204.

[D] *Is accused of having committed some illegal acts of violence.* For, he and his under-agents are charged with having forced several Abbies by threats and other instances of violence into a surrender: some indeed they allured thereunto, by promises, and large pensions: but most they frightened into a compliance, by encouraging the Monks, not only to accuse their Governors of the most horrid and unnatural crimes, but also to inform against each other. In particular, we are told, that the Commissioners threatened the Canons of Leicester, 'That they would charge them with adultery and buggery, unless they would submit.' And Dr. London, one of the visitors, told the Nuns of Godstow, 'That because he found them obstinate, he would dissolve the House by virtue of the King's Commission, in spite of their teeth.' The Monks of the Charter-house near London, being refractory, were committed to Newgate, where, with hard and barbarous usage, five of them died, and five more lay at the point of death, as the Commissioners signified (4).

We are farther informed, that there were some agents employed to practise on the chastity of the Nuns, and afterwards to accuse them for being guilty of incontinence (5). Several Monasteries granted Thomas Cromwell large Pensions to save them from ruin; but all in vain (6).

[E] *The Lord Cromwell was made—Vicar-general, and Vicegerent over all the Spirituality under the King.* What the design and extent of this Commission was, we best learn from the following Clause of the Act for regulating Precedency—namely, That 'for the good exercise of the said most Royal Dignity and Office (the Supremacy) his Highness hath made Thomas Lord Cromwell and Lord Privy-Seal, his Vicegerent for a good and due ministration of Justice, to be had in all Causes and Cases touching the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and for the godly reformation and redress of all Heresies and abuses in the said Church (7).—Or, as it is elsewhere expressed to the same purpose—*ad exercendum, expediendum, & exerendum omnem & omnimodam Jurisdictionem, Auctoritatem, sive Potestatem Ecclesiasticam, quæ nobis tanquam Supremo Capiti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ competit* (8).

[F] *Differing in many essential points from the established system of the Roman-Catholic Religion.* For, instead of the seven Sacraments commonly received in the Church of Rome, these Articles mention only three; namely, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Then, they enjoin all Bishops and Preachers, to teach the people committed to their charge, to believe and defend all these things to be true which are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and in the three Creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Atha-

nasian; without the least mention of Tradition. And, to prevent superstition and idolatry, that they should restrain the people, from 'censing, kneeling to, and worshipping Images; and teach them to do it only to God, and in his honour, though it be done before Images. Finally, Purgatory is therein declared uncertain by Scripture (9).

[G] *He likewise encouraged the translation of the Bible into English.* As it will be no small satisfaction to the Reader, to know, what translation of the Bible is hereby meant, we shall endeavour to give an exact account of it; and likewise of such translations as were made about this time. The first translation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into English, that was committed to the press, was, *The New Testament*, translated from the Greek, by William Tyndale, with the assistance of John Fry and William Roze, and printed first in 1526, in octavo. Tyndale published afterwards, in 1530, a translation of the *Five Books of Moses*; and of *Jonas*, in 1531, in octavo—(10). An English translation of the *Psalter*, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was also published at Argentine in 1530, by Francis Foye, 8vo. And the same book, together with *Jeremiah*, and the *Song of Moses*, were likewise published in 1534, 12mo, by George Joye, sometime Fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge. But the first time the whole Bible appeared in English, was in the year 1535, fol. The translator and publisher was Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, who revised Tyndale's version, compared it with the originals, and supplied what had been left untranslated by Tyndale. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was *the Bible*, which, by Cromwell's injunctions of September 1536, was ordered to be laid in Churches. The next year, 1537, whether it was that Archbishop Cranmer had a mind to have Tyndale's Prologues and Notes reprinted, which had been left out in Coverdale's edition, or that the Printers thought such an edition would sell well, the Bible was printed at Paris in folio, with this title, 'The Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are containyng the Olde and Newe Testament, truelye and purelye translated into English. By Thomas Matthewe.' This name of Matthewe is fictitious, the real author being John Rogers. In this Edition, from Genesis to the end of the Chronicles is Tyndale's translation: thence to the end of the Apocrypha is Coverdale's; except the book of Jonas, which is Tyndale's: as is also the whole New Testament. In 1538, a resolution was taken to revise this edition of Matthewe's, and to print it again without the Prologues or Annotations, at which great offence was pretended to be taken, as containing matters heretical, and very scandalous and defamatory. For this purpose Grafton and Whit-

(9) See Fuller, Burnet, and Collier, as quoted above.

(10) Hall says he translated also, *Joshua, Judicum, Ruth*, the books of *Kings*, the books of *Paralipomenon*, and *Nehemiah*, or the first of *Esdra*s; but, if he translated these, it does not appear they were ever printed. Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. fol. 227.

(4) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquit. of Warwickshire, vol. ii. edit. 1730, p. 1112, &c.

(5) Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. vi. p. 318, edit. 1655.

(6) See Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. p. 155, 157, &c.

(7) Statut. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

(8) King Henry VIIIth's Commission in allowance of the Deputation made by Cromwell. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. ii. Collect. of Records, No. XXX. p. 20.

(æ) Collier, *ibid.*
p. 150.

that one, of the largest volume, should be provided for every parish-church, at the joint charge of the Parson and Parishioners (z). These several alterations, made by Cromwell's contrivance in the established Religion of those times; together with the dissolution of the Monasteries; and, (notwithstanding the immense riches gotten from thence,) his demanding at the same time for the King Subsidies, both from the Clergy and Laity, occasioned very great murmurs against him (a). No wonder, therefore, that the Rebels of Yorkshire demanded, among other things, that the Lord Cromwell should be brought to 'condigne ponyment, as one of the subverters of the gud lawes of the Realm (b). However, so far was the popular clamour from prejudicing, that it rather served to establish him in the King's esteem. For, in the year 1537, his Majesty constituted him Chief Justice Itinerant of all the Forests beyond Trent (c): and on the 26th of August, the same year, he was elected Knight of the Garter (d); as also Dean of the Cathedral Church of Wells (e). The year following, he obtained a grant of the Castle and Lordship of Okeham in the county of Rutland; and was also made Constable of Carebrook-castle in the Isle of Wight (f). In September, he put forth new Injunctions, directed to all Bishops and Curates (g), wherein he ordered, that a Bible of the largest volume in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every Church, where the parishioners might most commodiously resort to read the same: That the Clergy should, every Sunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the Lord's Prayer, or Creed, in English, that they might learn the same by heart: That they should make, or cause to be made, in their Churches, one Sermon every quarter of a year at least, wherein they should purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of Christ, and exhort their hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; not to pilgrimages, kissing or licking of Images, &c: That they should forthwith take down all Images, to which pilgrimages or offerings were wont to be made: That in all such Benefices whereupon they were not themselves resident, they should appoint able Curates: That they, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, should for every Church keep one book of Register, wherein they should write the day and year of every Wedding, Christening, and Burying, within their Parish; and therein set every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried, &c [H]. Having been thus highly instrumental in promoting a Reformation, and in pulling down, for the three years past, the Monasteries in this Kingdom; he was amply rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors and large Estates [I] that had belonged to those dissolved Houses (b). On the 17th of April, the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex (i); and soon after constituted Lord

(a) Lord Herbert,
p. 205.

(b) Speed's Chr.
edit. 1614, p.
775.

(c) Pat. 29 Hen.
VIII. p. 1.

(d) Stow's Ann.
ales, p. 575.

(e) Whart. Angl.
Sacræ, edit. 1691,
vol. i. p. 590;
and Collier's
Eccle. Hist. vol.
ii. p. 177.
(f) Pat. 30 Hen.
VIII. p. 2.
(g) Fox, as a-
bove, p. 1096.
Collier's Eccle.
vol. ii. p. 150.

(b) Dugdale, vol.
ii. p. 371.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 372.

church were employed, who, because there were at that time in France better Printers and Paper than could be had here in England, procured the King's Letters to the French King for liberty to print it at Paris. Accordingly they had the Royal Licence for so doing, and had almost finished their design, when by an order of the Inquisition dated December 17, 1538, the Printers were forbidden under canonical pains to print the said English Bible, and being carried before the Inquisition, were charged with heresy. The English who were there to correct the press, and take care of the impression, were all forced to fly, and the impression, consisting of two thousand five hundred books, was seized and confiscated. But by the encouragement of the Lord Cromwell, some of the English returned to Paris, and got the presses, letters, and printing servants, and brought them over to London, where they resumed the work; which was finished and published in 1539, with this title, 'The Byble in Englyshe, that is to say the content of all the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes by the dylygent studie of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges.' Printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. fol.— This was the Bible of the largest Volume, which was ordered to be set up in every Church. The Psalms in our Liturgy, are of this translation, with some few alterations (11).

[H] Every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried.] There are among them two other Injunctions, that deserve to be taken notice of. One is, 'Item, yee shall discourage no man, prively nor apertly, from the reading or hearing of the Bible, but shal expressly provoke, stirre, and exhort every person to reade the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christen person is bounden to embrace, beleve, and follow, if he looke to be saved.'—The other is as follows, 'Item, forasmuch as by a lawe established, every man is

bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, deteine their Tithes, and so redub one wrong with another, or be his owne judge, but shall truly pay the same as hath ben accustomed to their parsons and curates, without any restraint or diminution (12).'

[I] He was rewarded by the King, in 1539, with many noble Manors, and large Estates.] For, on the 10th of April, he obtained a grant from the King, in fee, of the dissolved Monastery of St. Osythes in Essex, with all the houses, buildings, Church, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging: as also of the manors and Lordship of Chich St. Osythes, Barnton, Coketwyke, Wigburgh, Erles-hall, Westwyke, Howyke, Lewyke, Wyershall alias Withston-hall; Cannon, alias Can, hall; Abbots-hall, Cost, or Costed, hall; Mileend-hall, Broke-hall, and Birch-hall; with Horsfey, and all and singular their members, parcel of the possessions of the same monastery of St. Osythes. Likewise of the Manor or Lordship of Chalwedon in Essex, parcel of the possessions of the hospital of our Lady, without Bishopsgate in London: as also of the Manors and Lordships of Tollesbury, High-hall, Abbesse-hall, and Hockley, in the said County of Essex, parcel of the possessions of the Monastery of Berkyng. And of the Manor of Gorewells in Tolesbury, parcel of the possessions of the Monastery of Bileigh near Maldon in Essex. Likewise of the Manors of Wileghe, Brykelsey, Pichesaye, Mondone, and Grynstede in the same County, parcel of the possessions of the Monastery of St. John in Colchester. Also of the Manors of Dedham, and Langham in the same county, with the Manor and Lordship of Stratford in Suffolk. And also of the whole scite of the Grey Friars in Yarmouth in Norfolk, with all the houses and buildings thereunto belonging; together with a multitude of other Lands, and advowsons of Churches, which did belong to some one or other of the then suppressed Religious Houses (13).

(12) J. Fox, p.
1096, 1097.

(13) Pat. 31 Hen.
VIII. p. 5.
See Dugdale's
Baron, vol. ii. p.
372.

(11) This account is taken from Mr. J. Lewis's Hist. of the English translations of the Bible, prefixed to his edit. of J. Wickliff's translation of the New Testament, fol. Lond. 1731, p. 15—31.

(l) *Fœdera, Con-
ventiones, &c.*
published by T.
Rymer, vol. xiv.
p. 653.
(m) See Burnet's
Hist. of the Re-
format. P. i. 2d
edit. p. 222.

(n) Burnet, as a-
bove, p. 271.

(o) He extorted it
from them, ex-
cuse ab ordi-
bus, says Sanders,
*de Schismate An-
glicano*, as above,
p. 183.

He says in the
same place, that
it was one Tenth
and four Fif-
teenths; but the
Rolls of Parlia-
ment are more to
be credited than
such a prejudiced
writer.

(p) Lord Her-
bert, as above, p.
222, 223.
Stow's *Annales*,
p. 580.

This last author
says, he was ar-
rested the 9th of
July.

And Fox places it
under the year
1541, p. 1189.
But they are both
mistaken.

High Chamberlain of England [K]. The same day he was created Earl of Essex, he procured Gregory his son to be made Baron Cromwell of Okeham (k). On the 12th of March 1540, he was put in commission with others, to sell the Abbey-Lands, at twenty years purchase (l): which was a thing he had advised the King to do, in order to stop the clamours of the people; to attach them to his interest; and to bring them to a liking of the dissolution of the Monasteries (m). Hitherto the Lord Cromwell had sailed with a prosperous gale, and was arrived to a very high degree of Honour. But an unhappy precaution he took, to secure (as he imagined) his greatness, proved his ruin; and the higher he was raised, the more sudden and dangerous was his fall. Observing that some of his most inveterate enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, began to be more in favour at Court than himself, he used his utmost endeavours to procure a marriage between King Henry and Anne of Cleves: for he expected a great support from a Queen of his own making; and as her friends were all Lutherans, it tended very much, as he imagined, to bring down the Popish party at Court, and again to recover the ground, he and Cranmer had now lost (n). But, see the shortness of human policy: this very thing wherein he placed his safety, was his certain destruction. For the King, who was very nice in love-affairs, not liking the Queen, he took an invincible aversion to Cromwell the great promoter of the marriage; and soon found an opportunity to sacrifice him to his own resentment, and to the malice and revenge of his enemies. Many circumstances concurred to his ruin. He was odious to all the Nobility by reason of his low birth: hated particularly by Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholics, for having been so busy in the dissolution of the Abbies: the Reformers themselves found he could not protect them from burning: and the nation in general was highly incensed against him, for his having lately demanded and obtained (o) a subsidy of four shillings in the pound from the Clergy, and one Tenth and one Fifteenth from the Laity; notwithstanding the immense sums that had lately flowed into the Treasury out of the Monasteries. King Henry considering this, and having besides divers Articles brought against him, resolved to give him up, judging him no longer necessary. Therefore he gave way to all his enemies accusations, which could not but be material; it being impossible, that any man who meddled so much in great and public affairs, should not in several instances so mistake, forget, and err, as to lay himself open to the law, when severe inquisition was made against him. The King having gotten sufficient proof against Cromwell, caused him to be arrested at the Council table, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 10th of June, when he least suspected it. However, he obeyed, and was committed to the Tower, though judging his ruin the more certain, because the Duke was uncle to the Lady Catharine Howard, whom the King began now to be in love with (p). During his imprisonment he wrote a Letter to the King [L], to vindicate himself of the

(k) Fuller's *Ch.
Hist.* edit. 1655.
B. v. p. 235.
But Sir W. Dug-
dale says, he was
not created a Ba-
ron till Dec. 18,
1540.
Baronage, vol. ii.
p. 374.

[K] *He was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and soon after constituted Lord High-Chamberlain of England.* Henry Bouchier, the last Earl of Essex of that surname, broke his neck, March the 12th, 1539, by a fall from a young unruly horse; leaving only one daughter: And the 19th of the same month, died John de Vere Earl of Oxford Lord Chamberlain (14). But Cromwell's aspiring after, or even accepting of, these two great Honours, procured him a great deal of envy and ill-will. For there were several branches of the noble family of Bouchier then in being, who might think they had a right to the dignity of Earl of Essex. And, the office of Lord High-Chamberlain of England had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable Family of the De Veres Earls of Oxford; so that the heirs of it could not but be highly incensed against the Lord Cromwell for robbing them of what their Ancestors had so long enjoyed.

[L] *During his imprisonment he wrote a Letter to the King.* Wherein he strenuously vindicates himself of the Crimes laid to his charge, in the following words.——— 'Wher I have bene accusyd to your Majesty of Treason. To that I say, I never in alle my lyfe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that myght or sholde displease your Majesty; and much less to do or say that thyng, which of itself is so high and abhominable offence; as God knowyth, who I doubt not shall reveale the trewth to your Highnes. Myne accusers your Grace knowyth, God forgive them: For, as I ever have had love to your honor, person, lyfe, prosperite, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and also your most dere and most entyerly belovyd sone, the Prynce his Grace, and your proceedyngs; God so helpe me in this myne adversitie, and confound me yf ever I thought the contrary. What labours, paynes, and travailes I have taken, according to my most boun-

den deuty, God also knowyth. For, yf it were in my power, (as it is Godds) to make your Majesty to live ever young, and prosperous, God knowyth I wolde. If it hadde bene, or were in my power to make yow so ryche, as ye myght enrych alle men, God helpe me, as I would do hit. If it had bene, or were in my power to make your Majesty so puyssant, as alle the world sholde be compellyd to obey yow, Christ he knowyth I wolde; for so am I of alle othyr most bounde: for your Majesty hath bene the most bountifull Prynce to me, that ever was Kyng to his Subject: ye, and more like a dere Father (your Majesty not offendyd) than a Master. Such hath bene your most grave and godly counsaile towards me, at sundry tymes. In that I have offendid I ax yow mercy. Should I now, for such exceeding goodnes, benygnyte, libralite and bounty be your Traytor, nay then the greatest paynes were too little for me. Should any faccyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a Traytor to your Magestie, then all the Devylls in Hell confound me, and the Vengeance of God light upon me, yf I sholde once have thought yt, most gracious Soverayn Lord.———

——— 'Sir, as to your Common welthe, I have after my wytte, power, and knowledge, travayled therein, having had no respect to persons, (your Magestie only except) and my dewtye to the same: but that I have don any Injustice, or Wrong, wyllfully, I trust God shall bere my wytnes, and the world not able justly to accuse me.———

——— 'Nevertheless, Sir, I have medelyd in so many matyers, under your Highnes, that I am not able to answer them all. But one thing I am well assured of; that willingly and wyttingly I have not had wille to offend your Highnes: but hard it is for me, or any other, medelyng, as I have done, to live under your Grace, and your Laws, but we must daylie

(14) Stow's *An-
nal*, p. 579.

the guilt of treason, whereof he was accused (q); and another to the same (r), concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves [M]. But all his entreaties, and endeavours for pardon, were ineffectual. And, as he had himself servilely complied with the King's pleasure, in procuring some to be attainted without being admitted to answer for themselves, so he now fell under the same unjustifiable severity. For, whether it was that his enemies knew, if he were brought to the Bar, he would so justify himself, by producing the King's orders and warrants for what he had done (s), that it would be very difficult to condemn him: or that they blindly resolved to follow that most vile precedent (t), of condemning a person unheard; the Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Lords the 17th of June, and read the first time, and on the 19th was read the second and third times, and sent down to the Commons. Here it did not pass with the same rapidity as it had done in the Upper House, but stuck ten days. At last, a new Bill of Attainder was sent up to the Lords, framed in the House of Commons: and they sent back at the same time the Bill, the Lords had sent to them (u). What were the grounds of his condemnation, as expressed in the Bill of Attainder, may be seen in the Note [N]. Like other falling favourites, he was deserted by most of his friends, except the worthy Archbishop Cranmer, who wrote to the King very warmly in his behalf (w) [O]. But the Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the Popish party, prevailed; and, accordingly, in pursuance of his attainder, the Lord Crom-

'daylie offend.' — After which, he proceeds to clear himself of some particular matters laid to his charge. — And concludes the whole in these words. —

'Wryten with the quaking hand, and most sorrowful heart of your most sorrowful subject, and most humble servant and prysoner, this Saturday at your Tower of London.' (15). The King caused this Letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Bishop of Winchester, prevailed (16).

[M] He wrote another Letter to the King, concerning his marriage with Anne of Cleves. This he wrote by the King's express order, on purpose to declare what he knew of that marriage. Among other things, he says, That after the King had seen her at Rochester, he told him [Cromwell] 'That if he had known so much before as he then knew, she should not have come within this realm.' Saying by way of lamentation, 'what remedy?' And, the day after the marriage, his Majesty told him, 'I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for, I have felt her belley, and her breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should be no maid; which struck me so to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in other matters; saying, I have left her as good a maid as I found her.' This Letter concludes with these words, '— beseeching most humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider that I a most woful prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you.

'Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave. T. C. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy (17).'

[N] The grounds of his condemnation are expressed in the Bill of Attainder. And are as follows. 1. That his Majesty having received Thomas Cromwell, a man of very base and low degree, into his service, advanced him to the estate of an Earl, and very much enriched him; yet the said T. Cromwell had proved the most false and corrupt Traitor and Deceiver that had been known in that reign. 2. That he had set at liberty, without the King's command or assent, several persons convicted and attainted of misprision of Treason, and others that were imprisoned for suspicion of treason. 3. That he had, for money, granted great numbers of Licences or passports, for carrying money, corn, horses, tallow, metals, &c. out of the kingdom, without any search. 4. That he had appointed, and deputed, Commissioners, in many great, urgent, and weighty affairs, without the King's knowledge or consent. 5. That he pretended to have so great a stroke about the King, as that he did not scruple boasting, 'That he was sure of him.' 6.

That being a detestable Heretic, he had secretly set forth and dispersed throughout the kingdom, great numbers of false erroneous Books, written against the Sacrament of the Altar. 7. That being the King's Vicegerent, he had, without his Majesty's assent and knowledge, licensed under the Seal of his office, several persons detested and suspected of heresies, to preach openly within this realm. 8. That he had caused Sheriffs and other persons, to set at large many Hereticks, some of whom were indicted, and others apprehended, and in custody: and being a maintainer and supporter of Heretics, had divers times terribly rebuked their accusers, and persecuted and imprisoned some of those accusers. 9. That he had great numbers of Retainers, which he had infected with Heresies. 10. That when Robert Barnes, and others of the new Preachers, were prosecuted and imprisoned, he the said Thomas Cromwell, hearing of it, said, on the last day of March, 1539, 'If the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn; And if the King did turn, and all his people, I would fight in the field in mine own person, with my sword in my hand against him and all others.' And then pulling out his dagger, and holding it up, he added, 'Or else this Dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel against them all: and I trust, if I live one year or two, it should not lie in the King's power, to resist or let it, if he would.' And then swearing a great oath, he said, 'I will do so indeed.' 11. That on the last day of January, 1539, being put in mind how others guilty of the same treason as himself (†), had been served by the Parliament, he declared, 'That if the Lords would handle him so, he would give them such a Breakfast as never was made in England, and That the proudest of them should know.' 12. Finally, That he had acquired innumerable sums of Money and Treasure, by oppression, bribery, and extortion, which made him despise the rest of the Nobility (18).

[O] Archbishop Cranmer wrote very warmly to the King in his behalf. In his Letter he hath these expressions — 'Who cannot but be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a Traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in Wisdom, Diligence, Faithfulness, and Experience, as no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the noble Princes of happy memory, R. John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned, and overthrown, as those good Princes were (19).'

well

(1) Sanderus de Schismate Angli. as above, p. 187.

(u) Burnet, Hist. of the Reformat. P. i. p. 277, of the 2d edit. (w) June 14, Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

(15) Cot. Libr. Titus B. i. See Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 372, 373. (16) Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. P. i. p. 284.

(17) Cot. Libr. Otho C. 10, and Burnet's Collect. of Rec. to Hist. of the Ref. P. i. B. iii. No. 17. p. 193. Besides these two letters there are others printed in the same Collect. of Records: and in Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i.

(q) The original is in Cotton Lib. Titus B. i; and thence printed in Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 372, 373. (r) From the original in Cotton Lib. Otho C. 10, 'tis printed in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. P. i. Collect. of Rec. to B. iii. p. 193, 2d edit. (s) A precedent set them by Cromwell himself, in the attainders of the Marchioness of Exeter, the Countess of Salisbury, Eliz. Barton, &c. Burnet, as above, P. i. p. 359, 360.

(*) i. e. The new preaching, or the Doctrine of Protestants.

(†) Cardinal Wolsey, &c.

(18) Parliament Rolls, 32 Hen. VIII. Act 66. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Collect. of Rec. at the end of P. i. p. 187, 2d edit.

(19) Lord Herbert, as above, p. 223.

well was brought to a Scaffold erected on Tower-hill, where, after having made a Speech, [P], and prayed, he was beheaded, July the 28th 1540(x). Thus fell Thomas Lord Cromwell, under the weight of his fickle and cruel Master's displeasure, King Henry VIII. after he had served him, with great faithfulness, courage, and resolution, in the most hazardous, difficult, and important Undertakings. But, it was that Prince's method, to take Favourites from the meanest of the people, who being less scrupulous than others, and wholly intent upon their own advancement, obeyed his will without reserve; and then, to content his subjects, he would readily sacrifice them to their resentment. As for the Lord Cromwell's character, tis no wonder, that, between Papists and Protestants, it should be so various. The first represent him as a crafty, cruel, ambitious, and covetous man; and a heretic (y). The latter assure us, that he was a person of great wit, and excellent parts, joined to extraordinary diligence and industry (z): that his apprehension was quick and clear; his judgment methodical and solid; his memory strong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his presence stately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his correspondence well laid and constant; his conversation insinuating and close: none more dexterous in finding out the designs of men and Courts; and none more reserved in keeping a secret (a). Though he was raised from the meanest condition to a high pitch of honour, he carried his greatness with wonderful temper (b); being noted in the exercise of his places of judicature, to have used much moderation, and in his greatest pomp to have taken notice of, and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance (c) [Q]. In his whole behaviour, he was courteous and affable

(y) *Fuit Thomas Cromwellus homo vafer, crudelis, ambitiosus & avarus, hæresis etiam deditus.* Sanders, as above, p. 92.

(b) Burnet, Hist. of the Reform. p. i. p. 284.
(c) Lord Herbert, p. 225.

(x) J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.

(z) Stow's Annals, p. 580, 581.

(a) D. Lloyd, &c. as above, p. 59. from the notes of T. Cromwell, Esq; one of his posterity.

to

[P] *After having made a Speech.* Which was as follows. 'I am come hether to dye, & not to purge myself, as maie happen some thynke that I will, for if I should so do, I wer a very wretche & miser: I am by the Law condempned to die, & thanke my Lord God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne offence: For sithence the tyme that I had yeres of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgevenes. And it is not unknowne to many of you, that I have been a greate traveler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithens the tyme I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I aske hym hartely forgevenes, & beseeche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgeve me. O father forgeve me. O sonne forgeve me. O holy ghost forgeve me. O thre persons in one God forgeve me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholike faith, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Church. Many hath slandered me, & reported, that I have been a bearer of such as have mainteigned evill opinions, whiche is untrue; but I confesse, that like as God by his holy spirite doth instruct us in the truthe, so the devill is redy to seduce us, and I have been seduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholike faith of the holy Church. And I hartely desire you to praie for the Kynges grace, that he maie long live with you, in healthe and prosperitie. And after him that his sonne Prince Edward, that goodly ympe maie long reigne over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothyng in my faith (20).'

(20) Hall's Chr. edit. 1550, in Hen. VIII. fol. ccxlii. and J. Fox, as above, p. 1190.
(21) Life and Death of Tho. Lord Cromwell, by W. Shakespeare.

(22) Acts and Monuments, ut supra, p. 1186, 1187.

[Q] *And been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance.* This is represented in a very agreeable and advantageous light by Shakespeare, under the character of Goodman Seely, and his wife Joan (21): but more truly by J. Fox, in the account he gives of a poor woman that kept a victualling house at Hounslow; to whom Cromwell owing forty shillings before he arrived to his greatness, he not only repayed her that sum, but also gave a yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived. He likewise takes notice, of his generosity to the son of a poor man, who had given him many a meal's meat in his youth (22). His *Gratitude* was also very remarkable, in the case of Francis Frescobald (or Friskibal, as Shakespeare calls him.) This Frescobald was an eminent Florentine Merchant, who handsomely relieved Cromwell in Italy, when he was reduced to the utmost distress and poverty, after the defeat of the French Army at Castiglione: he not only furnished him with clothes, and a horse, but also with sixteen ducats of gold, to carry him back to England. Fres-

cobald being afterwards reduced to poverty; Or, as Shakespeare expresses it (23),—

(23) *Ubi supra.*

Fortune that turns her too unconstant wheel,
Having turn'd his wealth and riches in the sea,

he came over to England, where he had had considerable dealings, to endeavour to recover fifteen thousand ducats, that were due to him from several persons. The Lord Cromwell finding him out, assisted him in recovering his dues, and not only repaid him the sixteen ducats above-mentioned, but also made him a present of sixteen hundred more (24). However, I cannot conclude the Lord Cromwell's character, without observing, That J. Stow the famous historian complains (25), He took a piece of ground from his father, to enlarge his own garden in Throgmorton-street, without making him any satisfaction. Whereupon he makes this pertinent remark, That the sudden rising of some men, causeth them to forget themselves.

(24) Fox, p. 1186, 1187.

(25) In his Survey of London.

M.

* * [Bishop Burnet hath made the following judicious remarks on the charges which are produced against Thomas Cromwell, in the Act of Attainder: "From these particulars the Reader will clearly see, why he was not brought to make his answer, most of them relating to orders and directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the King's Warrant. And for the matter of Heresy, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, so that what he did that way, was most likely done by the King's order. But the King now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an attainder; that he might not discover the secret orders or directions given him for his own justification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, they, being mentioned in general expressions, seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But for those treasonable words, it was generally thought that they were a contrivance of his enemies: since it seemed a thing very extravagant, for a favourite in the height of his greatness to talk so rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, *Bedlam* was thought a fitter place for his restraint than the *Tower*. Nor was it judged likely that he having such great and watchful enemies at Court, any such discourses could have lain so long secret: or if they had come to the King's knowledge, he was not a Prince of such a temper as to have forgiven, much less employed and advanced a man after such discourses. And to think that during these fifteen months, after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have the zeal for the King, or the malice to Cromwell, as to repeat them, were things that could not be believed."

to all; a favourer in particular of the poor in their suits; and ready to relieve such as were in danger of being oppressed by their mighty adversaries (d); and so very hospitable and bountiful, that about two hundred persons were served, at the gate of his house in Throgmorton-street, London, twice every day, with bread, meat, and drink sufficient (e). He was one of the chief instruments in the Reformation of Religion; and though he could not prevent the promulgation, he stopped the execution as far as he could, of the bloody Act of the Six articles (f). But when the King's command pressed him close, he was not firm enough to hazard his own interest, or person; as was manifest, from his concurring in the condemnation and cruel burning of John Lambert (g). As he was good abroad, so was he also at home; calling upon his servants yearly, to give him an account of what they had got under him, and what they desired of him; warning them to improve their opportunities; because he said, he was too great to stand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his own son, by his purse and credit, that they might live as handsomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive (h). In a word, we are assured, that for piety towards God, fidelity to his King, prudence in the management of affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulness, charity, and benevolence, there was not any one then superior to him in England (i).

(b) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 64, 65.
(i) *Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in regem, aut prudentia in Rempublic, aut in benemeritis gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, charitate, ac benevolentia major tunc in Anglia quicquam.* De Antiq. Britan. Eccl. Hanoviae, 1605, p. 334, 335.

(d) Holinshed. Chron. p. 952.
(e) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's addit. Lond. 1720, vol. i. B. i. p. 245, and B. ii. p. 117.
(f) Burnet, as above, p. i. p. 265, 266.
(g) Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 180; and Fox, as above, p. 1123.
(h) Strype's Eccl. Memor. vol. i. p. 353.

“lieved. The formality of drawing his dagger made it the more suspected; for this was to affix an Overt Act to these words, which, in the opinion of many Lawyers, was necessary to make words treasonable (26).”

(26) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. of the Church of England, vol. i. p. 279.

Mr. Hume observes, that, though Cromwell was accused of Heresy and Treason, the instances of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, or even absolutely ridiculous. “The only circumstance of his conduct,” adds our elegant Historian, “by which he merited this fate, was his being the instrument of the King's tyranny, in conducting like iniquitous Bills, in the former Session, against the Countess of Salisbury and others.” Cromwell is characterized, by Mr. Hume, as a man of prudence, industry, and ability; worthy of a better master, and of a better fate (27). Mr. Hume's censure of the conduct of the Earl of Essex, with regard to the Countess of Salisbury is extremely just. According to Rapin, the Act against the Countess of Salisbury and the Marchioness of Exeter, met with great opposition in Parliament; many objecting, that to condemn persons unheard was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice. “But Cromwell,” continues this Historian, “having sent for the Judges to his house, asked them, whether the Parliament had power to condemn persons accused without a hearing? The Judges replied, it was a nice and dangerous question; that equity, justice, and all sorts of laws required that the accused should be heard; that however, the Parliament being the supreme Court of the Realm, from which there could be no appeal, the validity of their sentences, of what nature soever they were, could not be questioned. This was saying in other words, that the Parliament would therein commit an injustice, for which

(27) Hume's Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 226, 227. edit. of 1763.

“they could not be called to an account. Cromwell having reported to Parliament the opinion of the Judges, the two Ladies of the Blood Royal were condemned to die, by a sentence which established a precedent the most pernicious that had ever been seen in England, and which proved fatal to its author (28).”

Mr. Gilpin, speaking of the Earl of Essex's condemnation, elegantly remarks: “Among all the arts of expediency laid up in the cabinets of Princes; the readiest is to sacrifice a Minister. The death of Cromwell was represented to the King as the best mean of composing the people. But though prudential reasons may necessitate a Prince to discard a Minister, yet guilt only, and that nicely examined, can authorize an Act of Blood. The hand of a tyrant, however, generally throws aside the balance. It is a nice machine; and requires pains and temper to adjust it. The sword is an instrument more decisive; and of easier dispatch. Henry's was always stained with blood—often with innocent blood—but never with blood more innocent than that of Essex (29).”

(28) Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 465. fourth edit.

Mr. Granger has mentioned six engraved heads of Thomas Cromwell. The same Biographer mentions the instance recorded by Stow, of Cromwell's rapine, in seizing on another's property. If the story be true, which, however, is contrary to his general character, it shews that he indeed forgot himself after his elevation (30).

(29) Gilpin's Life of Cranmer, p. 77.

Gregory Cromwell, the son and heir of the Earl of Essex, about five months after his father's death, was created a Baron of this Realm, by the title of Lord Cromwell; which title continued in the family, in regular descent, for several generations (31).]

(30) Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 85, 86.
(31) Dugdale's Baronage of England, tom. ii. p. 374, 375.

K.

CROMWELL (OLIVER), who raised himself to the possession of the supreme power, under the title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, was equally remarkable for his great military skill, by which he obtained so many victories in the field, and by his amazing abilities in the cabinet, which enabled him to overcome all opposition at home, and to strike even the most powerful nations abroad with terror. He was very honourably descended, both by his father and his mother, from families of great antiquity; and which had produced persons of distinguished reputation, both for arms and arts, as may be sufficiently proved by indisputable evidence (a) [A]. It is the more necessary to

(a) May's Hist. of the Parliament of England, B. iii. p. 79.
Wood's Fasti Oxon., vol. ii. col. 83.

[A] By indisputable evidence.] It has been so generally said, and authors have so frequently transcribed it one from another, that, if no check be given to it in time, it will pass for an unquestionable truth with posterity, not only that the name of this family was originally Williams, but that Sir Richard Cromwell, who may be esteemed the founder of it, was sister's son to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Prime-Minister and favourite to Henry VIII. and that this Knight owed all his fortunes to the interest of that potent Nobleman (1). The story commonly told is this, that Morgan Williams, of an ancient family in Wales, married the sister of Thomas Lord Cromwell, by whom

(1) Carrington's History of the Life and Death of Oliver, Lord Protector, Lond. 1659, 12mo. p. 3.

VOL. IV.

he had a son, Richard, who took his uncle's name of Cromwell, who was afterwards knighted by King Henry, from whom he received large grants of Abbeylands in Huntingdonshire; that this Sir Richard Williams, or Cromwell, married Frances the daughter of Sir Thomas Murfyn, by whom he had a son Henry, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, in the sixth year of her reign; which Sir Henry, marrying Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Ralph Warren, became the father of six sons, the second of which was the father of Oliver, of whom we are speaking (2). There is no doubt that this notion prevailed in the life-time of the Protector; for we find it mentioned in that history

(2) See the Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, of p. 2, 3.

6 E

(b) History and Policy reviewed, in the heroic transactions of his most Serene Highness Oliver late Lord Protector, by Mr. Dawbeny.

deliver the less known points of his history copiously and clearly, because, through envy on one side, flattery on the other, and strong prejudices upon both, it may be truly said, that more of falsehood and fable is to be met with in the accounts given of him in our own (b), as well as foreign languages (c), than of almost any other person living so near our own times [B]. He was the son of Mr. Robert Cromwell, who was the second

(c) La vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par l'Abbe Raguenet. Vie d'Olivier Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 374.

of him, which was published but a year after his death. Some points in this genealogy have been filed and brightened up by that eminent Antiquary Sir William Dugdale (3); yet he seems to be not at all clear as to the very beginning of the tale: for he takes notice that some said, the Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, married a Williams, but he rejecting this, without citing authority, supposes, that one Mr. Williams married Lord Cromwell's sister, and so goes on with the story, which has been already told. Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who turned Papist, and was very desirous of making his court to the Protector, dedicated a book to him (4); and besides, presented him with a printed paper, by which he pretended to scrape kindred with him, as being himself some way allied to Thomas, Earl of Essex: but the Protector, with some passion, told him, that Lord was not related to his family in any degree (5). If therefore he knew any thing of his own family, this story, though so very well told, cannot be true. It is much more probable, that the father of Sir Richard Cromwell, supposed to be the nephew of the Earl of Essex, was Thomas Cromwell, Esq; who was Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the 28th of Hen. VIII (6); and, indeed, four years afterwards we find this Sir Richard, Sheriff of the same counties (7), and from him there is no doubt at all that the genealogy runs right. It must be confessed, that this gentleman had very large grants of Abbey-lands in Huntingdonshire, to the amount, as they were then rated, of at least three thousand pounds (8) a year; but it does not thence follow, that he must be related to the Lord Cromwell. Some of these grants are as early, in point of time, as the high favour of that great Minister, but none of them so early as the year in which Thomas Cromwell, Esq; was Sheriff, which makes it probable he was his father, and that, upon his demise, Richard came to have an estate in the county (9).

(4) The title of this book is, *The two great mysteries of Christian Religion, the ineffable Trinity, and wonderful Incarnation, explicated*, Lond. 1653.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Cambridgeshire, p. 169.

(6) See the list of these Sheriffs in Fuller.

(7) See the same list in Fuller.

(8) Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, p. 190—193.

(9) By comparing the dates in the two authors last mentioned, this fact is ascertained.

(10) Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xv. p. 22.

(12) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 132.

(12) *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 393.

(13) Catalogue of the Nobility, by R. B. p. 83.

Another reason, which inclines me to think that Sir Richard Cromwell was no near relation or dependant upon the Earl of Essex, in King Henry the VIIIth's time, is this, that he received the honour of Knighthood, and several large grants, precisely at the time of that famous Minister's fall, and others in so constant and regular a succession, that there is no appearance he was ever out of King Henry's favour (10). If it be asked, how any account can be given of the tradition, that Cromwell was some way related to the Earls of Essex, by the females, and how his family came by the name of Williams, which is unquestionably matter of record; my answer is, that a probable account may be given of both; at least, a more probable account than hitherto has been given of either. It is not at all unlikely, that in Cromwell's family, more especially after he became Protector, there might be frequent mention made, of a descent from the Earls of Essex by the females: but this must be understood not of himself, but of his wife, who was really descended from the Bouchiers, Earls of Essex (11). In reference to the surnames of Williams, it might possibly arise from the marriage of a Gentleman of that name with the heiress of Thomas Cromwell of Huntingdonshire; and Sir William Dugdale renders this more probable than his own story; for, in speaking of John Lord Williams, of Thame in Oxfordshire, he tells us, that he was of the same family with that Sir Richard Williams, who took the surname of Cromwell, and both of them the sons of John Williams, of Burfield in the county of Berks (12): now this has nothing to do with Morgan Williams the Welshman, whom he supposes to have married Lord Cromwell's sister, or with the Lady of the same country, whom Brooke (13), and other writers, assert was married to Cromwell Earl of Essex. Neither will it be any answer to say, that this is only the mistake of a Berkshire family for a family of Wales, since there is direct evidence to prove, that Cromwell was so far from being any way

allied to Williams of Berkshire, that he was an enemy to, and an oppressor of, that family (14). Upon the whole, therefore, I should rather incline to think, that this family descended by the females from Ralph Lord Cromwell, of Tattershall in Lincolnshire, the last heir-male of which was Lord High-Treasurer in the reign of King Henry the VIth; and one of his coheires married Sir William Williams (15), whose descendants might afterwards take the surname of Cromwell, in hopes of obtaining that title which Humphry Bouchier, a younger son of the then Earl of Essex, who married the eldest of the co-heires, actually had, and was killed at Barnet field, fighting on the side of King Edward the IVth (16). However, if we consider only those ancestors of Oliver Cromwell, of whom there is no dispute, we may support all that has been said in the text; for Sir Richard Cromwell was a great favourite with Henry the VIIIth, and an eminent Commander in his wars (17). His son Sir Henry was four times Sheriff of his county, and universally esteemed. As for Sir Oliver Cromwell, he gave King James the First the greatest feast that had been given to a King by a subject (18), when his Majesty passed by his house in his way to London; and, in return, King James made him a Knight of the Bath at his coronation (19). He had a very large estate, and was a very loyal worthy Gentleman; lived high, and spent a great part of his fortune, dying in the year 1654 (20), without receiving any favours from his nephew.

(14) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 132.

(15) *Idem*, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 46.

(16) Discovery of errors in Brooke's Catalogue, by Vincent, p. 184.

(17) Stowe's Survey, p. 494.

(18) Fuller's Worthies in Huntingdonshire, p. 54.

(19) Stowe's Annals continued, by Edmund Howse, p. 827.

(20) Fuller's Worthies, Huntingdonshire, p. 54.

(21) Echard's History of England, p. 691.

(22) The title of this book at large runs thus: *History and Policy reviewed, in the heroic transactions of his most Serene Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector, from his cradle to his tomb, declaring his steps to princely perfection, as they are drawn in lively parallels to the ascents of the great Patriarch Moses, in thirty degrees, to the height of honour*, by H. D. Lond. 1659. 12mo.

[B] So near our own times.] It is no great wonder, that, in the life-time of the Protector, or immediately after his decease, those, who had suffered by his power, should endeavour to avenge themselves upon his character, and even a little at the expence of truth. In this the Cavaliers, if we abate the story of Colonel Lindsey, who was eye and ear-witness to Oliver's contract with the Devil (21), were by far the most modest; for the republican party, whom he had likewise humbled, kept no measures, but vented their spleen in all the malicious and groundless fictions they could invent; On the other hand, the courtiers of those times, as in most other times, were egregious flatterers, ready to magnify him to the skies, and to say whatever they thought might please, though it lay ever so much out of the reach of truth. Amongst others, one Mr. Dawbeny undertook, in a book (22) which he dedicated to the most Serene Highness of Richard, by the Grace of God Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to draw a parallel, in thirty different steps, between Moses the Man of God, and Oliver late Protector. This Gentleman, foreseeing that some might object to this the profaneness of the design, apologizes for it thus, in his preface. 'Certainly, says he, this piece is not the first that has gone that way; we have very sufficient precedents, and authority too, to warrant us. Have we not seen a compleat parallel between Elias and Dr. Luther, even to the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof? and another betwixt his successor Elisha and Mr. Calvin, to the double portion of his spirit? and many of our modern Doctors put in scale with some of the Apostles themselves. Nor has this way of comparison been taken up only by Divines, in honour of their own function, but many parallels we find in print, between some of our late Kings, how well deserving I say not, and some of those holy Princes and Prophets of God's own people, as David, Solomon, Josiah, Hezekiah, &c. And one very express parallel between Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, and that great Princess and Prophetess Deborah. Then why should not our late incomparable Prince and Protector stand as well placed in line parallel with that glorious Patriarch Moses?' The first step in this parallel, or, as the author calls it, the first ascent, is, as to nobility of birth; and, upon this subject, he is very clear as to Moses, and sets forth his pedigree at large from the

Scrip-

son of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke in the county of Huntingdon, Knight, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Stuart, of the Isle of Ely, Knight (d), both of them persons of great worth, and no way inclined to disaffection, either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a small fortune, with much decency, and maintaining a large family handsomely by their frugal circumspection [C]. He was born

(d) Wood's *Faßt*
Oxon. vol. ii.
col. 88.

Scriptures. One would have imagined hence, that this writer should have taken care to have been perfectly master of Cromwell's pedigree: but, to shew the reader how little help is to be expected from such writers, we will transcribe what he says upon this subject. 'I cannot say his late Highness was extracted from so priestly a family, but altogether as princely, being lineally descended from the loins of our most antient British Princes, and tied in near alliances to the blood of our later Kings, as by that thrice noble family of the Barringtons, and divers others, which, to make a pedigree of, would take up more paper than we intend for our volume, and make me appear more a Herald than an Historian. Nay, indeed, should I but go about to prove his Highness's most illustrious house noble, I should commit a sacrilege in the temple of honour, and only violate his most glorious family with a more solemn infamy.' I will trespass so far on the reader's patience, as to give him another instance, from an author (23) who attempted to make court to the Protector upon this subject, in his lifetime, but in the same vague incoherent stile, promising mighty things, but performing nothing. 'He is well born, and of a noble and ancient extract; and hath so much piety of his own, such virtues and honours of his own acquisition and getting, so much splendor and glory, as might illustrate and dignify not only his progenitors, had they been never so mean and inferior, but also his posterity for all ages to come, should they be never so low and degenerated. He hath deserved highly, and merited for all that can lay claim to his blood, or any ways derive from the stock and lineage of his house, and will leave them all very great legacies, and patrimonies of glory.' On all other topics these authors write just at the same rate, so that it is not easy to discern their sense, and hardly possible to collect any facts from them, that are worth preserving: yet their conduct, bad as it is, deserves commendation rather than censure, when compared with the books that some foreigners have published. The Abbe Raguenet (24) has written a history full of faults and mistakes, in reference to the dates and circumstances of events, and more erroneous still in the remarks and the reflections, which are very often precisely the reverse of what they ought to be, and what it is very apparent they would have been, had the author had a competent knowledge of the subject upon which he was writing. This history, however, is equally authentic and exact, in comparison of that of Gregorio Leti (25), which is a master-piece in its kind; for whereas in other works there is a greater or a less mixture of error, there is in this scarcely a sprinkling of truth; and one would really conceive it an impossibility for any man, capable of putting a book so well together, to contrive that there should be so very little in it, I will not say of veracity, but of probability. He makes Oliver a prodigy of learning at the University, exceedingly admired by the Bishops, a great favourite with King James: he then sends him over to France upon his travels, gives us a particular account of his galantries, introduces him to an audience of the French King, and an intimacy with Cardinal Richlieu. Upon his return he assures us, that Cromwell was highly in the good graces of Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, to whom, he says, he was nearly related; whereas, in fact, no man saw so early into Cromwell's bad designs as that Prelate, though he had no more than a general acquaintance with him. But, what is still more extraordinary than all this, Mr. Leti lets us into the secret, that the Bishop had an amour with Cromwell's wife; though an author of the highest character has assured us, that Dr. Williams was altogether incapable of any criminal act of that kind; and in the same stile, and with the like attention to truth, he perseveres through the whole work, assuring us, that he wrote it during his

stay in England; and that he took care to be perfectly well informed as to every thing which he relates; nor does he scruple to name the Earl of Anglesey, the Earl of Aylesbury, and several other persons of distinction, for the authors of these notorious falsehoods, which no man of common understanding would venture to repeat in public company, with any shew of giving them credit; yet weak and silly as it is, this book is in some esteem abroad; writers very frequently borrow from it; and sometimes we see it cited; which shews how necessary it is to set this article in a proper light, more especially as we have not hitherto had any distinct or clear account of Cromwell's government, notwithstanding there has been so much controversy about it; for as to what we find in satires, panegyrics, or declamations, we should be careful of mistaking that for history, which ought to be composed of unquestionable facts, related with simplicity rather than ornament.

[C] *By their frugal circumspection.* The father of the Protector, Robert Cromwell, Esq; lived mostly at Huntingdon; and though a man of very good sense, and of competent learning, yet so fond of a private life, that it does not appear he ever sought or affected, farther than being a Justice of Peace, a public station (26). As to the Lady he married, she has been said, and not without some degree of truth, to have been descended from the royal House of Stuart. Her great uncle, Robert Stuart, the last Prior of the Monastery, and the first Dean of the Cathedral Church of Ely, left behind him a very full account of his family, which is still preserved (27); and thence it appears, that Sir James Stuart, being one of the retinue of James, Prince of Scotland, was detained with him in the year 1406, and afterwards chose to settle in England; and was preferred and taken into the service of Henry IV. His son Sir John Stuart was created a Knight of the Bath at the marriage of Hen. V. His son Thomas Stuart addicted himself to the sea, and, by the daughter of Sir John Hamerton, Knight, had Richard Stuart, Esq; who married the daughter of John Burleigh, Esq; by whom he had Nicholas Stuart, a very learned Lawyer of the Middle Temple, who was the father of Dr. Robert Stuart before-mentioned; as also of Simeon Stuart, Esq; (28) who married Joan, daughter and heiress of Edward Besteney, of Soham in the county of Cambridge, by whom he had eight sons, and amongst these Thomas, who was the father of Sir Richard Stuart, Knight, whose daughter Elizabeth married Robert Cromwell (29), of whom we have been speaking. It was commonly said by the Cavaliers, in the life time of the Protector, that he was a Brewer, or the son of a Brewer; nor was this altogether without foundation; for his mother, finding it hard to breed up so large a family, out of the narrow income of Mr. Cromwell's small estate, and being too well acquainted with his temper, to expect that he should take any measures for augmenting it, thought proper to engage in the brewing trade herself, which she managed with great skill and prudence (30), and without the least assistance, either from the father or the son. Out of the profits of this trade, and her own small jointure of sixty pounds a year, she provided fortunes for her daughters, sufficient to marry them into good families. The eldest was the wife of Mr. John Desborough, afterwards one of the Protector's Major-Generals; another married first Roger Whetstone, Esq; and afterwards Colonel John Jones, who was executed for being one of the King's Judges; the third espoused Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; the fourth, Mrs. Robina Cromwell, married first Dr. Peter French, and afterwards Dr. John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, a famous Preacher, and a celebrated Mathematician. It may not be amiss to add, that an aunt of Cromwell's married Francis Barrington, Esq; another aunt John Hampden, Esq; of Buckinghamshire, by whom she was mother to the fa-

(26) Dugdale's
Short view of the
late troubles, p.
459.
Flagellum, or
the life and death
of Cromwell, p.
11.

(27) Wharton's
Anglia sacra,
vol. i. p. 686.

(28) Fuller's
Worthies in
Cambridgeshire,
p. 169, 170.

(29) Vincent's
Collections, and
their continuation,
by R. W.

(30) Dugdale's
Short view of
the late troubles,
p. 459.
Flagellum, p. 15.

(23) *Unparal-
lelled Monarch*,
p. 69.

(24) *Histoire
d'Olivier Crom-
well, jusqu'à sa
mort en 1658,*
avec quelques
pièces pour servir
de preuves.
Paris 1691, 4^{to}.

(25) *La vie d'O-
livier Cromwell,*
par Gregoire
Leti. Amster-
dam, 1708.
2 vol. 12^{mo}.

(g) Vie de Cromwell, par Leti, vol. i. p. 145.

(h) Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, Lond. 1741, 8vo. p. 3. From the information of the late Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's College in Cambridge.
(i) Collections relating to the family of Cromwell, by John Vincent, M. S.

(n) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(31) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 90.

(32) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 20.

(33) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 13.

(34) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(35) Lond. 1657. 24mo.

(36) Lives of the English Poets, p. 114.

(37) The reader must be content with the citation of the act, and scene, for this comedy is printed without pages.

born in the parish of St. John, in the ancient borough of Huntingdon, April 24th (e), or, as most writers say, April 25th, 1599 (f), in the forty-first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; so that what a foreign writer says, in reference to his birth upon the same day that Queen Elizabeth died (g), is like many other facts in his book, absolutely false and groundless. He was christened in the parish church, on the 29th of the same month, when his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell, a very worthy Gentleman, gave him his name (h). It is said, that he received the first tincture of learning from the Rev. Mr. Long (i); but it is very certain, that his father, who was highly attentive to his education, put him, as soon as he was fit to go to school, under the care of Dr. Thomas Beard (k), a very learned and sensible man, who was, at that time, Master of the Free-school at Huntingdon. We have very different accounts of his behaviour, while he remained in the hands of this Gentleman: some say that he shewed very little propensity to learning, and others that he made a great proficiency in it (l). It is highly likely, that both are in the wrong; and that he was not either incorrigibly dull, or wonderfully bright, which might also be owing to the levity or fickleness of his temper; for that he was an unlucky boy, and of an uneasy and turbulent temper, is reported by authors of unsuspected veracity (m). It would be tedious, and beside the design of this work, to mention the several stories that have been told of him, even in this early part of his life, as to the proofs he gave of a very singular and extraordinary disposition; but there are two, of which the reader might justly blame us in case of omission. The first respects a kind of a vision, he saw, or fancied he saw, for which, at the desire of his relations, Dr. Beard corrected him severely (n) [D]. As to the other, it relates to a part he acted in the Comedy of LINGUA, when performed by himself, and the rest of the boys at Huntingdon School (o), which, it is pretended, filled his mind with the desire of obtaining the Crown, and affording him also what he always understood to be an omen of future success [E]. He was thence removed

(e) Collection of Nativities, by Sir Richard Napier, M.S.

(f) Carrington's life of Cromwell,

p. 3. Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 88.

Dugdale, Fuller, &c.

(k) Flagellum, or the life and death, &c. of Cromwell, p. 12.

(l) Dawbeny's life of Cromwell, p. 25.

Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 13.

(m) Perfect Politician, or, Full view of the Life of Cromwell, p. 2, 3.

Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 88.

(o) Winstanley's Lives of English Poets, p. 115.

mous John Hampden; a third aunt was the wife of Mr. Whaley, and the mother of Colonel Whaley, in whose custody the King was while he remained at Hampton Court. He had two other aunts, but of their marriages we have no account (31).

[D] Dr. Beard corrected him very severely.] There is reason to believe, that Oliver was not a little unlucky in his youth; for one of his panegyrist says, that he had several escapes in his infancy from fire, little less wonderful than the deliverance of Moses out of the water: but of these, as we can say nothing with certainty, we shall be silent (32). In reference to his vision, it happened, while he was a boy, in the daytime, when lying melancholy upon his bed, he thought he saw a spectre, and that it told him, that he should be the greatest man in this kingdom; which having related to his father, he was very angry, and desired his master to correct him severely; which, however, had no great effect; for he was still persuaded of the thing, and would sometimes mention it, notwithstanding his uncle Stuart told him, it was traitorous to repeat it

(33). Sir Philip Warwick tells us, that he was well acquainted with one Dr. Simcot, who was Cromwell's Physician, in the earlier part of his life, and who assured him, that he was a very fanciful man; that he had been often called to him at unreasonable hours, when he imagined himself to be dying; and that, in these black fits of the vapours, he had many whimsical notions about the cross that stood in the town of Huntingdon (34). Nor was he altogether free from these fits during the whole course of his life, not even in the highest of his prosperity; of which many instances might be given, if the bounds prescribed to this article would permit.

[E] To be an omen of future success.] We have different reports concerning the author of this play from Winstanley and Langbaine, with which it does not seem requisite to trouble the reader. It is sufficient to observe, that it was originally printed in 1607, and afterwards with this title. LINGUA, or, The combat of the tongue and the five senses for superiority, a pleasant comedy, first acted at Trinity-College in Cambridge, after at the free-school at Huntingdon (35). Winstanley says that it was at Cambridge (36), but it is more likely that it was at Huntingdon, that Cromwell performed the part of Tactus, which affected him strangely. The scheme of the play is, that Lingua gives a crown and a robe to be contested for by the senses: the two following scenes will shew what gave rise to this notion of Cromwell's being so much struck by his playing this part (37).

ACT I. SCENE V.

MENDACIO. TACTUS.

MEND. Now, chaste Diana, grant my nets to hold.

TACT. The blasting childhood of the cheerful morn
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs
Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time
Gustus most earnestly importuned me

To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.

MEN. You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.

TACT. Sure, by the Sun, it should be nine o'clock!

MEN. What a Stargazer, will you ne'er look down?

TACT. Clear is the Sun, and blue the firmament:

Methinks the heavens do smile

MEN. At thy mishap,

To look so high, and stumble in a trap.

[Tactus stumbleth at the Robe and Crown.

TACT. High thoughts have slippery feet, I had well

high fall'n.

MEN. Well doth he fall, that riseth with a fall.

TACT. What's this?

MEN. O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.

TACT. How now!

MEN. You'll be so entangled straight.

TACT. A Crown!

MEN. That it will be heard.

TACT. And a Robe!

MEN. To lose yourself.

TACT. A Crown and Robe!

MEN. It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's

coat, and a bauble, hey, hey.

TACT. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?

MEN. O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears

you not; here's one knows better.

TACT. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not

so: ho!

Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha?

No, I am awake, and feel it now.

Whose should it be? [He takes it up.

MEN. Set up a si quis for it.

TACT. Mercury! all's mine own; here's none to cry

half's mine.

MEN. When I am gone.

SCENE VI. A SOLILOQUY.

TACT. Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend,

Was ever man so fortunate as I?

To break his shins at such a stumbling-block.

Roses and bays pack hence: this Crown and Robe

My

removed to Sidney-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted, April 23d, 1616, under the tuition of Mr. Richard Howlett (*p*), who, by a very strict attention to his pupil's disposition, quickly discovered, that he was less addicted to speculation than to action. We have very different accounts of the progress he made in his studies while a Member of the University. As for those wild stories that a foreign writer tells us, of his amazing proficiency, and which he loads with so many false authorities (*q*) and contradictory circumstances, they are not only unworthy of belief, but of notice; and, on the other hand, it is not easy to give credit to what some report, of his being scarcely master of the Latin tongue, because it is certain that he was well read in the Greek and Roman history (*r*); but whether he acquired this knowledge at Cambridge, is a point that may be doubted. His father dying he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, inasmuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneasiness. She was advised by some near relations to send him up to London, and to place him in Lincoln's-Inn (*s*); which she accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, since it served only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to those to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear, that he applied himself to the study of the Laws, which was what his friend aimed at. On the contrary, he continued to pursue his pleasures, and gave himself up to wine, women, and play, in which last, though he was sometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they so much exceeded his income, that he quickly dissipated all that his father left him (*t*): but, after a few years spent in this manner, he saw plainly the consequences of his follies, renounced them suddenly, and began to lead a very grave and sober life (*u*) [*F*]. This, however, ought not to be imputed to his falling in with the Puritans, since it is very certain, that he remained then, and for some time after, a zealous Member of the Church of England, and entered into a close friendship with several eminent Divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and spoke of him as a man of strong sense and great abilities (*w*). As he was nearly related to Mr. Hampden of Buckinghamshire, to the Barringtons of Essex, and other considerable families, they interested themselves in his favour, and were very desirous of seeing him settled in the world; in order to which a marriage was proposed, which soon after took effect (*x*). The Lady he married was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Essex, Knight, a woman of spirit and parts, and who, being descended from an ancient family, did not want a considerable portion of pride (*y*). Mr. Cromwell soon after

(*p*) Peck's *Defiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. lib. vii. num. 22.

(*r*) Rapin's *Hist. of England*, 8vo. vol. xiii. p. 147.

(*s*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 16.

(*t*) Dugdale's *Short view of the late troubles*, p. 459.
(*u*) *Perfect Politician*, p. 2, 3.

(*x*) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20.
Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 89.

(*q*) *Vie d'Cromwell*, par Leti, vol. i. p. 149, 150, 151.

(*w*) See the life of Oliver Lord Protector, p. 3.

(*y*) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

My brows and body circles and invests,
How gallantly it fits me; sure the slave
Measur'd my head that wrought this *Coronet*.
They lye that say complexions cannot change;
My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd
Unto the sacred temper of a KING.
Methinks I hear my noble parasites
Stiling me *Cæsar* or great *Alexander*,
Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got
This precious ointment; how my pace is mended,
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten:
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars:
Yea earth-bred worms: O for a looking-glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of *this change*:
Where's my attendants? Come hither, Sirrah,
quickly,
Or by the wings of *Hermes* —

[*F*] And began to lead a very grave and sober life.]

We are informed by some writers, that while he was at the University, he spent much of his time at football, cricket, and other robust exercises, for his skill and expertness in which he was very famous (38). In all probability, it might be this that led him into ill company, and drew him into extravagancies of another kind; and this will, in some measure, account for his mother's being so desirous to remove him out of the country, in hopes that, when he was at a distance from his old companions, he might lose the ill habits they had taught him. His stay at Lincoln's-Inn could not be long, nor was this season of wildness and dissipation of much continuance. It appears, by the entry in the register of Sidney-College, that he came thither when he was but two days short of seventeen (39); and it is very certain, that he was married by that time he was one-and-twenty; so that if he staid but two years at the University, and it is very probable that he did not stay there longer, there was not above two years more for his going to Lincoln's-Inn, and running through the whole circle of his follies (40). It is very likely that, after he married and settled at Huntingdon, he fell into those fits of melancholy in which Dr.

Simcot attended him; and this is the more probable, if what many writers tell us be true, that he shewed a very deep concern for the idleness of his former conduct, and readily offered to make satisfaction to every person whom he had wronged during the time that he lived so freely (41). These circumstances, and the noise made by his conversion, recommended him to the notice of the Nonconformists, who, by degrees, drew him over to their interest, so that he frequently attended Dr. Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, and was very importunate with him to dispense with the severity of the law, when these ecclesiastical friends of his came into any trouble for their conduct (42). This gave that Prelate an opportunity of judging of him so early; and, as he was a man of very extraordinary sagacity, and singular penetration, so, at that time, he saw clearly into Mr. Cromwell's spirit, which he found to be hasty, and yet obstinate, very quick in resenting, but very slow in forgiving injuries. It does not appear on what account he differed with his uncle Sir Thomas Stuart, or at what time; but it seems he made a complaint against him at Court, in which he had not the success that he expected; and this gave him the first distaste to the King; which, however, upon certain occasions, he might dissemble, as upon some he certainly did, even before things came to extremities, of which we shall have occasion to take notice; but he never forgot this supposed injury, notwithstanding he afterwards, by his mother's interest, compromised matters with that uncle. We have likewise an account of an odd exploit of his at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, which drew upon him very rough usage, and which, with other things, so thoroughly disoblighd that old Knight (43), as to deprive him entirely of his good opinion. These are matters that might perhaps be better cleared up, if any one should take the trouble of writing his history at large, with that industry and care that it deserves; but, considering the nature of our design, it may probably be thought, that we have bestowed too much notice upon particulars of so trivial a nature already, and therefore we will forbear them for the future.

(41) *Perfect Politician*, or life of Cromwell, p. 2.

(42) Bishop Hacket's life of Archbishop Williams, P. ii. p. 212.

(43) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 18, 19.

(38) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 15.

(39) That entry is in these words, *Olivæus Cromwell, Huntingdoniensis*, admissus ad commeatum sociorum Coll. Siden. Aprilis 23, 1616, Tutore M. Ricardo Howlett.

(40) This appears from the parish register of St. John in Huntingdon, in which we find, that his eldest son Robert, who died a child, was born Oct. 13th, 1621.

(z) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 20.
May's History of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79.

(b) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 3.

(d) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 21.

(i) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

(k) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 579.

(m) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 89.
Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5.
Flagellum, &c. p. 22.

(44) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 60.

(45) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 250.

returned to his own country, and settled at Huntingdon till the death of his uncle Sir Tho. Stuart, who left him an estate of between four and five hundred pounds a year, which induced him to remove into the Isle of Ely (z). It was about this time that he began to fall off from the Church, to converse mostly with those who were then stiled Puritans, and by degrees to affect their notions, as indeed he did every thing which he affected at all, with great warmth and vehemence. He was elected a Member of the third Parliament in the reign of Charles I. which met January 20th, 1628 (a), and was of the Committee for religion, where he distinguished himself by his zeal against Popery, and by complaining of Dr. Neile, then Bishop of Winchester's licensing books which had a very dangerous tendency (b). After the dissolution of that Parliament, he returned again into the country, where he continued to express much concern for religion, to frequent silenced ministers, and to invite them often to lectures and sermons at his house; by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent situation (c); so that he judged it requisite to try what industry might do towards repairing these breaches, which led him to take a farm at St. Ives, and this he kept about five years; though, instead of repairing, it helped to run out the rest of his fortune; and had totally undone him, if he had not thrown it up (d). Some have charged this upon his enthusiasm, and being religious over-much, which induced him to have long prayers with his family in a morning, and again in the afternoon, at which his ploughmen, and all his country servants, always attended (e). But granting this to be true, it was a proof of his sincerity, of which indeed he gave many: amongst others, he gave public notice, that he was ready to make restitution to any from whom he had won money at play; and he actually did return thirty pounds to Mr. Calton, from whom he won it several years before (f). His disappointments being such as allowed him very little reason to hope he should either make any great figure in his country, or secure a reasonable provision for his children, great part of his uncle's estate being now gone, he revived, in his own mind, a scheme, which his bad circumstances first put into his head while at Lincoln's-Inn, of going over to New England (g). This was in 1637, and this design, it is thought, he would certainly have executed, if he had not been hindered by the issuing out a proclamation for restraining such embarkations (h). The next year he had less time upon his hands; for the Earl of Bedford, and some other persons of high rank, who had large estates in the fen country, were very desirous of seeing it better drained; and though one project of this sort had failed, they thought it expedient nevertheless to set on foot another, countenanced by the royal authority, and which, without doubt, was intended for the public benefit; but for all that it was violently opposed, under pretence, that it was injurious to private property, though in reality it gave much more to private people than it took away, and made those rents safe and secure, which before were very precarious (i). At the head of this opposition Mr. Oliver Cromwell placed himself, and pushed things with great spirit and vigour, as he did every thing in which he once embarked, so that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble (k) [G]. It was the vigour and vigilance which he shewed upon this occasion, that first rendered him conspicuous and considerable, and gave occasion to his friend and relation Mr. Hampden to recommend him afterwards to his friends in Parliament, as a person capable of contriving and conducting great things (l). But for all this, he was not very successful in the matter of which we have been speaking; and, as his private affairs were still declining, he was in a very necessitous condition at the approach of the Long Parliament (m). In these circumstances one might wonder how he should form a design, at a time when elections were considered as things of the utmost consequence, of getting himself chosen, more especially for the town of Cambridge, where he was so far from having any interest, that in reality he was not so much as known, and if he had been known would never have been elected. The whole of that affair was owing

[G] So that he gave the great men concerned in this affair abundance of trouble.] The Earl of Bedford living at that time, was one of the wealthiest, and also one of the wisest, men in England: he had a very large estate in the fen country (44), and a very great influence over most of those who had great estates in that neighbourhood: it was no wonder therefore that he patronized a scheme for improving the great work of draining, which, in a country where there are millions of acres depending upon it, must be always a point of very high importance. He found himself however, after great pains taken, and much money laid out, obliged to abandon one very probable and profitable project, for want of the power requisite to carry it into execution (45). It was this which induced that noble Peer, and those who concurred with him, in so great and good a design, to apply themselves to the Crown for that assistance, which was requisite to perfect the great scheme they had formed, and for the carrying on of which they desired, that such commissions of sewers might from time to time be issued, as might prove necessary: they likewise, for the honour of the

business, though fit to stile it a royal undertaking, and, as was highly reasonable, settled a share of the profits upon the Crown (46). But, as it was impossible to manage an affair of this nature, without levying a kind of land-tax upon those who were to have the benefit of it, and providing that no man's private property should impede the carrying on the works that were requisite, this furnished a subject for clamour, not only against the undertakers, but against the King; which, however groundless and unreasonable, was carried to a very great height; and, in a meeting held at Huntingdon in 1638, Mr. Cromwell, who had a considerable interest in those parts, was very active, and by his vigilance, and plausible speeches, created a very formidable opposition (47); which, though it did not absolutely subvert, it greatly hindered and retarded the progress of the works; for which these obstinate people were severely punished in 1657, when, upon the melting of the snows, the banks gave way, and a considerable quantity of land was, at least for the present, lost, and a large number of cattle destroyed (48).

(a) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 12.

(c) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 460.

(e) History and Policy reviewed, p. 32, 33.
Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(f) Perfect Politician, p. 2, 3.

(g) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4.
Neal's History of New England.
(h) Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xix. p. 646.
Rushworth, Part ii. p. 298.

(l) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(46) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 380.

(47) Coke's Decision, p. 106.

(48) Camden's Britannia, vol. i. p. 479.

(n) Winstanley's English Wor-thies, p. 528. Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 89. Flagellum, &c. p. 24, to 27. Coke's Detec-tion, p. 160.

(o) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 579.

(r) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 102, 103.

(49) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 23.

(50) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 59.

(51) Flagellum, &c. p. 24, 25.

to an accidental intrigue, in which himself had at first no hand; but, from the time he meddled with it, he conducted every thing with such sagacity and dexterity, that, by the help of the party, who first thought of him as a proper instrument for carrying on the cause, he was, to the wonder of others, and perhaps, in some measure, of his own, chosen by a great majority (n). This, which was the beginning of all his greatness, ought to be considered as a point of consequence, and therefore we have taken some pains to set it in a proper light [H]. When he came into Parliament he shewed himself very active, was very constant in his attendance, and a frequent speaker; though he did not, at that time, discover any of the great qualities which afterwards appeared in him, and which seemed to be called out as occasion required; for had he at first been esteemed so considerable a person in point of abilities as he was afterwards found, those of his own party would have probably been jealous of him, and sought his destruction; but he had an art of concealing his faculties, so that he seemed always fit for the station in which he was, and for that only (o). He affected not only plainness but carelessness in dress, was very uniform in his conduct, spoke warmly and roundly, but without either art or elocution. He was very forward in censuring what were called grievances, both in Church and State, though he had not framed to himself any plan of reformation. This he frankly acknowledged with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, when pressed by Sir Thomas Chicheley and Mr. Warwick to declare his sentiments upon that subject; *I can tell*, said Mr. Cromwell, *what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have* (p). He was very zealous in promoting the Remonstrance which was carried on the 14th of November 1641, and which in reality laid the basis of the civil war. He shewed himself more sanguine in his expectations upon that head, than the rest of his party; for he thought they were so strong, so steady, and so well connected; and that those who were for the King were some of them so timorous, others so careless, and not a few so indolent, that it would have been carried almost without a debate; nor had he any regard to the Lord Falkland's opinion, who thought the quite contrary. But when, after a debate which lasted all day and all night, it was at length carried by so small a majority as nine, and that rather by discipline than argument, (for weariness and fatigue were really the parents of that dear bought victory), he could not forbear speaking his mind freely (q). In short, he told Lord Falkland, that he would take his word another time; and, that if the Remonstrance had not been carried, he was resolved to have converted the small remains of his estate into ready money the next day, and to have taken the first occasion of quitting the kingdom; and this he affirmed was the sentiment also of some of the most considerable men of the party (r). The noble Historian had reason therefore to say, upon this occasion, *that this poor nation was very near its deliverance*; near it indeed! for if zeal for the Church, or duty to the King, could have kept ten more of those, who made such strong professions of both, from their suppers and their beds for a few hours, all the consequences

(p) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 5.

(q) Echard's History of England, p. 514, 515.

[H] *And therefore we have taken some pains to set it in a proper light.* One reason why Mr. Cromwell quitted Huntingdon was, a dispute he had with Mr. Bernard, upon his becoming Recorder, about prece-dency, a point in which he was very nice (49). After he came to Ely, he resorted entirely to Nonconformist meetings, where he quickly distinguished himself by his gifts, as they stiled them in those days, in preach-ing, praying, and expounding (50). At one of these meetings he met with Richard Tims, a tradesman at Cambridge, who rode every Sunday to Ely for the sake of pure doctrine, and captivated his heart entirely. This man hearing that a Parliament was to be called, and being himself one of the Common council, took it into his head, that there could not be a fitter man to be their Burgees than Mr. Cromwell; and, with this notion in his brain, he went to Mr. Wildbore, a Draper in the town, who was Cromwell's relation, who agreed with him exactly as to the fitness of the person, but told him the thing was impossible, as he was not a freeman (51). Tims, not satisfied with that, addressed himself next to Mr. Evett, a Tallow-chandler, who was also a Puritan. He too liked the thought, but, as he was not a freeman, pronounced the design impracticable: however, Tims was hardly got out of his house before he sent for him back, to give him a whisper, that the Mayor had a freedom to bestow; and that one Kitchingman, an Attorney, who had married his wife's sister, and was of their party, had a great influence over him; and therefore he advised him to move Mr. Kitchingman in it, who was to use his interest with the Mayor, under colour that Mr. Cromwell was a Gentleman of fortune, and had a mind to come and live in the town, then but in a poor condition, but with a strict charge to hide the true

design, Alderman French, who was then Mayor, being a declared royalist. When they came to make this application to him, Mr. French said he was sorry, but that in reality they came too late, for he had promised his freedom to the King's Fisherman. Mr. Kitchingman easily removed this objection, by under-taking that the town should confer a freedom upon the person he mentioned; and so, at the next Court-day, the Mayor declared his intention to bestow his freedom upon a very worthy Gentleman of the Isle of Ely, one Mr. Cromwell, who, being apprized of his friend's industry, came to town over night, and took up his lodgings at Mr. Almond's, a Grocer (52). Thither the mace was sent for him, and he came into Court dressed in scarlet richly laced with gold, and, having provided a pretty parcel of strong claret and sweetmeats, they were so well circulated amongst the corporation, that they unanimously declared, Mr. Mayor's freeman was a very civil worthy Gentleman. When the election came on, the Mayor discovered his mistake, but it was then too late, for the party amongst the Burgees was strong enough to chuse him (53), and, at the next election in the ensuing year, he threw out Mr. Meawtis, who had served the Corporation in every Parliament in that reign (54). After the Corporation Act passed in King Charles the Second's time, this transaction being called to mind, occasioned the displacing Alderman French, who was then Mayor also, which affected him so strongly, that he was taken sick upon it, and died in three days through downright grief; and Mr. Richard Tims, who, by this time, was become an Alderman, was degraded, for the pains he took in this transaction; which circumstances occasioned the preserving so particular an account of it to posterity (55).

(52) Coke's De-taction, p. 160.

(53) Notitia Par-liamentaria, vol. i. p. 164.

(54) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 4, 5. Notitia Parlia-mentaria, vol. i. p. 164.

(55) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 27. Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 89.

of that fatal night had been prevented. This success in the Senate so much strengthened the courage of the victors, gave so much reputation to their cause, drew over so many that were wavering, and dispirited such as adhered to the King, so strangely, that, from this time, all things went to their wish in the House of Commons; and Mr. Cromwell's firmness recommended him so effectually to Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, and the rest of the leading men on that side, that they took him into all their councils; which gave him, in a very short space, so clear an insight into things, and so perfect a knowledge of men, that he was not only able to manage when they were removed, but even to contrive the removal of several, who, at this juncture, looked upon themselves, and that justly too, as very much his superiors (s). For to say the truth, the circumstances of his fortune, interests, and connections, compared with many who were then members, and of the same party, would have made it very improbable, in the sense of the most competent judges, that he should ever have opened a passage to such greatness, as afterwards, in spite of these very men, he obtained (t). As soon as the Parliament formed any schemes of raising forces for their service, which was in the very beginning of the year 1642, Mr. Cromwell shewed his activity, by going immediately to Cambridge, where, in a short space of time, and with very little trouble, he raised a very good troop of horse, which he commanded by virtue of a Commission from the Earl of Essex, acting, in other respects, under the Lord Grey of Wark, who had the power of a Major-General in the associated counties for some time (u). However, Capt. Cromwell, being a Member, and at the head of the Committee, knowing very well the sense of the House, and being thoroughly assured, that what he performed for their service would be well accepted, did not wait for orders, but took upon him, when his men were once in readiness, to act as he thought proper (w). He fixed his head quarters in Cambridge, where he acted with great severity, towards the University more especially, after he missed of seizing the plate contributed by St. John's and other loyal Colleges, for the King's service (x), which many writers affirm he actually did seize, but that is a mistake; though it is very certain, that he did all that in him lay, and was as near seizing it as could be (y) [I]. He was more successful in his next enterprise; for being informed, that the King had appointed Sir Thomas Coningsby, Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and had sent him a writ, requiring him to proclaim the Earl of Essex and his adherents traitors, Capt. Cromwell marched with his troop directly to St. Alban's, where he seized Sir Thomas Coningsby for that action, and carried him prisoner to London, with which the Parliament was highly pleased; committed Sir Thomas to the Tower, where he lay several years, and seized his estate (z). Capt. Cromwell having received the thanks of the House for this, which passed in the month of November, was encouraged to perform a more important service; for being informed that Sir Thomas Barker, Sir John Pettus, and other Gentlemen of great families and fortunes, were met at Lowestoft in Suffolk, for the King's service, he marched thither early in the succeeding Spring, where he not only surprized, and made most of these Gentlemen prisoners, but took also a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and military stores, which they had provided (a). This enabled him to increase his forces, so that we find him soon after at the head of a thousand horse, with the title of Colonel Cromwell; and it deserves particular notice, that, entering so late in life, for he was in his forty-third year before he had thoughts of appearing in a military character, he should notwithstanding, in the space of a few months, not only raise the reputation of an officer, but really become a very good one (b); and, which is still stranger, should, by mere dint of discipline, make his new raised men excellent soldiers, and lay the foundation of that invincible strength which was afterwards exerted on the behalf of the Parliament. That all this is strictly true, we

(s) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 3. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251. Winstanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 528.
(t) Coke's Detection, p. 161.

(u) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79. Winstanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 3, 4.

(x) Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 25.

(y) Winstanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 4.

(a) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 34. Winstanley's Engl. Worthies, p. 529. Heath's Chron. p. 59.
(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Heath's Chron. p. 60. Rapin's Hist. of England, 8vo. vol. xiii. p. 145.

(w) Flagellum, or the life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 32.

(z) Chauncey's Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, p. 462. May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. iii. p. 79.

[I] And was as near seizing it as could be.] The King wrote a letter to the Vice-chancellor, Dr. Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emanuel College, dated June 29th, 1642, signifying the extreme want he was then in, so as not to have wherewithal to subsist his private family; upon which the University resolved to send his Majesty a small supply, which, though no way adequate to his occasions, or to their zeal for his service, was, however, as much as lay in their power. What the sum might be appears not; only it is certain, that the loyal College of St. John's sent one hundred and fifty pounds in money, and two thousand sixty five ounces of plate. It was for the share they had in this transaction that Dr. Beale, Master of St. John's, Dr. Martin, Provost of Queen's, and Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus College, were by Cromwell carried up prisoners to London, where they suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower (56). Many Members of the University were much worse treated, being kept prisoners for a long time in the hold of a ship in the river, and that too in very severe weather; and the three heads before-mentioned shared in process of time the same fate, and were in danger of suffering still worse, one Rigby, a Lawyer, having twice moved, that they

should be sold as slaves at Algiers, or sent as transports to the plantations, because he had contracted with two merchants for the purchase of them (57). The person intrusted with this small treasure was Mr. Barnaby Oley, President of Clare Hall, who, being very well acquainted with the bye-ways, set out with a small party of horse the very night in which Cromwell took post upon the common road, and had the good fortune to bring it safe to his Royal Master, at the very time he set up his standard at Nottingham (58). It was, very probably, not long after this that Mr. Cromwell had a very remarkable interview with his uncle, which Sir Philip Warwick had from the good old Gentleman's mouth, and therefore we shall give it in his own words. 'Visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he told me this story of his successful nephew and godson, that he visited him with a good strong party of horse; and that he asked him his blessing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his presence; but at the same time he not only disarmed but plundered him, for he took away all his plate (59).'

(57) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 577.

(58) Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 26, 27.

(59) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 251.

(56) May's Hist. of the Parliament of England, B. iii. p. 79. Querela Cantabrigienfis, p. 2, 3, 4. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 41.

have

have not only the authority of his own assertion to prove, and he was not a vain man, but that likewise of the best writers on all sides, who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the principal circumstances relating to it (c) [K]. In the Spring of the year 1643, having settled all things in the six associated counties, viz. Essex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he advanced into Lincolnshire, which was now added to the number, having disarmed in his passage such as he took to be disaffected in Huntingdonshire, and increased his forces to about two thousand men (d). Here he did very great service by restraining the King's garrison of Newark, gave a check to the Earl of Newcastle's troops at Horncastle, and performed many other things, of which mention is made by those who have written the history of this fatal war; which gained him still farther credit with the Parliament, and more especially with that party, which meant to prosecute things to extremity, and till they should be terminated by compleat victory on their side (e). It was to accomplish these views that new armies, under the Earl of Manchester and Sir William Waller, were set on foot, and in the former, though the Earl had the title, yet the power was chiefly in Cromwell; for things were so dexterously managed between him and his friends at Westminster, that, as they knew they might depend upon all in his power, so they took care to put as much in his power as they could (f) [L].

The

(e) Flagellum, or the life and death of Cromwell, p. 35. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 131. Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 5.

(c) Conference on the Parliament's desiring him to take on him the title of King. Lond. 1680. 8vo. p. 38, 39. Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 238, 239. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72. (d) Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 529. Perfect Politician, p. 5. (f) Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 59. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 245. Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 45.

[K] *Who agree perfectly well in this point, and in the circumstances relating to it.* When he first raised his troop of horse, he gave a very singular specimen of his skill in purging; for, not doubting that some of them might prove cowards, he devised a most effectual method of discovering which they were, by posting twelve men in ambuscade, who rushed out upon them at their first muster. Upon this twenty of them rode out of the field as fast as their horses could carry them; and these Mr. Cromwell dismissed, and lifted bolder fellows in their places (60). We are told, by a writer of great credit, that Cromwell's brave regiment of horse were his countrymen, most of them freeholders, or freeholders sons, men who had something to lose besides their lives, and who, upon all occasions, gave the strongest testimonies of steadiness and resolution (61). A learned person, who knew him well, and loved him little, accounts for this clearly, by giving us a sketch of his method of managing them (62). 'He used them, says he, daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and, when it was necessary, to lie together on the ground, and besides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. These were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with lusty strong fellows, whom he brought up in the same strictness of discipline.' But Cromwell's own account is far clearer, and more satisfactory, than any, and cannot therefore but be welcome to the judicious reader (63). 'I was,' said he, in one of his speeches, 'a person that, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred, and lifted up, from lesser trusts to greater. From my first being captain of a troop of horse, I did labour, as well as I could, to discharge my trust, and God blessed me, as it pleased him. I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all; Mr. John Hampden was the person. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed, and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord of Essex's army, of some new regiments. And I told him, it would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit, that would do something in the work. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are Gentlemen's younger sons, and persons of good quality. And do you think, that the mean spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter Gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution, in them? You must get men of a spirit, and, take it not ill what I say, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as Gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still: I told him so. He was a wise and worthy

person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him I could do somewhat in it: and I accordingly raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did. And, from that day forward, they were never beaten, but, wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually.' We are told by Echard (64), that the very first time he mustered his troops, he dealt with them very plainly; that he would not cozen them by the perplexed expression in his commission, to fight for King and Parliament, but that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as any private person; and if their consciences would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to lift themselves under him. This, as the Archdeacon observes, was thought very bold at that time; and yet, whoever considers it attentively will see, that it was very politically spoken; for, in the first place, it let his soldiers into the true notion of what was required from them before they came to action, and, consequently, before it was expected from them; so that this commander and his men were never at a loss about each other's meaning: and, secondly, it gave the heads of the party a just hint of his resolution; whence they saw, that he was a man determined, whom they might rely upon in going all lengths, and whom no propositions, how high or extraordinary so ever, could astonish; agreeably to Mr. Hampden's notions of him at the beginning of the troubles (65), and his own behaviour during the continuance and to the very end of the war.

[L] *So they took care to put as much in his power as they could.* It must be confessed, that how deficient soever we are in respect to good histories of other periods of time, yet, in reference to this of the civil war, we have as many, and those too as considerable lights, as can well be desired, either in regard to general regular compositions, or in reference to private memoirs, and on both sides of the question; so that if any judicious and impartial person will carefully read, and give himself time cautiously to compare, what all these authors have advanced on any point, he will not find it extremely difficult to fix his judgment about it. The matter we will endeavour to explain in this note is, the subdivision of the views with which the leading members in the Parliament at Westminster began the war; for though themselves, and their Historian Mr. May, would turn this upon the King (66), yet, from the dates of the commissions, and from many other unanswerable reasons alledged by Mr. Coke (67), who was no very zealous Royalist, it is incontestibly proved, that the Parliament began the war; and the business is to know why they began it: for, though numbers of men may concur in one joint resolution, yet it cannot be thence inferred, that they are all governed by the same reasons, or all aim to bring about the same end. Yet it must be allowed, that concurring in one resolution may ground a presumption, that such persons are of the same opinion; and the contrary of this can only be made appear from their subsequent behaviour:

(60) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(61) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 72.

(62) Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 239.

(63) Conference on the Parliament's desiring him to take the title of King, p. 38, 39.

(64) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 579.

(65) Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

(66) May's Hist. of the Parliament, B. ii. p. 47. (67) Coke's Detection, p. 149.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 60. Winstanley's English Worthies, p. 530. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 93. (h) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 402. Echard's Hist. England, p. 597. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 94.

(68) Remarks on the conduct of the long Parliament, p. 75.

(69) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 3, 4, 5.

(70) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 183.

(71) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(72) See Clarendon, Echard, Bates, Dugdale, Warwick, &c.

(73) As appears by their conforming during all the time that Presbyterianism was established.

The Scots having been invited into England by that party to whom Cromwell adhered, it was judged highly requisite that the army under the Earl of Manchester, and Cromwell, who was now declared Lieutenant-General of the Horse, should join them, the better to enable them to reduce York, which they had closely besieged. This service, very important in itself, was executed with great vigour and diligence, more especially by Cromwell, who, with all his horse, made a swift and surprizing march, so as to join the Scots unexpectedly (g). In the battle of Marston-Moor, July 3d, 1644, it is unanimously agreed, that Cromwell's cavalry, who were commonly stiled Ironsides, changed the fortune of the day, as that did of the war; for the King's affairs declined, and the Parliament's flourished, ever after (h). It is, I say, agreed, that all the success here was attributed to Cromwell's forces, and, by many good writers, to him who headed and animated them, whereas others give the honour entirely to his men; and would have us believe, that his behaviour was far from being extraordinary (i) [M]. However this matter might

(i) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 16, 17, 18. Sir Roger Manley's History of Rebellions, p. 71.

for if, after going a certain space together, these people divide, and take separate roads, it is plain they had from the beginning different intentions, which remained so long concealed as all parties remained under the persuasion that they might travel with advantage together, and be, at the same time, advancing towards that point which each of them desired to reach (68). This then was the case of the Members who remained at Westminster: they all of them judged, that taking up arms was a thing expedient; and, from the measures they afterwards pursued, we may, with great probability at least, if not with certainty, discover, what the motives were that led them to concur in this first step. Now, not to perplex ourselves, or the reader, with too great nicety, or more than necessary distinctions, we shall be content to observe, that, from their future conduct, it clearly appears, there were three great parties in this Parliament. The first was composed of such as meant to reduce the Prerogative within narrower bounds, to secure the liberties of the people, and to prevent Ministers from misleading the King, or his successors, into acts of arbitrary power with impunity. Without doubt these Gentlemen were right in their intentions; but, whether they pursued a method consistent with the Constitution, is another question; which, however determined, will still leave it certain, that they did not aim to overturn the Constitution. The heads of this party were Mr. Hollis, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pym, Sir John Maynard, Sir Philip Stapylton, &c. and, at the beginning of the war, this party had the majority in the House of Commons (69). The second were, from the beginning, bent upon changing the Constitution, overturning the Monarchy, and settling a Republic: the chief heads of this faction were Mr. Oliver St. John, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Henry Ludlow, and, after his decease, his son, Mr. Lisle, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Mildmay, Mr. Corbet, &c. (70). The third party might be said to be without any settled principles, as being chiefly bent upon getting what they could for themselves, and steering in such a manner, in this dangerous storm of their own raising, as might contribute to their own safety and prosperity, with no regard whatever, either to the King or Kingdom. Amongst these Mr. Cromwell, Mr. Henry Martin, Mr. Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and many others, might be reckoned (71). The division that is commonly made in respect to religion, making the first *Presbyterians*, and the two last parties *Independants*, is not very clear in itself, and, at the same time, far from being consistent with truth. Some of the first party were very well inclined to the established religion; and, notwithstanding they disliked some Bishops, had no aversion at all to Episcopacy (72). On the other hand, many of the other two parties were well enough satisfied with the Presbyterian discipline, if it could have been moulded so as to serve their civil purposes (73). If indeed it be necessary to assign a religion to each of these parties, the title of Presbyterians may well enough become the first, that of Independents will sit better upon the second, but, truly, as to the religion of the third, it wants a name: some of them indeed professed they had no religion, such as Chaloner and Martin, and, without breach of charity, one may say, there might be others of this sect in their heart, though they professed a great deal. It is requisite to

observe, that there were in reality but two parties among the Lords, that is, such as meant well to the public, such as the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Manchester, &c. and such as meant well to themselves, as the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick, the Lord Grey, and a few others (74). This brief account of parties is the true key to the understanding the history of those times; and, as it may be very useful towards forming a right notion of other articles, so this would be absolutely unintelligible without it.

[M] *That his behaviour was far from being extraordinary.* In order to justify what is said in the text, we must produce a very famous passage from the work of a noble author, who was himself very deeply engaged in these affairs, and who wrote this account when the person he reflects on was living (75). 'However, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, says he, had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honour of it to himself, or rather, Herod like, to suffer others to magnify him and adore him for it; for I can scarcely believe he should be so impudent to give it out himself, so conscious as he must be of his own base cowardliness. Those who did the principal service that day were Major-General Lesley, who commanded the Scots horse, Major-General Crawford, who was Major-General to the Earl of Manchester's Brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern Brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business, for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth; and I think I shall not be mistaken, if I say Cromwell himself has heard it from him; for he once said it aloud in Westminster-Hall, when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear him; that when the whole army at Marston-Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that Brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them, in a great passion reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell shewed himself, and, in a pitiful voice, said, *Major-General, what shall I do?* he begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance, as to his superior officer, told him, *Sir, if you charge not all is lost*; Cromwell answered, *He was wounded, and was not able to charge*; his great wound being a little burn in the neck, by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldier's pistols. Then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and, sending one away with him, who very readily followed wholesome advice, led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his party's pernicious designs. This I have but by relation, yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, that was not ashamed nor afraid to publish it in all places. Besides, I have heard a parallel story of his valour from another person, Colonel Dalbiere, not inferior either in quality or reputation to Major-General Crawford, who told me, that, when Basing-house was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood a good distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge. And something I can

(74) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 155, 156. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.

(75) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, p. 15, 16, 17.

might be, it is very certain, that, on the 19th, Cromwell stormed the Earl of Exeter's fine house at Burleigh; and the courage and conduct of the Lieutenant-General was the theme of every tongue, and no man's fortune or services so much valued at London (k). He was also in the second battle at Newbury, September 17th, in the same year; and is said to have made so bold a charge with his Horse upon the Guards, that his Majesty's person had been in the utmost danger, if the old Earl of Cleveland had not come in to his relief, and preserved his master's liberty at the expence of his own (l). In the winter the disputes in Parliament ran higher than ever: nothing but Cromwell's merit and good fortune were talked of by his party; and some of whom blasphemously stiled him, *the Saviour of the Nation* (m). Yet, notwithstanding this, the wisest men, and the best patriots, saw very clearly to what these excessive praises tended; and, that the nation might be made as sensible in this respect as themselves, the Earl of Manchester exhibited a charge against him in the House of Lords, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, not to be in his debt, brought in another charge against the noble Peer in the House of Commons (n). It is true, that neither of these charges were prosecuted; but it is nevertheless true, that General Cromwell and his friends absolutely carried their point, by bringing in what was called the *self-denying ordinance* (o), that excluded the Members of either House from having any commands in the army; from which however, on the score of his extraordinary merit, that set him above all ordinances, Lieutenant-General Cromwell was at first occasionally, at length absolutely, exempted. This victory in Parliament was still of greater consequence than that of Marston-Moor; for, as that turned the *fortune* of the war, so this determined the *fate* of the King and Kingdom (p) [N]. Upon the introduction of the

(m) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 122.

(o) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 283.

(k) Bates's *Elementus Motuum*, p. 65.

(l) Heath's Chronicle, p. 65. Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 149.

(n) Heath's Chronicle, p. 66.

(p) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 35, 36.

I can deliver of him upon my knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these, and assures me, that that man is as errant a coward as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was, his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle, where he, with his troop of horse, came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army, and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, twenty or thirty miles off; so that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for.' His keeping out of the field at the battle of Keinton has been taken notice of by Sir Roger Manley, who says, that Cromwell went to the top of a steeple, whence perceiving part of the Earl of Essex's army routed, he was in such haste to get down, that, instead of descending the stairs, he swung himself to the bottom by the belly-rope (76). This we find confirmed likewise by Sir William Dugdale: yet neither of these writers mention this to the prejudice of Cromwell's character for courage: on the contrary, they regard it as an instance how much the human temper and disposition may be changed from the effects of boundless ambition, and the force of a long continued habit (77). It is also to be remembered, that Colonel Dalbiere, one of Lord Hollis's witnesses, was, at the beginning of the war, a great favourite of Cromwell's, who made use of his advice to keep his troops in better order (78); but, as he differed with him afterwards, it is not at all impossible that there might be a strong mixture of resentment in what Dalbiere delivered upon this subject (79). Major-General Crawford was likewise a competitor with Cromwell, and besides, a great friend to the Earl of Manchester (80), to whom Cromwell was a professed enemy. The accounts we have of the battle of Marston-Moor from the Royalists, unanimously attribute the loss of that day in a manner solely to Cromwell.

[N] So this determined the fate of the King and Kingdom.] As we have, in a former note, given the reader an account of the several parties in the Parliament at the breaking out of the civil war, there will be no great difficulty in making him clearly comprehend how this great change was brought about, by which that assembly manifested an intention at least, inconsistent with, if not directly repugnant to, that which they had shewn at the beginning. While the first of the three parties had the majority, they were very desirous, that as much of the executive power of the Government as possible might be in the hands of their friends, that they might always know whom they had to trust. Many of them being, by this means, at a distance from Westminster, left the other parties,

who generally voted together, much stronger than they would otherwise have been; and this strength they made use of to fill most of the Committees with their friends, which procured them great interest in the country, drew over many to their party, and, whenever exceptions were taken to a Member's character, they had commonly strength enough to vote him out as a malignant, and to bring one of their own party in (81). Cromwell was the officer in the army in whom these people most confided, and he was obliged to make great professions of his willingness to serve them, because, through a series of untoward accidents, he was become very obnoxious to what was stiled the Presbyterian interest. He had seen enough of the Scots when in Yorkshire to be satisfied, that they by no means meant a change of Government in the sense that his friends did, and for this he hated them heartily. His aversion to the Earl of Essex was as warm as implacable: he judged that he was but half an enemy to the King, which produced that Nobleman a whole enemy in himself. Besides, he was informed, that the Earl of Essex had held a private meeting with the Earl of Loudon, the Scotch Chancellor, to concert measures for seizing and impeaching him, which he could never forgive (82). Add to all this, that his quarrel with the Earl of Manchester came to a very great height, as appears from what is said in the text, and therefore we shall mention but one circumstance of it here. He proposed, in discourse to that noble Lord, something of an extraordinary nature, to which his Lordship expressed a doubt, whether the Parliament might be brought to consent; to which Cromwell immediately replied, *My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you will find an army at your command that will give law both to King and Parliament* (83). After premising these points, we may, without fear of being misunderstood, proceed to observe, that the party to which he adhered in Parliament comprehending perfectly his intentions, and confiding in his attachment to them, resolved to make an effort to gain such a superiority, as might enable them to end the war in that manner, and with that expedition, which suited best with their design. In order to effect this they began to complain privately, of want of zeal in some of their great officers, and publickly of want of discipline in their army. To remedy both these it was proposed, that, for the future, such as had seats in either House should be disqualified from having commands in the army; whence the intended law had the title of the *SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE*, and the armies, when put under this direction, were said to be of the *new model* (84). The reader must observe, with what craft this party improved the absence of the leading men on the other side, to gain a prevalence in Parliament; and now being

(81) The whole of this matter is thoroughly discussed in a treatise intitled, *The Mysteries of the two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independant*, printed in 1648. 4to.

(82) Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 116. Wood's *Atten. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 546.

(83) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 561, 562.

(84) Hist. Independency, P. i. p. 4. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 422. 435. 443. Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 118, 119—138, &c.

(76) Hist. of the Rebellions of England, p. 49.

(77) Short view of the late troubles, p. 110.

(78) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 31.

(79) It was Cromwell's policy to find fit men for his purposes, and when they grew unfit, to discard them.

(80) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 15.

the new model, as it was called, the chief command of the army was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and, from being Lieutenant-General of the Horse, Cromwell became Lieutenant-General of the Army; nor was it long before he gave a specimen of his great skill in Politics, by procuring an address from his regiment, declaring their satisfaction (q) with the change; which was a precedent soon followed by the rest, and upon the heels of this, as strong an instance of his military abilities (r). For, attacking the Earl of Northampton with a body of the King's forces at Islip Bridge, he routed them entirely, took four hundred horse, two hundred men, and the Queen's standard (s). The same good fortune attended him at Radcod-Bridge, where he beat Sir William Vaughan, and took him, and a great part of his troops, prisoners (t). He pushed his good fortune to the utmost, and, April 24th, 1645, attacked Blechingdon-House, in which Colonel Windebank had a garrison. The place indeed was very indifferently fortified; but, as Cromwell had only horse, he knew it was impossible to take it if defended, and thereupon ordered his men, as they approached, to cry out, *fall on foot* (u). His very name had terrified abundance of Ladies, who came to compliment the Governor upon his marriage, and this cry of *fall on foot* disconcerted the Colonel himself, who, confounded with the cries of the women, and knowing the place was not tenable against infantry, surrendered; for which he was, ten days after, shot at Oxford (w). But Cromwell had not the like success against Farrington-House, where Sir George Lisle commanded, though supported by six hundred foot; and he afterwards received a check from General Goring (x). At this time the King threatening the associated counties, which had not been attacked during the war, the Parliament ordered Cromwell into the Isle of Ely, where he had the power, if not the title of Governor (y). At the request of Fairfax, however, he had orders to return to the army, which he accordingly did; and being informed, that the King intended to march northward, advised Sir Thomas Fairfax to prevent that, by fighting his Majesty; which brought on the battle of Naseby, June 14th, 1645, in which Cromwell commanded the right wing, and his son-in-law Ireton the left; and here it was that the King lost all through the temerity of Prince Rupert (z), and the confessed conduct and courage of Cromwell, who, when Ireton was routed, and taken prisoner, charged the King's foot, and, with much danger to his own person, entirely broke them (a). He prosecuted the success of this day with the same vivacity which acquired it. In a month's time he defeated General Goring, and reduced most of the King's garrisons in Hampshire and Wiltshire; defeated and cut to pieces the poor Clubmen (b); and, having made himself Master of the Devizes, Winchester, and Basing-House, with the person of the Marquis of Winchester, its master, he, for these services, received the thanks of both Houses (c). Afterwards joining Sir Thomas Fairfax, he had his share in reducing the West, till, upon the surrender of Exeter, April 13th, 1646, he found leisure to return to London, in order to receive those rewards (d) which the party he had so effectually served were very willing to bestow, and of which, as an earnest, they had voted him the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds a year, the greatest part of which was to be taken out of the estate of the Marquis of Winchester in Hampshire (e). Upon his taking his seat

(y) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 35.

(d) Flagellum, or
the life and death
of O. Cromwell,
p. 46.

(q) Heath's
Chronicle, p. 67.

(r) Winstanley's
English Wor-
thies, p. 531.

(s) The Civil
Wars of England,
p. 154.

(t) The Perfect
Politician, p. 9.

(u) Flagellum,
or life and death
of Cromwell,
p. 41.

Echard's Hist. of
England, p. 614.

(w) Heath's
Chronicle, p. 74.

Echard's Hist. of
England, p. 614.

(x) Heath's Chr.
p. 74, 75.

(z) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
150.

Rushworth, vol.
vi, p. 42, 44.

Heath's Chro-
nicle, p. 77.

Echard's Hist. of
Eng. p. 615, 616.

(a) Dugdale's
Short view of
the troubles, p.
200.

(b) The Civil
Wars of Great
Britain and Ire-
land, p. 163.

(c) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
189.

(e) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
180, 181.

being pretty sure of that, they made use of it to secure to their side the army. Yet it is not at all impossible, that they might have failed in this bold project, if they had not insisted upon these two popular points, of putting a short end to the war, and of providing against civil and military power resting in the same hands; for these gained to them the timorous and the weak of the other party, because the former were afraid to oppose men who talked in so high a strain, and the latter were actually imposed upon by the solemnity of their professions. By the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the new modelling of the army, the Presbyterians lost their power, and the King all hopes of making a good peace, or, to say the truth, any peace at all. The first appeared by the little respect shewn to those Members, both Lords and Commons, who had hazarded their lives and fortunes for the Parliament, and the severity with which those were prosecuted, who were suspected of an inclination to return again to the King's obedience; the latter, from the leaving out in the new commission of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the clause for the security of the King's person (85). In the course of the debates which arose upon this subject in the House of Commons, for it did not pass there without very high debates, Mr. Cromwell spoke vehemently on the side of the Bill, and, when some expressed a suspicion, that this new discipline, though it made the army better soldiers, would go near to make them worse subjects, he undertook for the contrary, more especially for his own regiment, which, he said, would fight or not fight, serve or not serve, just as the Parliament pleased, to whose orders they owed an implicit obedience,

(85) Heath's
Chronicle, p. 74.

which they never had, or ever would, forfeit in any degree (86). It is thought, and not without reason, that many voted for the new model from their credulity in this respect, and from the certainty which they thought they had, that Cromwell would lose his command as well as the Earls of Essex and Manchester, Sir William Waller, and the rest. In this however they were strangely disappointed; for notwithstanding Cromwell went to make a visit to the new General, in which he declared his willingness to resign his command; yet that submissive, that well-disposed, that implicitly obedient regiment, for whom he had so roundly undertaken, mutinied upon this occasion, and refused to serve without their old Commander Cromwell at their head (87). Upon this the Parliament dispensed with the ordinance in respect to him, at first for twenty days, then for forty, and at length, Sir Thomas Fairfax being unwilling to lose so able an assistant, for good and all; and thus, when it was too late, those who had been cheated into an approbation of this scheme, saw their mistake, and repented of their delusion (88). By this refined piece of management the Independants, with the assistance of Cromwell, triumphed both in the Parliament and in the Army. We shall hereafter see how, by the assistance of the latter, he triumphed over them in their turn (89). These are the great points of history that ought to be sifted out, and set in their true light: these are those shining particulars that distinguish Biographical Memoirs; and these are those important secrets that are so seldom explained in a satisfactory manner in general histories, where the course of events is more regarded than the springs of action, whence those events arise.

(86) Memoirs of
Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 35.

(87) Flagellum,
or the life and
death of O.
Cromwell, p. 40.
Memoirs of
Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 35.

(88) Hist. of In-
dependency.
Hollis and War-
wick's Memoirs.

(89) See Clarendon,
Heath,
Echard, and all
the Historians of
those times.

in the House, thanks were returned to him, in terms as strong as words could express; and the prevailing party in the House received from him such encouragement, as induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion (f) [O]. But in this they were mistaken: for, while they thought the Lieutenant-General busy in doing their business, he was in reality attentive only to his own; but covered all his designs with such wondrous dexterity, that they were discerned only by a few, and of those there were scarcely any that durst speak their thoughts plainly: neither did their speaking avail, since the majority were of another mind, and some extraordinary methods were practised, to procure and preserve a majority that should be of that mind always (g). That party in the Parliament which began the war for the sake of redressing grievances, and to set some bounds to the Prerogative, were now sincerely desirous of making an end of the war, to which they thought nothing could contribute so much, as having the King's person in their hands; for which reason orders were sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax to besiege Oxford (h). Others would have been better pleased with the King's escape, because it was more likely to promote the design of continuing the army. Accordingly, April 27th, the King quitted Oxford, to go and put himself into the hands of the Scots. This was precisely what the Independants wanted, because it made long treaties necessary, not with the King only, but with the Scots (i). The latter demanded vast sums of money, under the notion of arrears; but Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and his party, who did not either love or value them, opposed such a negotiation as this, as injurious to the honour of the nation, upon a supposition that this might induce the Scots to join with the King, embark their cause and his on the same bottom, and produce thereby a second war (k). It was to promote this that they pushed things so far in Parliament, as to procure an Order of the House of Commons, for burning the proposals that had been made them by the Scotch Commissioners, by the hands of the common hangman. This, however, prevented the two nations from agreeing with his Majesty, and produced some ill blood on both sides, yet none of those heats and tumults that were expected; for at length a bargain was made in the beginning of August, that the Scots should deliver up the King to the English for the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, to be paid them immediately, and the like sum soon after (l). The Parliament Commissioners accordingly received him with very great civility and respect; and this having set open a very wide door, persons of all ages, sexes, and ranks, were assiduous in paying, as far as they were permitted, their duty to him (m). To free the people from the burthens under which they laboured, and, at the same time, to strengthen their own authority by lessening that of the army, the Parliament inclined to disband a part of their forces. As no-body better understood the meaning of this than Lieutenant-General Cromwell, instead of openly opposing it, he contrived to turn it in a double manner to his own and his party's advantage; for, in the first place, he insinuated, by his emissaries,

[O] *As induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion.* It was a maxim with Cromwell, as we may gather from his constant practice, whenever he had any extraordinary success in the field, to return as soon as he had an opportunity, and shew himself in Parliament, that the hazards he ran in the field might contribute to his victories elsewhere. Another art he practised, as in truth what art is there he did not practise? which availed him highly; he was exceedingly constant in his correspondence with the Parliament; his letters brought them the news of every conquest, nor was any expence thought too great to facilitate the early arrival of his dispatches. His language too, though generally wrapped up in the cant of the times, which no man used more, had in it somewhat peculiarly submissive, and irresistibly insinuating: his soldiers, as he said, were not only dutiful but devoted; and if their courage deserved to be remembered, as at the siege of Bristol, they made it their request to be forgotten: they desired only to be considered as God's instruments in the righteous cause of the Parliament (90).

By these methods he kept himself continually in their thoughts, and in their votes or resolutions. Thus two days after the battle of Naseby, they ordered that he should be Lieutenant-General of the Horse under Fairfax, during the pleasure of the two Houses, which the Lords changed to three months; August 8th, 1645, he was continued for four months longer; and on the first of December, the same year, they voted him two thousand five hundred pounds a year, and that he should be made a Baron; all which he seemed to accept with much less relish for the honours, than for the good-will shewn him by Parliament, to which, upon these occasions, he professed a reverence superior to that which is paid to the most absolute Monarchs of the East (91). By these contrivances both parties enjoyed, for a time, the highest satisfac-

tion; for Cromwell's friends in Parliament believed him unalterably addicted to their measures, and that they might direct and dispose of him how they pleased; while, on the other hand, he promoted his own interest most effectually, and such propositions as he made, purely with a view to that, were by them interpreted as tending only to the maintenance of their authority, and securing the unlimited obedience of the army to their orders (92). Besides all this, he was likewise very attentive to the establishment of an extensive reputation, and that even among enemies; for some of his own soldiers having broken the articles upon which the city of Winchester was surrendered, he caused one of them to be hanged, and sent five more of them prisoners to the Governor of Oxford, to be by him punished as he thought fit; but he very wisely sent them back again (93). At the conferences also which preceded the surrender of Exeter, he entered into a conversation with Sir John Berkeley, of such a nature, as to prove an introduction to a correspondence with that Gentleman when a proper opportunity offered, as afterwards there did. Thus at one and the same time he managed many different interests, creating in all an attention to, and confidence in, his conduct, and yet communicating his real designs to none; for at this juncture, though all the parties in the army and the nation had their eyes particularly fixed upon Lieutenant-General Cromwell's management, in order to penetrate his designs; yet it manifestly appears, from the writings on all sides, that there was not any two of them who concurred in their sentiments. Only the Presbyterians seemed to understand him best; for they judged him as little affected to the Parliament as to the King, and that, for the aggrandizing of his own power, he would make no scruple of conscience to destroy both (94).

(g) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 172. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 43.

(k) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 62, 63.

(90) Rushworth's Collections, vol. vi. p. 46. 88. 94.

(91) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 180, 181. 189. 202.

(f) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 135. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 202.

(h) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 208. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 54. (i) Behemoth, by Thomas Hobbs, p. 217, 218.

(l) Heath's Chron. p. 121.

(m) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 187.

(92) See Ludlow, Whitlocke, Hollis, Fairfax, and Warwick's Memoirs.

(93) See the Mystery of the two Juntos Presbyterian and Independent. Hist. of Independency, P. i. p. 4.

(94) See Whitlocke, Ludlow, Fairfax, Hollis, Berkeley, and Warwick's Memoirs.

ries, to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the Parliament into a power of disbanding them, but also a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (n). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power; and the weight of the reduction fell upon Massey's Brigade in the West, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire, men of whom he had good reason to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (o). Thus he dexterously turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his destruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Essex died suddenly, September 14th, at Essex-House, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the public expence (p), Mr. Cromwell coming post to town, in order to attend his funeral (q). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried prisoner to Holmby (r). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play. What wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Presbyterian party was still prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewise in that interest, it looked as if the real power was also on their side. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own strength, were in reality the masters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themselves (s) [P]. If the King and Parliament had immediately closed, which was the interest of both, the Kingdom must have been settled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Episcopacy on one side, and the Parliament insisting as obstinately on the establishment of Presbytery on the other (t). Lieutenant-General Cromwell saw the necessity of having a strong place, and getting the King's person into their power; and he contrived to do both, without seeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well supplied with artillery; upon which the army seized it with the magazines, and every thing else (u). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to seize the King's person, with a strong detachment of horse, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, excepting these verbal instructions from Crom-

(r) Warwick's
Memoirs, p. 297.

(s) Memoirs of
Denzil LordHol-
lis, p. 96.

(95) Flagellum,
or the life of O.
Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of
Denzil LordHol-
lis, p. 72.
See also Claren-
don, Whitlocke,
and Echard.

[P] *Though they knew it not themselves.* There are some things in the text which stand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwise: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly master of the subject of which we are treating, it is absolutely requisite to go very deep into the history of these times, which, in truth, is no other than the personal history of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to those difficulties we mention, and to resolve them: in the first place then, it may seem strange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the strongest in the House of Commons, we should now assert, that there was a party stronger than theirs (95). The answer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Those might be justly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him, his son Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for these transactions shew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them shews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a considerable number of members, amongst whom were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Whitlocke, and several other eminent persons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had answered the ends which it was proposed they should answer, by entirely subduing such as were in arms for the King, were now very sincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Presbyterian party, that were always for it. With them came back those who had been deluded, and such as had been frightened out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the first party in the House was again become the strongest, and, for a time, were stronger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raised, from considering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army first became mutinous, remained in the House, and not only remained, but spoke and voted with the majority; so that nothing seems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting those bad de-

signs, notwithstanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it must be observed, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the House to the army first, to dispose them to disband, but, instead of acting sincerely in this matter, they discouraged and brow-beat such officers and soldiers as shewed themselves inclined to it, and gave hints to the rest how they might avoid it, by suggesting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that respect, had a right to apply to their representatives, and, amongst other things, to insist, previously to their being disbanded, upon an Act of Indemnity with the royal assent, that they might not suffer as the King's subjects for what they had done as the Parliament's soldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, composed at first of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and dispose the propositions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this step, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the great officers, came up to attend the service of the House, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burst out with violence in their absence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the House, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reason of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their speaking and voting, they secured the confidence of the Parliament to such a degree, that, when the disobedience of the army became flagrant, they were sent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they used another language, or a different conduct, they had been sent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, instead of performing what they were sent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a Council of Officers to the Council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houses of Lords and Commons, and sent up their resolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

(n) Coke's De-
fection, p. 177.

(o) Memoirs of
Denzil LordHol-
lis, p. 81.

(p) Echard's Hist.
of Engl. p. 630.
(q) Whitlocke's
Memoirs, p.
225.

(r) The Civil
Wars of Great
Britain and Ire-
land, p. 193.
Dugdale's Short
view of the late
troubles, p. 234.

(s) Ludlow's Me-
moirs, vol. i. p.
189.

(97) See Major
Huntington's
Charge against
Cromwell.
Flagellum, or
the life of O.
Cromwell, p. 55.
Hollis's Me-
moirs, p. 77.

(98) Mystery of
the two Juntas,
Presbyterian and
Independent.
Whitlocke's Me-
moirs.
Memoirs of Hol-
lis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major
Huntington's
Charge against
Cromwell.
Flagellum, &c.
p. 55.

well(*w*). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithstanding the Parliament's Commissioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childersley(*x*), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindness, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary Ireton, his son-in-law, who, if Major Huntington, and others, may be believed, made high professions for his service(*y*). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he disliked it; that he would have sent him back again with the Commissioners, under the guard of two regiments of horse; but the Commissioners refused to act, or the King to move(*z*). Nay, to such a degree was that Monarch persuaded of the sincerity of his new friends, that he had the indiscretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and respect, with promises of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an interest in the*

ARMY as himself(*a*). The remaining six months of this year were the most critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied so entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, spoke of and acted towards him in such a manner, that they were looked upon as absolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to send a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cause to be their's(*b*), and that no settlement could be hoped for without granting him his just rights. In reference to the Parliament, so long as they enjoyed their power, Mr. Cromwell always spoke the language of a Member of the House of Commons, shewed a high regard for their privileges, and professed, that he was suspected and disliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government(*c*). This did not, however, hinder his being disbelieved by many, till at length he found it necessary, for his own safety, to make his escape from the House with some precipitation(*d*). As to the soldiers, and that mutinous spirit which they discovered against the Parliament, it was raised, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to erase their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived*(*e*). It was owing to this spirit that the eleven Members of the House of Commons were impeached, the House of Commons purged, and their authority brought so low, that the London apprentices came into the House, and forced them to vote what they pleased(*f*). It is true, that, when the Earl of Manchester and Mr. Lenthall, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr. Pelham were chosen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, August 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, so that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the

Supreme Authority(*g*). Soon after this a new party sprang up among the soldiers, under the title of LEVELLERS, who made no secret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to save himself from these people, who, as he was informed by Cromwell, fought his life, that the King, Nov. 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Isle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's proposals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice(*h*). Immediately after this transaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as some think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in consequence of his own designs(*i*); for, having made use of the King's presence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debase the Parliament, there was no farther end to be answered by keeping measures any longer towards the King(*k*). In order to be convinced of this we need only consider, that the same method was practised in the Isle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practised at Holmby, and the very same instrument employed, the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head(*l*). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refusing to pass *four* Bills which they sent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is said, that Cromwell was a principal speaker, and inveighed bitterly against his Majesty: he said, the King was a very able man, but withal a great dissembler, one in whom no trust could be reposed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future(*m*). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addresses should be made to the King(*n*), and from that time he was more strictly imprisoned than ever; all which the best writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament(*o*) [2]. It very soon appeared, notwithstanding this agreement between the

[2] *Who after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.* It is a point out of all dispute, since there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination shewn by the

(w) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 225, 226.
(x) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 67.
(y) Perfect Diurnal, p. 1612.

(a) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259.
(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 195.
(d) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.

(g) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 264.
(h) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253.
(i) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.
(j) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 203, 204.

(n) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275.
(o) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 239, 240.
(p) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 97.

(y) Coke's Detection, p. 178.
(z) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193.
(a) Major Huntington's Charge of High Treason against Lieutenant-General Cromwell.
(b) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240.
(c) See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 190.
(d) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100.
(e) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.

(f) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133.
(g) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231.
(h) Major Huntington's Charge.
(i) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260.
(j) Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.

(i) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235.
(j) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187.
(k) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 63.

(l) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 239.
(m) Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(n) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190.
(o) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236.
(p) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

ries, to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the Parliament into a power of disbanding them, but also a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (*n*). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power; and the weight of the reduction fell upon Massey's Brigade in the West, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire, men of whom he had good reason to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (*o*). Thus he dexterously turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his destruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Essex died suddenly, September 14th, at Essex-House, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the public expence (*p*), Mr. Cromwell coming post to town, in order to attend his funeral (*q*). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried prisoner to Holmby (*r*). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play. What wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Presbyterian party was still prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewise in that interest, it looked as if the real power was also on their side. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own strength, were in reality the masters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themselves (*s*) [*P*]. If the King and Parliament had immediately closed, which was the interest of both, the Kingdom must have been settled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Episcopacy on one side, and the Parliament insisting as obstinately on the establishment of Presbytery on the other (*t*). Lieutenant-General Cromwell saw the necessity of having a strong place, and getting the King's person into their power; and he contrived to do both, without seeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well supplied with artillery; upon which the army seized it with the magazines, and every thing else (*u*). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to seize the King's person, with a strong detachment of horse, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, excepting these verbal instructions from Crom-

(*r*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(*u*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 96.

(*n*) Coke's De-
fection, p. 177.

(*o*) Memoirs of
Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 81.

(*p*) Echard's Hist.
of Engl. p. 630.

(*q*) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
225.

(*r*) The Civil
Wars of Great
Britain and Ire-
land, p. 193.
Dugdale's Short
view of the late
troubles, p. 234.

(*s*) Ludlow's Me-
moirs, vol. i. p.
189.

(95) Flagellum,
or the life of O.
Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of
Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 72.
See also Claren-
don, Whitlocke,
and Echard.

(97) See Major
Huntington's
Charge against
Cromwell.
Flagellum, or
the life of O.
Cromwell, p. 55.
Hollis's Me-
moirs, p. 77.

(98) Mystery of
the two Juntos,
Presbyterian and
Independent.
Whitlocke's Me-
morials.
Memoirs of Hol-
lis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major
Huntington's
Charge against
Cromwell.
Flagellum, &c.
p. 55.

[*P*] *Though they knew it not themselves.*] There are some things in the text which stand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwise: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly master of the subject of which we are treating, it is absolutely requisite to go very deep into the history of these times, which, in truth, is no other than the personal history of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to those difficulties we mention, and to resolve them: in the first place then, it may seem strange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the strongest in the House of Commons, we should now assert, that there was a party stronger than theirs (95). The answer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Those might be justly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him, his son Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for these transactions shew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them shews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a considerable number of members, amongst whom were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Whitlocke, and several other eminent persons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had answered the ends which it was proposed they should answer, by entirely subduing such as were in arms for the King, were now very sincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Presbyterian party, that were always for it. With them came back those who had been deluded, and such as had been frightened out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the first party in the House was again become the strongest, and, for a time, were stronger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raised, from considering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army first became mutinous, remained in the House, and not only remained, but spoke and voted with the majority; so that nothing seems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting those bad de-

signs, notwithstanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it must be observed, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the House to the army first, to dispose them to disband, but, instead of acting sincerely in this matter, they discouraged and brow-beat such officers and soldiers as shewed themselves inclined to it, and gave hints to the rest how they might avoid it, by suggesting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that respect, had a right to apply to their representatives, and, amongst other things, to insist, previously to their being disbanded, upon an Act of Indemnity with the royal assent, that they might not suffer as the King's subjects for what they had done as the Parliament's soldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, composed at first of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and dispose the propositions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this step, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the great officers, came up to attend the service of the House, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burst out with violence in their absence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the House, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reason of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their speaking and voting, they secured the confidence of the Parliament to such a degree, that, when the disobedience of the army became flagrant, they were sent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they used another language, or a different conduct, they had been sent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, instead of performing what they were sent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a Council of Officers to the Council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houses of Lords and Commons, and sent up their resolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

well

(w) Behemoth, well(w). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithstanding the Parliament's Commissioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childersley (x), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindness, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary Ireton, his son-in-law, who, if Major Huntington, and others, may be believed, made high professions for his service (y). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he disliked it; that he would have sent him back again with the Commissioners, under the guard of two regiments of horse; but the Commissioners refused to act, or the King to move (z). Nay, to such a degree was that Monarch persuaded of the sincerity of his new friends, that he had the indiscretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and respect, with promises of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an interest in the*

ARMY as himself (a). The remaining six months of this year were the most critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied so entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, spoke of and acted towards him in such a manner, that they were looked upon as absolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to send a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cause to be their's (b), and that no settlement could be hoped for without granting him his just rights. In reference to the Parliament, so long as they enjoyed their power, Mr. Cromwell always spoke the language of a Member of the House of Commons, shewed a high regard for their privileges, and professed, that he was suspected and disliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government (c). This did not, however, hinder his being disbelieved by many, till at length he found it necessary, for his own safety, to make his escape from the House with some precipitation (d). As to the soldiers, and that mutinous spirit which they discovered against the Parliament, it was raised, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to erase their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived* (e). It was owing to this spirit that the eleven Members of the House of Commons were impeached, the House of Commons purged, and their authority brought so low, that the London apprentices came into the House, and forced them to vote what they pleased (f). It is true, that, when the Earl of Manchester and Mr. Lenthall, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr. Pelham were chosen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, August 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, so that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the

(a) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.
(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259.
(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 195.
(d) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.

(g) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 264.
(h) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253.
(i) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233.
(j) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 203, 204.

(n) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275.
(o) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 239, 240.
(p) Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 97.

Supreme Authority (g). Soon after this a new party sprang up among the soldiers, under the title of LEVELLERS, who made no secret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to save himself from these people, who, as he was informed by Cromwell, fought his life, that the King, Nov. 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Isle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's proposals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice (h). Immediately after this transaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as some think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in consequence of his own designs (i); for, having made use of the King's presence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debase the Parliament, there was no farther end to be answered by keeping measures any longer towards the King (k). In order to be convinced of this we need only consider, that the same method was practised in the Isle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practised at Holmby, and the very same instrument employed, the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head (l). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refusing to pass four Bills which they sent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is said, that Cromwell was a principal speaker, and inveighed bitterly against his Majesty: he said, the King was a very able man, but withal a great dissembler, one in whom no trust could be reposed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future (m). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addresses should be made to the King (n), and from that time he was more strictly imprisoned than ever; all which the best writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament (o) [2]. It very soon appeared, notwithstanding this agreement between the

(y) Coke's Detection, p. 178.
(z) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193.
(a) Major Huntington's Charge of High Treason against Lieutenant-General Cromwell.
(b) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240.
(c) See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 190.
(d) Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100.
(d) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.

(e) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133.
(f) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231.
(g) Major Huntington's Charge.
(f) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260.
(h) Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.

(i) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235.
(j) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187.
(k) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 63.

(l) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 239.
(m) Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(n) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190.
(o) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236.
(p) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

[2] Who after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.] It is a point out of all dispute, since there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination shewn by the

ries, to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the Parliament into a power of disbanding them, but also a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (11). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power; and the weight of the reduction fell upon Massey's Brigade in the West, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire, men of whom he had good reason to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (12). Thus he dexterously turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his destruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Essex died suddenly, September 14th, at Essex-House, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the public expence (13), Mr. Cromwell coming post to town, in order to attend his funeral (14). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried prisoner to Holmby (15). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play. What wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Presbyterian party was still prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewise in that interest, it looked as if the real power was also on their side. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own strength, were in reality the masters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themselves (16) [P]. If the King and Parliament had immediately closed, which was the interest of both, the Kingdom must have been settled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Episcopacy on one side, and the Parliament insisting as obstinately on the establishment of Presbytery on the other (17). Lieutenant-General Cromwell saw the necessity of having a strong place, and getting the King's person into their power; and he contrived to do both, without seeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well supplied with artillery; upon which the army seized it with the magazines, and every thing else (18). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to seize the King's person, with a strong detachment of horse, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, excepting these verbal instructions from Crom-

(11) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(12) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 96.

(13) Flagellum, or the life of O.
Cromwell, p. 6.

(14) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 72.
See also Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Echard.

[P] *Though they knew it not themselves.* There are some things in the text which stand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwise: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly master of the subject of which we are treating, it is absolutely requisite to go very deep into the history of these times, which, in truth, is no other than the personal history of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to those difficulties we mention, and to resolve them: in the first place then, it may seem strange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the strongest in the House of Commons, we should now assert, that there was a party stronger than theirs (19). The answer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Those might be justly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him, his son Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for these transactions shew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them shews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a considerable number of members, amongst whom were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Whitlocke, and several other eminent persons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had answered the ends which it was proposed they should answer, by entirely subduing such as were in arms for the King, were now very sincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Presbyterian party, that were always for it. With them came back those who had been deluded, and such as had been frightened out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the first party in the House was again become the strongest, and, for a time, were stronger than ever (20). Another difficulty may be raised, from considering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army first became mutinous, remained in the House, and not only remained, but spoke and voted with the majority; so that nothing seems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting those bad de-

signs, notwithstanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it must be observed, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the House to the army first, to dispose them to disband, but, instead of acting sincerely in this matter, they discouraged and brow-beat such officers and soldiers as shewed themselves inclined to it, and gave hints to the rest how they might avoid it, by suggesting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that respect, had a right to apply to their representatives, and, amongst other things, to insist, previously to their being disbanded, upon an Act of Indemnity with the royal assent, that they might not suffer as the King's subjects for what they had done as the Parliament's soldiers (21). This produced the erecting a new council, composed at first of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and dispose the propositions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this step, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the great officers, came up to attend the service of the House, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burst out with violence in their absence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the House, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (22). Now the reason of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their speaking and voting, they secured the confidence of the Parliament to such a degree, that, when the disobedience of the army became flagrant, they were sent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they used another language, or a different conduct, they had been sent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, instead of performing what they were sent for, they joined with the mutineers (23), added a Council of Officers to the Council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houses of Lords and Commons, and sent up their resolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

well

(11) Coke's De-
tection, p. 177.

(12) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hol-
lis, p. 81.

(13) Echard's Hist.
of Engl. p. 630.
(14) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
225.

(15) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ire-
land, p. 193.
Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 234.

(16) Ludlow's Me-
moirs, vol. i. p.
189.

(17) See Major Huntington's Charge against Cromwell. Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 77.

(18) Mystery of the two Justices, Presbyterian and Independent. Whitlocke's Memorials. Memoirs of Hol-
lis and Ludlow.

(19) See Major Huntington's Charge against Cromwell. Flagellum, &c. p. 55.

(w) Behemoth, well (w). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithstanding the Parliament's Commissioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childersley (x), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindness, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary Ireton, his son-in-law, who, if Major Huntington, and others, may be be-

lieved, made high professions for his service (y). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he disliked it; that he would have sent him back again with the Commissioners, under the guard of two regiments of horse; but the Commissioners refused to act, or the King to move (z). Nay, to such a degree was that Monarch persuaded of the sincerity of his new friends, that he had the indiscretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and respect, with promises of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an interest in the*

(a) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.

ARMY as himself (a). The remaining six months of this year were the most critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied so entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, spoke of and acted towards him in such a manner, that they were looked upon as absolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to send a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 195. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.

King's cause to be their's (b), and that no settlement could be hoped for without granting him his just rights. In reference to the Parliament, so long as they enjoyed their power, Mr. Cromwell always spoke the language of a Member of the House of Commons, shewed a high regard for their privileges, and professed, that he was suspected and disliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government (c). This did not, however, hinder his being disbelieved by many, till at length he found it necessary, for his own safety, to make his escape from the House with some precipitation (d). As to the soldiers, and that mutinous spirit which they discovered against the Parliament, it was raised, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to erase their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived* (e). It was owing to this

(y) Coke's Detection, p. 178. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193. Major Huntington's Charge of High Treason against Lieutenant-General Cromwell. (z) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240. See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 190. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100. (d) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55.

(e) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231. Major Huntington's Charge. (f) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260. Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.

(g) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 264. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233. (h) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 203, 204.

spirit that the eleven Members of the House of Commons were impeached, the House of Commons purged, and their authority brought so low, that the London apprentices came into the House, and forced them to vote what they pleased (f). It is true, that, when the Earl of Manchester and Mr. Lenthall, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr. Pelham were chosen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, August 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, so that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the Supreme Authority (g). Soon after this a new party sprang up among the soldiers, under the title of LEVELLERS, who made no secret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to save himself from these people, who, as he was informed by Cromwell, sought his life, that the King, Nov. 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Isle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's proposals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice (h). Immediately after this transaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as some think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in consequence of his own designs (i); for, having made use of the King's presence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debase the Parliament, there was no farther end to be answered by keeping measures any longer towards the King (k). In order to be convinced of this we need only consider, that the same method was practised in the Isle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practised at Holmby, and the very same instrument employed, the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head (l). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refusing to pass four Bills which they sent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is said, that Cromwell was a principal speaker, and inveighed bitterly against his Majesty: he said, the King was a very able man, but withal a great dissembler, one in whom no trust could be reposed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future (m). However

(i) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187. (k) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 63.

(l) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 239. Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(m) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

(n) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275. (o) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 239, 240. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 97.

this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addresses should be made to the King (n), and from that time he was more strictly imprisoned than ever; all which the best writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament (o) [2]. It very soon appeared, notwithstanding this agreement between the

grandees

[2] Who after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.] It is a point out of all dispute, since there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination shewn by the

ries, to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the Parliament into a power of disbanding them, but also a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears (*n*). Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own, the General having that title only and appointments, while Cromwell had the power; and the weight of the reduction fell upon Massey's Brigade in the West, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire, men of whom he had good reason to doubt, and upon whom the Parliament might have depended (*o*). Thus he dexterously turned to his own advantage, the means contrived for his destruction. To compleat the triumphs of this year, the Earl of Essex died suddenly, September 14th, at Essex-House, and was buried with great pomp, October 22d, at the public expence (*p*), Mr. Cromwell coming post to town, in order to attend his funeral (*q*). On the 12th of November following, the army marched triumphantly through London, and, in the beginning of February following, the Scots having received their money, delivered up the King, who was carried prisoner to Holmby (*r*). At this time Lieutenant-General Cromwell had a very nice game to play. What wore the legal appearance of power, was evidently in the hands of the Parliament, in which the Presbyterian party was still prevalent; and as the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, was likewise in that interest, it looked as if the real power was also on their side. At the bottom, however, the army, now taught to know their own strength, were in reality the masters, and they were entirely directed by Cromwell, though they knew it not themselves (*s*) [*P*]. If the King and Parliament had immediately closed, which was the interest of both, the Kingdom must have been settled, which was the point that the army chiefs, and their friends, meant to avoid; and what gave them an opportunity of avoiding it was, the King's inflexible attachment to Episcopacy on one side, and the Parliament insisting as obstinately on the establishment of Presbytery on the other (*t*). Lieutenant-General Cromwell saw the necessity of having a strong place, and getting the King's person into their power; and he contrived to do both, without seeming to have any hand in either. Oxford was, at that time, in a good condition, and well supplied with artillery; upon which the army seized it with the magazines, and every thing else (*u*). And Cromwell, then at London, prevailed upon Cornet Joyce to seize the King's person, with a strong detachment of horse, not only without the General's orders, but without any orders at all, excepting these verbal instructions from Crom-

(*r*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 297.

(*s*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 96.

(*n*) Coke's Detection, p. 177.

(*o*) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 81.

(*p*) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 630.
(*q*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 225.

(*r*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 193.
Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 234.

(*s*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 189.

(95) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 6.

(96) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 72.
See also Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Echard.

[*P*] *Though they knew it not themselves.*] There are some things in the text which stand in need of explanation; and indeed it cannot be otherwise: but to render this article intelligible, and to make the reader perfectly master of the subject of which we are treating, it is absolutely requisite to go very deep into the history of these times, which, in truth, is no other than the personal history of Cromwell; for his, and his friends intrigues, either moved, or gave motion, to all the parties in the kingdom. But, to come to those difficulties we mention, and to resolve them: in the first place then, it may seem strange, that having before intimated more than once, that Cromwell's party was become the strongest in the House of Commons, we should now assert, that there was a party stronger than theirs (95). The answer to this is, that the facts are certainly true; neither will it be hard to give a clear account of them. Those might be justly called Cromwell's party who framed the new model, continued him, his son Ireton, and a few more officers, in their commands, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance; for these transactions shew that they were his party, as their being able to carry them shews they were the prevailing party. But, when the war was at an end, a considerable number of members, amongst whom were Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Whitlocke, and several other eminent persons, altered their conduct, and believing that the army had answered the ends which it was proposed they should answer, by entirely subduing such as were in arms for the King, were now very sincerely for a peace; and therefore joined the old Presbyterian party, that were always for it. With them came back those who had been deluded, and such as had been frightened out of their former principles; and thus, in the latter end of the year 1646, the first party in the House was again become the strongest, and, for a time, were stronger than ever (96). Another difficulty may be raised, from considering the conduct of Cromwell, and the great officers, who, while the army first became mutinous, remained in the House, and not only remained, but spoke and voted with the majority; so that nothing seems to be more unfair, than to charge them, at this juncture, with promoting those bad de-

signs, notwithstanding they afterwards openly concurred in them. Now to remove this difficulty, it must be observed, that Cromwell and Ireton went down from the House to the army first, to dispose them to disband, but, instead of acting sincerely in this matter, they discouraged and brow-beat such officers and soldiers as shewed themselves inclined to it, and gave hints to the rest how they might avoid it, by suggesting, that they were not mercenaries but military commoners, who, in that respect, had a right to apply to their representatives, and, amongst other things, to insist, previously to their being disbanded, upon an Act of Indemnity with the royal assent, that they might not suffer as the King's subjects for what they had done as the Parliament's soldiers (97). This produced the erecting a new council, composed at first of two private men out of each company and troop in every regiment, under the title of Agitators, who were to frame and dispose the propositions of the army to the Parliament. After taking this step, which was the foundation of all that followed, Cromwell, Ireton, and the rest of the great officers, came up to attend the service of the House, well knowing, that the fire they had kindled would burst out with violence in their absence, as accordingly it did. Another difficulty yet remains, and that is as to their conduct in the House, which, it is allowed, was not at all of a piece with their behaviour in the army (98). Now the reason of this will quickly appear; for, by the manner of their speaking and voting, they secured the confidence of the Parliament to such a degree, that, when the disobedience of the army became flagrant, they were sent down to reduce them to their duty, whereas had they used another language, or a different conduct, they had been sent to the Tower. But what followed upon their returning to the army? Why, instead of performing what they were sent for, they joined with the mutineers (99), added a Council of Officers to the Council of Agitators, erecting thereby Military Houses of Lords and Commons, and sent up their resolutions to give law to the Parliament; which clearly proves the truth and certainty of all that is advanced in the text.

(97) See Major Huntington's Charge against Cromwell. Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 77.

(98) Mystery of the two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independant. Whitlocke's Memorials. Memoirs of Hollis and Ludlow.

(99) See Major Huntington's Charge against Cromwell. Flagellum, &c. p. 55.

well

(w) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 225, 226. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 67. (x) Perfect Diurnal, p. 1612.

(a) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 116.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 259. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 195. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 113.

(g) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 264. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 253. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 233. (h) Major Huntington's Charge. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 203, 204.

(n) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 275. (o) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 239, 240. Bates's Elenchus Motuum, p. 97.

well(w). This was executed on the 4th of June 1647, notwithstanding the Parliament's Commissioners were then with the King, who was conducted from Holmby to Childersley(x), then the army's head quarters, where he was received not only with reverence but with kindness, and treated much more indulgently than while in the hands of the Parliament; chiefly through the management of Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary Ireton, his son-in-law, who, if Major Huntington, and others, may be believed, made high professions for his service(y). It is very certain, that Sir Thomas Fairfax knew nothing of the taking away of the King; that he disliked it; that he would have sent him back again with the Commissioners, under the guard of two regiments of horse; but the Commissioners refused to act, or the King to move(z). Nay, to such a degree was that Monarch persuaded of the sincerity of his new friends, that he had the indiscretion to tell Sir Thomas Fairfax, when he made him a tender of his duty and respect, with promises of fair treatment, that *he thought he had as good an interest in the ARMY as himself(a)*. The remaining six months of this year were the most critical of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary to deceive the King, the Parliament, and the Army, which, in their turns, was effected, though not without danger and difficulty. As for the King, he relied so entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton, and they, on the other hand, spoke of and acted towards him in such a manner, that they were looked upon as absolute courtiers; nor is it at all wonderful that the King gave credit to them, when they brought the army to send a letter to the Parliament, which was delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the King's cause to be their's(b), and that no settlement could be hoped for without granting him his just rights. In reference to the Parliament, so long as they enjoyed their power, Mr. Cromwell always spoke the language of a Member of the House of Commons, shewed a high regard for their privileges, and professed, that he was suspected and disliked by the Army, for his attachment to the Civil Government(c). This did not, however, hinder his being disbelieved by many, till at length he found it necessary, for his own safety, to make his escape from the House with some precipitation(d). As to the soldiers, and that mutinous spirit which they discovered against the Parliament, it was raised, fomented, and managed, by Cromwell and Ireton, the former declaring at Triploe-Heath, when the Parliament had been obliged to erase their own declaration out of their Journals, *Now they might be an Army as long as they lived(e)*. It was owing to this spirit that the eleven Members of the House of Commons were impeached, the House of Commons purged, and their authority brought so low, that the London apprentices came into the House, and forced them to vote what they pleased(f). It is true, that, when the Earl of Manchester and Mr. Lenthall, the Speakers, retired to the Army, and the Lord Grey and Mr. Pelham were chosen in their places, the Lords and Commons recovered their authority; but they did not hold it for a week, Sir Thomas Fairfax marching directly to London, replacing the old Speakers, August 6th, and the next day marching in triumph through the city, so that now the Army, and not the Parliament, were the Supreme Authority(g). Soon after this a new party sprang up among the soldiers, under the title of LEVELLERS, who made no secret of their hating equally both King and Parliament; and it was to save himself from these people, who, as he was informed by Cromwell, sought his life, that the King, Nov. 11th, fled from Hampton-Court to the Isle of Wight, after having rejected the Parliament's proposals by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice(h). Immediately after this transaction General Cromwell altered his behaviour towards the King entirely, as some think, out of fear of the Agitators, but, as Lord Hollis and others affirm, in consequence of his own designs(i); for, having made use of the King's presence to manage the Army, and of the power which the Army had thereby acquired, to humble and debase the Parliament, there was no farther end to be answered by keeping measures any longer towards the King(k). In order to be convinced of this we need only consider, that the same method was practised in the Isle of Wight, while the Parliament was again treating with the King, which had been before practised at Holmby, and the very same instrument employed, the famous Cornet Joyce, who, upon very good grounds, is believed to be the very man that cut off the King's head(l). The Parliament, now much altered from what it was, upon the King's refusing to pass four Bills which they sent him, fell into very warm debates, in which it is said, that Cromwell was a principal speaker, and inveighed bitterly against his Majesty: he said, the King was a very able man, but withal a great dissembler, one in whom no trust could be reposed, and with whom therefore they ought to have nothing to do for the future(m). However this might be, the Parliament, on the 5th of January, voted that no more addresses should be made to the King(n), and from that time he was more strictly imprisoned than ever; all which the best writers attribute to a new conjunction between Cromwell and the Commonwealth's Men, who, after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament(o)[2]. It very soon appeared, notwithstanding this agreement between the grandees

(y) Coke's Detection, p. 178. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 193. Major Huntington's Charge of High Treason against Lieutenant-General Cromwell. (z) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 240. See the General's own letter to the Parliament in Heath's Chronicle, p. 131.

(c) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 190. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 100. (d) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 55. (e) Heath's Chronicle, p. 132, 133. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 230, 231. Major Huntington's Charge. (f) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 260. Coke's Detection, p. 162, 163.

(i) Behemoth, by Tho. Hobbs, p. 234, 235. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 186, 187. (k) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 63. (l) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 239. Heath's Chronicle, p. 157.

(m) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 229, 236. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 63.

[2] *Who after so much purging, had gained a very great influence in Parliament.* It is a point out of all dispute, since there is not a writer of any party but agrees in the fact, that the great inclination shewn by the

grantees of the Army, and the friends to a Republic, that the nation in general hated the thoughts of submitting to a Stratocracy, Aristocracy, or a Democracy, and were resolved

the Army to provide not only for the safety of the King's person, but for his restitution to his just rights, was, at first infused, and promoted all along, by Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton, who, from this merit, assumed to themselves the negotiation with the King; which they carried on so much to his satisfaction in most respects, that he thought his condition much mended, and trusted them very much; though he was not so weak to confide entirely in their promises, as some writers have asserted. What the methods were by which Cromwell imposed upon him and his old servants, and to how great a height this imposition was carried, may appear by one passage out of many, in the work of a Gentleman of honour, and who was deeply interested in this affair; and who was both an eye-witness, and very largely concerned in every transaction that he mentions (100). After observing that the Agitators, on the King's first coming to the Army, were very sincere in his cause, and desired this Gentleman to give them notice if he saw any cause to suspect the reality of Cromwell's professions, he proceeds thus: 'In all my conferences with him, I found no man, in appearance, so zealous for a speedy blow as he, sometimes wishing that the King was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims, sometimes complaining of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to his Majesty's sense, always doubting, that the Army would not preserve their good inclinations for the King. I met with him about three days after I came to Reading, as he was coming from the King, then at Causton: he told me, that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was, the interview between the King and his children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, that never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three kingdoms; that they of the Independent party, as they were called, had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the Scots propositions, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's interest seemed to invite him to; and concluded with me by wishing, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his Majesty. I immediately acquainted his Majesty with this passage, who seemed not well edified with it; and did believe, that all proceeded out of the use Cromwell and the Army had of his Majesty, without whom he thought they could do nothing.' This passage shews at what time Cromwell endeavoured to be thought well affected to the King, and professed his having a good opinion of him. Had these been sincerely his sentiments, he would never have altered them, for the King gave him no occasion; since it is clearly proved, that his final answer to the proposals which were made him, not only spoke the sense of him and Ireton, as the King conceived it, but was altered by their hands till it satisfied themselves (101). Had he been really inclined to restore the King, he might have done it now with a high hand. A great majority of the Parliament were for him; the city of London was in their sentiments; the measures taken by the Scots, and the insurrections in several counties in his favour, shew, that this was also the sense of the nation: if therefore Lieutenant-General Cromwell had made use of his wonderful capacity, to dispose the Army not to any new design, but to have performed their own promises; he might have settled the Government upon its old foundation, and have made himself a very great man (102). He resolved, however, not to do this; and, having made that resolution, it became necessary to prevent the King's being settled by others; and how he contrived to bring this about, a noble Historian has very fully informed us, after having assured us that this was Cromwell's design (103). 'The difficulty was, how to bring this about to cozen the King, so as to make him act it himself, and fly into the cage: carry

him by force they durst not; it would be unhandsome; it might be dangerous: they use this stratagem; heighten, and sharpen underhand, the mad humour of their party against him, to have it break out all manner of ways in threatening speeches, pamphlets, some consultations, that, whilst his Majesty lived in England, he could not be safe; meetings to consider, and come to some resolutions, of taking him out of the way; the Army is again disquiet, the Officers not obeyed; all things tending to mutiny, and some violent eruption. Then does Mr. Cromwell, and his Cabinet-Council, seem to be extremely solicitous of the safety of his Majesty's person; cause some discoveries to be given him of his danger; express great indignation and trouble in the House, in the Army, and other places, against these proceedings; act their parts so to the life, as the life of a man must go to make up the disguise; an Agitator, whom, at a Council of War, with two more they condemned, was shot to death; so as the King could not but have a great confidence in these men, to believe that they were really for his preservation. At last Cromwell writes a letter to Whalley, who commands the Guards about his Majesty's person, to be shewn his Majesty; and other informations are likewise brought him, to make him believe, that, if he escape not presently, he will be murdered; and he is advised to go to the Isle of Wight, where they had before-hand provided him a jaylor, Colonel Hammond, one for whom, they said, they could answer, that there his Majesty would be in safety, and they able to serve him. Here they have the King safe enough; and now the Army is presently quiet, the Agitators as obedient as lambs, and Councils of War are set up again to act as formerly. And Sir Thomas Fairfax, with their advice, sets out a Remonstrance, to give satisfaction to the Army; which he concludes with a protestation to adhere to, conduct, live and die with the Army, in the prosecution of some things there expressed; as namely, to obtain a present provision for constant pay, stating of accounts, security for arrears, with an effectual and speedy course to raise monies; a period to be set to this Parliament; provision for future Parliaments, the certainty of their meeting, sitting, and ending; the freedom and equality of elections, and other things, which he had the impudence and boldness to publish in print.' It is true, that Lord Hollis, being an enemy to Cromwell, and writing this book to shew the cause of his enmity, is not a witness to be believed entirely from his own assertion. But the main fact here is, the letter which had been passed over by some, denied by others, and, for any thing that I know, never proved upon Cromwell by any; till Colonel Whalley's letter to the Parliament, upon the King's withdrawing from Hampton-Court, was published; in which it is positively said, that Cromwell wrote the letter to him (104), and that he shewed it to the King. This letter Rushworth had in his power, and might have printed, if he had so pleased; but truths of all kinds are not welcome to all men. As for the Propositions that were sent to the King in the Isle of Wight, they were destructive not only of his power and honour, but of the Constitution. By them he was required to take the guilt of all the blood shed in the war upon himself, to cancel all his own acts, and to establish the independent power of the Parliament and Army; that is, in plain English, to depose himself, and, at the same time, lend his authority for the establishing a new tyrannical power over his people (105). For rejecting such terms, Cromwell declared that he ought to be treated with no more; the Parliament, now under the direction of the Army, voted this; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, without waiting for their directions, ordered the King to be made a close prisoner; and this, though done without their knowledge, was approved by Parliament (106). These indisputable facts are sufficient to let us into the motives upon which those men proceeded who did all these things, and who, in the Council of War held at Windsor, immediately after, resolved to do all that they afterwards did, though, from certain

(100) Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley, p. 26, 27, 28.

(101) See Major Huntington's Charge against Cromwell; and the Memoirs of Hollis, Ludlow, and Ashburnham.

(102) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 60, 61.

(103) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 185, 186, 187.

(104) Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. B. ix. p. 38.

(105) Heath's Chron. p. 160, 161. Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, p. 190. Hist. of Independency, P. i. p. 41. (106) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 64, 65.

unfore-

resolved to run any hazard, in order to recover their old Constitution (p); and this it was that created the second Civil War, in which many, who had formerly fought for the Parliament, took up arms for the King; and part of the fleet under Vice-Admiral Batten, who had been displaced to make way for Cromwell's favourite Rainsborough, revolted to Prince Charles (q). Yet this was far from being all. The Scots, who now saw that their expectations were entirely defeated, fell upon new measures, and having, without doubt, some secret encouragement from the chiefs of the Presbyterian party in England, determined to raise an army, and march it into England (r), in hopes of being joined by the King's friends in the field, and, upon the first advantage gained there, owned and applauded by their old acquaintance in the Parliament (s), who were true to their ancient principles, and desirous of a settlement upon a basis of their own laying, rather than a revolution, taking rise only from chance and power (t). In the mean time there were risings also in Kent and Surrey; and, though these were in a manner suppressed by that part of the Army which lay near London, yet the remains of these two bodies forcing a passage into the county of Essex, took possession of Colchester, where, under the Earl of Norwich, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, they made a very gallant defence (u). As the war was thus revived in all parts of the Island, there was a necessity of dividing the Army, in consequence of which Cromwell marched into Wales against Major-General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell (w). Sir Thomas Fairfax besieged Colchester (x), and General Lambert marched northward against the Scots (y). The military power being thus employed, the city of London and the Parliament were left, in some measure, at liberty to pursue their own sentiments, and what these were quickly appeared; for on June the 27th, 1648, the city petitioned for a personal treaty with the King, which was very well received, and some steps taken thereupon (z). But by the arts of Sir Henry Vane, and those of his party, many obstacles being raised, the city, on the 8th of August following, petitioned the House of Lords in still stronger and more direct terms; which petition was not only favourably accepted, but the petitioners had also the thanks of the House given them; an evident proof, that the scope of their petition was also the sense of that House (a). A few days after the Commons recalled their vote for non-addresses, set on foot a personal treaty with the King at the Isle of Wight, and at length voted his Majesty's concessions satisfactory (b). An attempt was also made to impeach Cromwell of High-treason upon Major Huntington's information, whom he had chiefly intrusted in his negotiation with the King; but this failed (c). The great success of the Army quickly altered the face of things; for Cromwell having reduced, and, in a great measure, destroyed those who took up arms in Wales, began his march northward in the middle of July, and, in a month after, routed Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Scots under Duke Hamilton; the terror of which victory forced Colchester to surrender (d): and now the Army, returning towards London, November the 28th, sent a Remonstrance to the House of Commons, disapproving all they had done (e). This Remonstrance was carried by Colonel Ewers, who went next into the Isle of Wight, where he seized the person of the King, which was resented by the Parliament, who commanded the General to recal his orders (f). Instead of this the Army marched directly to London, and, in the first week of December, took possession of it, purged the House of Commons, that is, turned out the better part of its Members, and then forced the remainder to do what they pleased (g). In most of these steps Cromwell was very active, and is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the rest (h) [R]. It is not necessary

unforeseen circumstances that fell out, they were hindered from doing it so soon as they intended (107). As for the coalition between Cromwell and his creatures, and the Commonwealth party in the House of Commons, the history of it may be found in Whitlocke and in Ludlow (108), much to the honour of Cromwell's abilities, who deceived them with as much dexterity as he had done the King, and for the very same reason, because there was no other way of working his own purposes but by deceiving them. If there had, he would probably have taken it; but, as there was not, he was forced to take it; and the great wonder is, that, having dissembled and deceived so often before, he should be trusted again; to account for which we must consider, that this was not choice in the Commonwealth's men (109), but necessity: they did not trust Cromwell to do their work, but they made use of him, because he was the only instrument by which their work could be done.

[R] And is, with good grounds, believed to have directed all the rest.] After Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sent to reduce those who, deserting the Parliament's service, had taken up arms in Wales, he prosecuted that expedition with such vigilance, that he did more in a month than could have been well

expected from him in six; and yet what he did was most effectually done also, and without the least tincture of passion; though he is commended for his clemency by some, and as loudly condemned of cruelty by others; but as haste was all he aimed at, so he was either gentle or severe as that directed. If he could procure a surrender upon terms, no-body gave better, none kept them more strictly; but if he was obliged to make use of force, he did not spare shedding blood; not from particular resentment, or any barbarous delight in it, but to serve his purpose, which, in this case, was dispatch (110). This war being quickly ended, though at a great expence of men, who had done the Parliament good service, those who fought against Cromwell having had a share in most of the battles against the King; he marched northwards to join Lambert, and came time enough to fall upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the English Royalists, who behaved as well as men could do, and were beat by dint of numbers; but for the Scots under Duke Hamilton, they were so ill commanded, that, though they had numbers on their side, they were rather butchered than beaten, so that not a tenth part of them got home again (111). Cromwell now changed his maxim, proceeded slowly, went into Scotland, con-

cluded

(q) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 530, 531.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 249, 250.

(x) Heath's Chronicle, p. 175.

(a) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 647. Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1220.

(d) Heath's Chronicle, p. 178, 179.

(f) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 651. Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 135.

(g) Heath's Chronicle, p. 192, 193.

(107) Berkeley's Memoirs, p. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75.

(108) Memorials of the English affairs, p. 361—363. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 271—273.

(109) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 99.

(p) Heath's Chron. p. 170, 171.

(r) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 278, 279.

(s) Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 100.

(t) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 232.

(w) Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1098.

(y) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 233.

(z) Rushworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1167.

(b) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 289.

(c) Echard's Hist. of England, p. 647.

(e) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 335, 337.

(f) Rushworth's Collect. vol. ii. P. iv. p. 1331.

(h) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 293.

(b) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 70.

(110) The Perfect Politician, or life and death of O. Cromwell, p. 28, 29.

(111) Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 100.

Flagellum, or life of O. Cromwell, p. 67.

(k) Heath's Chron. p. 200. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 734.

(112) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 96.

(113) Sir John Bowring's Memoirs. Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 44.

(114) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 355-357.

(115) Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 118, 119, 120.

(116) Hist. of Independency, P. iii. p. 54.

necessary to dwell particularly upon those circumstances that are well known, in relation to bringing the King before the High Court of Justice, and in pursuance to the sentence passed there to his death, since the share that Lieutenant-General Cromwell had therein was open and public: he sat in the Court, he signed the Warrant, and he prosecuted the accomplishment of it by the King's bloody execution (i). It is also known, that he threatened Colonel Downs out of that tenderness which he shewed for his Sovereign, when before the Court; and Colonel Ingoldsby always affirmed, that Cromwell guided his hand in his signing the sentence. What applications were made to him for saving the King's life may be found in a multitude of books, and some of the passages relating to them are undoubtedly worthy of notice (k) [S]. One remark however is very obvious upon this head,

(i) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 567-569. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 370-375. Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 653-661.

cluded a treaty with the dominant party in that kingdom, and left a body of troops with them to maintain it; by which having secured that part of the island, he was in no pain about the rest, as knowing that his victorious army must make all bend before them. At this distance, however, he signified to his friends in Parliament, that they should adhere to their vote of making no farther addresses to the King (112), which, though they found it impossible to do, yet, as the most effectual step towards frustrating the opposite measures, they procured Sir Henry Vane the younger to be one of the Commissioners in the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, where, by his arts, and in conjunction with the Lord Say, he retarded it very much, which gave Cromwell time to march up to London (113). In this march the Remonstrance was hammered out directly contrary to the declaration of the Army, in which they had bewailed their former miscarriages towards the Parliament, offering violence to the two Houses, and promised faithfully and dutifully to acquiesce in their wise resolutions. Upon the very day that Cromwell came to London, Colonel Pride turned one-and-forty Members out of the House, and made them prisoners; and the very same day Colonel Ewer seized the King in his bed-chamber, and carried him out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst-Castle (114); both which steps are supposed to have been taken by directions from Cromwell; and that this supposition was not ill founded, the reader may probably conclude from the following account of it by the General Thomas Lord Fairfax (115). 'In the Isle of Wight the Parliament treated upon propositions of peace with the King; but alas! the *Envious one* sowed tares, that could not be rooted out but by plucking up the corn also. The King was the golden ball cast before the two parties, the Parliament and the Army; and the contest grew so great, that it must again have involved the kingdom in blood, but the Army, having the greater power, got the King again into their hands, notwithstanding all endeavours to hinder it. The treaty was scarcely ended before the King was seized on by the hands of the same persons that took him from Holmby; soon after followed his trial. To prepare a way to this work, this agitating Council did first intend to remove all out of the Parliament who were like to oppose them; and carried it on with such secrecy, as I had not the least intimation of it till it was done, as some of the Members of the House can witness, with whom I was at that very time, upon special business, when that attempt was made by Colonel Pride upon the Parliament, which I protest I never had any knowledge of till it was done. The reason why it was so secretly carried, that I should have no notice of it, was, because I always prevented those designs when I knew them. By this purging of the House, as they called it, the Parliament was brought into such a consumptive and languishing condition, that it could never again recover that healthful constitution which always kept the kingdom in its strength, life, and vigour.' When the first proposition was made in the House of Commons, for trying the King, Mr. Cromwell rose up (116), and said, that 'If any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, though he was not provided on the sudden to give them counsel.' But not long after he was: for, being a great pretender to Enthusiasms and Revelations, he told them, that, as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the

King to his pristine Majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, and that God had rejected him from being King; and to others he asserted, that it was lawful to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and fraud. If the reader is inclined to pursue this matter any farther, he may meet with the clearest information in the work of a late Prelate, who has given such an account of Mr. Cromwell's dispute with the Commissioners from Scotland, on the necessity of the King's being subjected to a capital prosecution, as will leave him without the least colour of doubt, that the whole of this measure was of his contriving and conducting, though supported by all the Republican party in the Parliament (117).

[S] *Are undoubtedly worthy of notice.* Of these one of the most remarkable is, the transaction between the Lieutenant-General and a cousin of his, Colonel John Cromwell, an officer in the service of the States. This Gentleman is said to have been in England while the King was in the hands of the Army; and that in a conference he had with the Lieutenant-General, the latter made use of this expression, *I think the King the most injured Prince in the world*, and then clapping his hand upon his sword, added, *But this, cousin, shall do him right* (118). The Colonel returning to Holland soon after, reported what he took to be truth, that the Lieutenant-General had a great regard and respect for the King. When, therefore, the news of the King's trial reached Holland, he was sent over with Letters Credential from the States, to which was added a blank with the King's signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirmed by the States, for Cromwell to set down his own conditions, if he would now save his Majesty's life. The Colonel went directly to his kinsman's house, who was so retired and shut up in his chamber, with an order to let none know he was at home, that it was with much difficulty he obtained admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually saluted each other, the Colonel desired to speak a few words with him in private; and began, with much freedom, to set before him the heinousness of the fact then about to be committed, and with what detestation it was looked upon abroad, telling him, That of all men living he could never have imagined he would have had any hand in it, who, in his hearing, had protested so much for the King. To this Cromwell answered, It was not he but the Army, and though he did once say some such words, yet now times were altered, and Providence seemed to order things otherwise. And it is said he added, that he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the Colonel stepped a little back, and suddenly shut the door, which made Cromwell apprehend he was going to be assassinated, but the other pulling out his papers, said to him, *Cousin, this is no time to trifle with words: See here, it is now in your own power not only to make yourself but your family, relations, and posterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwise, as they changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to deface.* At this Cromwell paused a little, and then said, *Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your inn, and not to bed, till you hear from me.* The Colonel did accordingly; and, about one in the morning a messenger came to tell him, He might go to rest, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince; for the Council of Officers had been seeking God, a phrase, it

(117) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 365. Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 46, 47.

(118) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 53.

head, which is, that his power and his principles must have been very well known, both at home and abroad, otherwise such general applications could have never been made; for though it be true, that there were addressees also to the General, yet those were from such as opposed the action, as for instance, the Presbyterian Ministers, the Scots Commissioners, and some of the secluded Members; but those who were guided entirely by pity and concern, laboured only to move Cromwell, who is said, after this tragedy was acted, to have spoken his mind freely by owning, that, if he had not been a King, he might have lived longer (l).

(l) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 74.

The Government being now entirely changed, for in five days after the King's death the House of Lords was voted useless, it became necessary to think of some expedient for managing the executive power; and therefore it was resolved to set up a Council of State, of which John Bradshaw was President, and Lieutenant-General Cromwell a principal Member (m). Before he had well taken possession of this new dignity, he was again called to action, and that too as brisk, and at least as hazardous, as any in which he had taken any share. The persons with whom he was to engage were a part, and certainly, if they had known their own minds, the far greatest part of the very army which he commanded, and the occasion this. All the purposes for which they were necessary being answered, it was resolved the Agitators should assemble no more. The House of Commons had deprived the House of Lords of a being, by a vote; but in the Army the contrary method was pursued; the General, and his Council of Officers, would no longer vouchsafe any conference with, or even countenance to, the Agitators, which was what the greatest part of the Army could not bear; and therefore had themselves recourse to a method which their officers had taught them upon other occasions; and this was, to set forth their sentiments by way of Remonstrance, which was presented by five Agitators to the General (n). For this high offence they were seized, and tried by a Court-Martial, and sentenced to ride with their faces to their horses tails, at the head of their respective corps, with a paper, expressing their crime, fixed on their breasts; after which their swords were to be broke over their heads, and themselves cashiered; every circumstance of which was strictly executed upon the 6th of March, in Great Palace-Yard (o). This served only to raise the flame higher; for several regiments of horse, and amongst the rest Cromwell's, mutinied, put white cockades in their hats, and appointed a rendezvous at Ware; where Cromwell appeared when he was least expected, and brought with him some regiments quartered at a distance, that he could depend on. Here, without any previous expostulations, he, with two regiments of horse, surrounded one regiment of the mutineers, and calling four men by name out of their ranks, obliged them to cast dice for their lives, and those two that escaped were ordered to shoot the others, which they did, and upon this the tame spectators of the tragedy thought fit to slip their white cockades into their pockets, and to secure themselves by a submission (p). This affair did not end here: for one Lockyer being shot in St. Paul's Church-Yard for the like offence, his confederates, to the number of a thousand, attended at his funeral with black and sea-green ribbons, by way of favours (q). This portended a storm, which quickly after broke out; for Scroop's regiment of horse, quartered at Salisbury, having first ejected their officers, marched to join three other regiments that were in the same disposition (r); upon which Fairfax and Cromwell, with the troops that adhered to them, moved towards the mutineers with the utmost expedition, marching as the necessity of the case required, forty miles in one day. It is, however, very doubtful, whether all this vigilance, or even the valour of their victorious troops, would have done their business against these men, bred in the same school, and not at all inferior, either in firmness or fame, to themselves. In so nice and dangerous a case, therefore, Cromwell ventured upon a specifick which he seldom administered, that is to say, he deluded them with a treaty, broke it, and destroyed them (s) with

(m) Hist. Independency, P. ii. p. 110.

(n) Heath's Chron. p. 233.

(o) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 386.

(q) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 163. Heath's Chron. p. 233.

(p) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 81.

(r) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 82, 83.

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 233, 234.

it seems, very much in use at that time, as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all, that *the King must die* (119). All the circumstances of this relation agree perfectly with the most authentic diaries of those times, by which fictitious stories are easily detected. Lady Fairfax charged the whole design of seeking the King's death upon Cromwell, at his Majesty's trial (120). Sir John Bowring told the King himself, during the Hampton-Court treaty, what Cromwell's intentions were; and Sir Peter Killigrew likewise told him, at the same place, that Cromwell meant to fetch him up to London, bring him to a trial there, and put him to death (121). Some have doubted whether the last was his original intention or not, for he never loved a Commonwealth, and therefore it is supposed, that he was the author of that paper-book of proposals offered to the King the evening before he died; which would have established the being of the Army most effectually, by putting it in their power to pay themselves, and, at the same time, rendering them perpetual (122). If this be true, as

(119) Echard's History of England, p. 658.

(120) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 375. State Trials, vol. i. p. 991.

(121) Bowring's Memoirs, p. 151.

(122) Hist. of Independency, P. ii. p. 109. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 660. Heath's Chron. p. 215.

indeed I think it cannot be disproved, the King shewed that his great patience did not proceed from want of spirit, for he presently rejected those terms, and resolved to die a martyr rather than live a cypher (123). But though, without Lieutenant-General Cromwell, this deed could not have been done, yet, when he had brought it so far, in order to try whether the King, who, by his last treaty, had consented to a never ending Parliament, might not be brought to change that for an everlasting Army, yet it might not be absolutely in his power to go back, nor was it, probably, ever in his will; since, how generally soever the death of the King was imputed to him, the saving of him might, and, in all appearance, would, have been attributed to others; which was so repugnant to his scheme, if we may judge from his former and future actions (124), that there appears not the least foundation to suppose he ever had a thought of consenting to it, nor is there anything like it suggested, by any of those who either commend or condemn him.

(123) See the King's speech at his death.

(124) Perin-chief's life of Charles the first, p. 93.

as little mercy as, in the High Court of Justice, he had shewn to the King or his friends [T]. After this great stroke he accompanied the General, first to Oxford (t), where they were made Doctors in the Civil Law, and thence to London, where they were splendidly entertained by the city, and had presents of great value when they took leave

(t) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 88.

(u) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 406.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 237.

(x) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 406, 407.

(z) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 422.

(a) Heath's Chron. p. 243, 244. Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 301—303.

(u). At this time England, if not quiet, was totally subdued, the Scots were discontented but not in arms, so that Ireland became the principal object of the Parliament's care, since, in that island, of three parties which had been for many years shedding each others blood, their own was the weakest. It was resolved to send over a compleat army of seventeen thousand men, for the soldiers were now so humbled, they might be sent any where, and to add weight to the new erected Commonwealth of England, by subduing this divided nation (w). One only difficulty remained, which was, to find a proper General. Fairfax was unwilling to go, Waller was talked of, then Fleetwood; but, upon naming Cromwell, a silent consent was given, a great majority approved, and the rest were afraid to oppose it (x). Historians seem at a loss for the motives which induced him to accept of this command, but they were, probably, these: he was willing to be relieved from the troublesome fatigue of inventing new schemes, to render himself useful to the Parliament, while, as yet, they had both credit and power; he was desirous of being at the head of an army in action, wherever it was, and he foresaw those distractions that would make such as were now glad to be rid of him, no less desirous to recal him (y). The Parliament seemed strongly inclined to make this service as acceptable as possible; for they gave him the title of Lord Lieutenant, a most extensive commission, and he was sent out of London with the greatest pomp imaginable. He embarked for Ireland in the month of August, and arrived at Dublin soon after the siege of that city was raised, and Ormond defeated (z). The great industry he had used, in providing all things necessary for this expedition, made his army wear another appearance than any of those that had been yet seen in Ireland; so that many places surrendered upon his approach; but Sir Arthur Aston being in Drogheda with two thousand five hundred men, all old troops, it was believed he would have detained the conqueror some time, and have allowed Ormond leisure to have drawn together a new army. But Cromwell, better acquainted with the real strength of places, and better provided with the means of reducing them than those who had gone before him in this war, declined a regular siege, and, observing where the place was weakest, employed all his artillery to open a passage. In a very short space of time two breaches were practicable, which Cromwell immediately stormed, September 16th, 1649; and though the garrison made a gallant defence, yet, by some accident, Cromwell's forces gained admittance, and, as he had before resolved, he put all that were to be met with to the sword, so that, at the out-side, there were but thirty escaped. The strong town of Wexford had the same, or, rather, a worse fate, for there abundance of unhappy women perished (a). His successes here, as in England, were seasoned with very few disappointments, though some he did meet with; and sickness and action having much reduced his Army, he was once in danger of being attacked with great advantage by Ormond; but that opportunity being lost, was never recovered (b). He did not put his forces into winter-

(y) See Ludlow's Memoirs, Flaggellum, or Heath's life of O. Cromwell, and the Hist. of Independency.

(b) See Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the War in Ireland, and Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond.

[T] And destroyed them with as little mercy, as, in the High Court of Justice, he had shewn to the King or his friends.] It is very observable, that though, in matters of difficulty and great importance, Cromwell was slow in taking his party, and yet more so in declaring it when taken, this conduct of his was entirely altered from the time he once declared; for he was then, generally speaking, not only as firm, but more forward than any, and this in matters that would have put the greatest difficulties upon another man. As for instance, he moved for a Committee to look into the proceedings at the trial of the King, in order to testify their concurrence and approbation, and actually reported this matter to the House himself (125). Upon the trial of Lord Capel, he made a speech as sensible as it was severe: he acknowledged that Lord had great courage, industry, and generosity; avowed a sincere personal esteem and respect for him; but then added, that the true question was, not whether they should spare the life of a single man? but, Whether they should preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they ever had (126). When he marched against the Levellers, it was not only the Parliament's, but his own cause that was at stake, and therefore he pressed Lord Fairfax not to lose a moment's time; and indeed if any time had been lost, it is very probable that a new Civil War had begun; for Capt. Thompson, who had put himself at the head of these people, had drawn together near five thousand men, who, like himself, were determined; and the Manifesto they had published daily brought in more. To prevent, if possible, an action whence Cromwell foresaw the worst consequences imaginable, Col. Reynolds was allowed to

parley with them, and to give them hopes of a treaty. Under the sense of this being secure, they took the saddles off their horses, and put them into a meadow to feed; but, about twelve at night, they were attacked on all sides, and, being unable to form themselves, were easily defeated. A great many surrendered upon having quarter given them, who were the next morning spectators of the death of three of their Chiefs, one of whom was Thompson's brother: they all died with great courage and spirit. A message was then sent to the rest of the mutineers, that they should be decimated, that is, one in ten was to suffer death; but upon the heels of this came Lieutenant-General Cromwell, to let them know, that with much difficulty he had procured them pardon, by which he recovered the affection of the Army; neither is it at all improbable, that he brought the Lord General with him hither, that he might have an opportunity of doing this, which happened May 15, 1649 (127). As for Thompson, the Ringleader, he escaped the slaughter made of his companions, and threw himself into a wood, where, though much wounded, he defended himself desperately so long as he had any ammunition, and then, absolutely refusing quarter, was killed upon the spot. This broke the heart of that design, which might otherwise have given the Parliament a great deal of trouble, notwithstanding they had voted them rebels, for they were a sort of people not to be frightened with words. After this Cromwell pursued his point, and prevailed upon those regiments, most inclined to join the mutineers, to wipe out the memory of past offences, by consenting to go with him to Ireland, which accordingly they did (128).

(127) Hist. of Independency, p. 167. Heath's Chron. p. 233, 234.

(128) Flaggellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 84.

quarters

(125) See the Journal of the House annexed to the King's trial.

(126) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 113. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 670.

quarters till the month of December; and the rainy season made it impossible for him to keep the field. He was in motion again in the beginning of February, and reduced several other places: not a few also revolted to him; and at last, in the beginning of March, he came before Kilkenny, which had been the chief seat of that bloody and barbarous rebellion, which he quickly reduced, and, not long after, Clonmell, by storm; so that by the month of June, 1650, all Ireland was, in a manner, subdued, and that in so short a space as nine months (c). A strange concurrence of circumstances made his presence now desired in England, not only by those who wished him well, but by such also as wished him worst. Constituting therefore his son-in-law Ireton his deputy, he took shipping for Bristol, where, after a dangerous passage, he safely arrived (d), leaving such a terror on the minds of the Irish, as made every thing easy to those who succeeded him, and compleated the conquest of that country [U]. Upon his return to London he came, as it were, in triumph, and all ranks of people contended, either from love or fear, who should shew him most respect. At his taking his seat in the House he had thanks returned him for his services, in terms as high as the Speaker's eloquence could reach (e). These ceremonies once over, they proceeded to things of greater consequence; for, by this time, the Parliament had another war upon their hands, the Scots having invited home King Charles II. and preparing an army to invade England. There is no doubt that the Parliament would have been content to have trusted this war to the conduct of Lord Fairfax, a brave man, and a good officer, though no profound politician; but he had always scruples, and, having been often deceived and deluded, was now not so easily dealt with (f). Cromwell made no secret of his sentiments, which were, that they should not wait for an invasion, but prevent it by an invasion, and in this, without question, he had the better side of the argument; but Lord Fairfax's conscience could not digest this reasoning: he had taken the Covenant, and, notwithstanding all the series of transactions he had run through, he could not bring himself to think of breaking it, by attacking the Scots in their own country (g). Cromwell, who had taken measure of his capacity, and knew that, as far as that went, he was inflexibly honest, carried his dissimulation to the greatest height, pressed him to continue in his command, declared he thought it a greater honour to serve as his Lieutenant-General, than to command the finest army in the world in chief; and, strange as this declaration was, he supported it with such a shew of sincerity, that Mr. Ludlow (h), who suspected him as much as any man, confesses that he was deceived, and that he thought himself obliged to interpose, and to desire that the Lieutenant-General would not suffer his complaisance to prove fatal to his country. This famous conference was held June 25th, 1650; and, though a whole month had been now spent in trying to get the better of Lord Fairfax's distaste to the expedition against the Scots, yet it was all in vain; so that June 26th an Ordinance passed for repealing his commission, and, at the same time, another for appointing Oliver Cromwell, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth (i). He had now as great power as might have satisfied the most ambitious mind; for, though he

[U] *Leaving such a terror on the minds of the Irish, as made every thing easy to those who succeeded him, and compleated the conquest of that country.* We have seen the share that Commissary-General Ireton had in affairs of the greatest importance and difficulty, where Cromwell had occasion for advice, and his hand was chiefly used in drawing all papers; for having been bred a Lawyer, he was much more capable in things of that nature than most of his party. He was very useful to his father-in-law in the course of the Irish war, and therefore it is no wonder that Cromwell committed the extinction of it to his care. Some writers, and more especially a famous Prelate (129), have indeed suggested that he was so far from being second to Cromwell, that he governed him, and that particularly in the business of the King's death he was the principal instrument, and drove the Lieutenant-General into it whether he would or not. Ludlow does not say this; but he seems to countenance such an opinion; for he was as great an admirer of Ireton, as he was an implacable enemy to Cromwell. If one could give entire credit to this, it might be reasonably presumed, that Cromwell left him his Deputy in Ireland, to prevent his embarrassing the measures he meant to take in England. But whoever considers attentively the characters of both these men, will not, I persuade myself, discover any real grounds for such suppositions. While Cromwell and Ireton dealt with the King, their behaviour was perfectly the same, that is to say, they dissembled alike, or, if there was any difference, Ireton did it the best of the two, whence one would naturally infer, that his principles were the same with Cromwell's: neither is it at all improbable, that, if they had

lived longer together, they would have agreed as well in the latter part of their lives as they did in the former (130). Upon the whole, therefore, the truth seems to be, that Cromwell made choice of him for Deputy, because he was at once the fittest man for that employment, and the person in the world he could best trust with it. If these were Cromwell's reasons, they were fully justified in the event; for Ireton did every thing that could be expected from him: he prosecuted the war with all the vigour and vigilance of a great officer, and settled also the civil affairs of the kingdom upon the best foundation possible. At the time of his death, there was an English army in Ireland of eight thousand horse and twenty-two thousand foot, and though the Irish had still some thousands in arms, and were possessed of several places of considerable strength, yet their counsels were so broken, their forces so dispirited, and they had so few resources left, (Cromwell, from a seeming spirit of compassion, having suffered multitudes to be transported abroad for the Spanish and other services) that notwithstanding what Ludlow tells us of his own exploits in that kingdom, there was really nothing to be done of any consequence; and as the reduction of Ireland was first rendered practicable by Cromwell, so with justice one can hardly say, it was compleated by any but Deputy Ireton and Lord Broghill, who were both of them, though from very different motives, equally attached to Cromwell and his family (131). We shall hereafter see that it was his policy to keep Ireland constantly in such hands; which, without doubt, was very necessary, since the army there would have been always formidable, if at the devotion of any but those on whom he could absolutely depend.

(c) Heath's Chronicle, p. 251.
Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 459.
Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 309.

(e) Heath's Chron. p. 267.
Ludlow's Mem. vol. i. p. 313, 314.

(f) Memoirs of Thomas Lord Fairfax, p. 127, 128.

(g) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 273.

(h) Memoirs, vol. i. p. 315.

(d) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 88, 89.

(i) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460—462.

(129) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 44. 46, 47.

(130) See Sir John Berkeley's Memoirs, Huntington's Charge against Cromwell, History of Independency, p. ii. p. 178.

(131) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. ii. p. 67.

offered to resign his Lieutenancy of Ireland, yet the Parliament would not accept it. Being sensible, however, of the necessity there was to preserve the military affairs in that kingdom from falling again into confusion, and being desirous to remove out of his way any officer the Parliament might think capable of taking a superior command, he resolved to follow that impression which he perceived his late conduct had made upon Mr. Ludlow, and to procure his being sent to Ireland in quality of Lieutenant-General of the Horse; which was accordingly done (*k*). Experience afterwards taught Ludlow the true meaning of this; but, in all probability, he considered it, at that time, as a favour; and this the great admirers of Cromwell have justly considered, as an instance of his refined policy (*l*) [*W*]. All obstructions being now removed, he began his march towards Scotland, much about the same time that King Charles appeared there in public. The army which he commanded consisted of about twenty thousand men, which were the flower of the Parliament Army, and such as, with the change of a very few officers, General Cromwell could well depend upon (*m*). He used great expedition, and arrived in a month's time at Berwick, where he published a Declaration, importing, that the English had no intention to impose any form of government upon the inhabitants of Scotland, but engaged in this war purely upon a principle of self-defence. The Scots had destroyed all their own country, and withdrawn as many of their people as they could, so that from the time Cromwell entered it, his forces were much distressed; nor was the progress he made attended, for some time, with much greater success; for at Mulsleborough he was attacked in the night (*n*) with great fury, and was in no small danger of being defeated; notwithstanding which he continued his march towards Edinburgh, and came to the very walls of that city. The Army of the Scots Presbyterians, for it could scarcely be styled the King's Army, since they would not suffer him to be in it, was commanded by old Lesley, who shewed himself a very good officer; for being sensible, that his new-raised troops were not able to contend in the field with Cromwell's seasoned old soldiers, he kept them so well intrenched, that even Cromwell, who put his troops sometimes upon doing miracles, could not think of attacking him, but depended chiefly upon propagating discontents in the Scotch Army, which was easily done, and upon provoking them to fight, which he judged must, some time or other, have its effect (*o*). The first, indeed, Lesley could not prevent, though it gave him a great deal of trouble and disquiet; but the latter he hindered for some time, and thereby brought Cromwell's forces into great straits. They had once retreated to Dunbar, and thence advanced again to Mulsleborough; but this having no effect, the Scots growing daily stronger, and the English Army dwindling in the same proportion, Cromwell marched again to Dunbar, with a design, as is generally believed, of shipping his foot for England, and breaking through the Scots Army with his horse (*p*). But while he was meditating either this retreat, or a final attempt before he made it, the Scots changed their resolution at the request of their Ministers, who promised them, with a most enthusiastic vehemence, a complete victory; in confidence of which, against Lesley's advice, they determined to fight (*q*). General Cromwell who, in the night of September 2d, 1650, had also resolved in a Council of War, to attack them, observing, with a perspective glass, that they were in motion, declared, as if it had been through a spirit of prophecy, but in reality from his military skill, That God had delivered them into his hands (*r*). Their attack was furious; but Cromwell's foot stood so firm, that they were able to make but little impression; and the hurry of their own charge having thrown them into confusion, the English horse easily broke,

(*k*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 321—323.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 269.

(*n*) Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 163.

(*p*) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 684. Walker's Hist. Discourses, p. 179.

(*r*) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 54.

(*l*) Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell, p. 33.

(*o*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 466. Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 165.

(*q*) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 54. Walker's Hist. Discourses, p. 180, 181.

(132) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 321.

(133) Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell.

[*W*] As an instance of his refined policy.] It must be very clear to such as peruse what Mr. Ludlow has written, and who consider what General Cromwell had acted, that, if we except their bravery, there could not be two more different men in the world. Ludlow was sincerely and steadily a Republican. Cromwell was not wedded to any kind of Government, but of all kinds liked that the least. Ludlow spoke his mind plainly, and was never taken for any other than he professed himself to be: Cromwell valued himself upon acting a part, or rather upon acting several parts, and all of them equally well; and when he had occasion to perform that of a Commonwealth's-man, he performed it so admirably, that though Ludlow knew him to be a player by profession, yet he now thought he had thrown off the mask, and appeared what he really was (132). Ludlow was entirely devoted to the Parliament as now constituted, and would have implicitly obeyed their orders upon any occasion whatever: it was quite otherwise with Cromwell, who marched into Scotland to do his own business as well as theirs: from all which it may be inferred, that Cromwell sent Ludlow over to Ireland, that, in case of any accident, like that which actually happened of the King's sudden march into England, the Parliament might not have any officer at hand fit to command a new army, which

new army, being also composed of troops raised under their authority, might have given a check to his own. He well knew, that two armies in a country of any thing near equal force, is the same thing with having none, in case the civil authority and the voice of the people declare on one side; for then there will be no way left to keep the other army together, which would have been his case if Ludlow had ever had a Parliamentary army, and was actually the case of Lambert against Monk; for the latter prevailed only by his having the Parliament and the people on his side. In Ireland there was no such danger: Cromwell himself was Lord Lieutenant, Ireton was his Deputy, and therefore Ludlow could do little harm, for Ireton fooled him there as Cromwell had done in England; but when, through a change of circumstances, he might have become dangerous, we shall find that General Cromwell took notice of it in time, and sent over another person whom he could trust to take the command out of his hands, of which also Ludlow bitterly complained, though he does not seem to have apprehended fully the motives of that alteration (133). I have dwelt upon this as a proper instance of Cromwell's refined policy, of which also many others might be given, but, for the sake of brevity, these are left to the reader's own observation.

routed,

routed, and cut them off with prodigious slaughter: only one highland regiment of foot remained firm, and covered with their bodies the ground upon which they were posted, no more than twenty wounded men being taken prisoners out of eight hundred of which that corps consisted (s). Such was the famous victory of Dunbar, than which Cromwell never gained any more entire, or that did him greater credit as a Commander (t) [X]. After taking the necessary precautions, by sending away the prisoners, he returned to Edinburgh, where he met with no resistance except from the castle, which held out to Christmas-Eve, and was then surrendered, or, as some say, betrayed into his hands (u). He continued the war all the winter, and, in the beginning of the ensuing year, made dispositions for attacking the King, whom the Scots had now crowned, and provided with another army; but factions still continued amongst them, of which none knew better how to take advantage than Cromwell. In the Spring he was severely attacked by an ague, and this gave the English Parliament an opportunity of shewing an equal concern for his person and their own interests, which they expressed by sending down Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, two eminent Physicians, to attend him, and large supplies of men and money for reinforcing his army (w). He quickly recovered his health, and in several small actions and sieges was constantly successful; but the King continued near Stirling with his army, now in a good measure under his command, in a strong camp, where Cromwell could not force him, and out of which he was resolved not to be drawn. At length, tired with this tedious manner of making war, Cromwell attacked and reduced Perth, which threw the King into great perplexity, so that, towards the end of July 1651, he resolved to take that which seemed to be his only advantage, a retreat from Cromwell into England, to which he was nearest (x). All who were about him concurred in this advice, excepting only the Marquis of Argyle, who told him, his fate would, in that case, depend upon a battle, where if he lost it, it would be in a country where he had no resource, and where, without a miracle, his person would be also lost; that he might still retire into Argyleshire, and thence, if any misfortune happened, into the Highlands, where,

[X] Or that did him greater credit as a Commander.]

The most satisfactory account that is to be met with of this battle, seems to be that given by Cromwell himself, in his letter to the Parliament, which not being easily met with, the reader cannot but be pleased to read the most remarkable facts in it, as delivered by himself (134). Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great, as we hear about six thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot at least; ours, drawn down as to sound men, about seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five hundred horse. The enemy drew down to their right wing about two thirds of their left wing of horse, shogging also their foot and train much to the right, causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves in a more exact condition of interposition. The Major General and myself coming to the Earl of Roxborough's house, and observing his posture, I told him I thought it did give us an opportunity to advantage to attempt upon the enemy, to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me, so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both our hearts at the same instant. We called for General Monk, and shewed him the same thing, and coming to our quarter at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the Colonels, they also cheerfully concurred. We resolved therefore to put our business into this posture, that six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot, should march in the van, and that the Major-General, the Lieutenant-General of the horse, and the Commissary-General and Colonel Monk to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Col. Pride's brigade, Col. Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and rear, the time of falling on to be by break of day; but, by some delay, it proved not to be 'till six o'clock in the morning. The enemy's word was *the Covenant*, which they had used for divers days; ours *the Lord of Hosts*. The Major-General, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whalley, and Col. Twissleton, gave the onset; the enemy being in very good posture to receive them, having the advantage, their cannon and foot against our horse, and before our foot could come up the enemy made a gallant resistance. And there was a very hot dispute,

at sword's point, between our horse and theirs. Our first foot, after they had discharged their first fury, being over-powered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff and my Major White, did come seasonably in, and at push of pike did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, merely with the courage which the Lord was pleased to give, which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot, this being the first action between the foot: the horse in the mean time did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horse and their foot, who were after the first repulse given, made, by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swords. Indeed I believe I may speak it without partiality, both your Chief Commanders and others in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage, as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look not to be named, and therefore I forbear particulars. The best of the enemy's horse and foot being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout, our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe that upon the place, and near about it, were three thousand slain; prisoners taken of their officers, you have this inclosed list; of private soldiers, near ten thousand; the whole baggage and train taken, in which was good store of match, powder, and bullet; all their artillery great and small; thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them no less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought unto me near two hundred colours, which I herewith send you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn, but yet surely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Col. Lumisdale, the Lord Libberton, and others; and that which is no small addition, I believe we have not lost twenty men; not one commissioned officer slain as I hear of, save one Cornet, and Major Rooksby since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded; Col. Whalley only cut in the hand, wrist, and his horse twice shot, and killed under him, but he well recovered another horse, and went on in his chase. Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war.'

while

(s) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 471. Walker's Hist. Discourses, p. 181. Burnet's Mem. of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 424.

(w) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 106. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289, 290.

(x) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 501. Heath's Chron. p. 294, 295. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 120.

(134) What is here cited was transcribed from Cromwell's letters in Dr. Nalson's M. S. Collections.

(t) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 684. Rapin, vol. xiii. p. 53, 54. (u) Heath's Chr. p. 280, 281. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 110.

(z) Heath's Chron. p. 294. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281.

(b) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118, 119. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 509. (c) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 697.

(d) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 157.

(135) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 116. (136) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 123. (137) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 282. Heath's Chron. p. 297.

(138) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 365, 366.

(139) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 447.

while there were men, he would never want an army (y). This moved the King, and him only: the rest were determined, and prevailed upon him to begin his march southward, as he did on the last of July (z). The news of his coming into England alarmed the Parliament at Westminster exceedingly, and put them upon augmenting their army with many thousand men. The rapidity of the King's march brought him to Worcester before Cromwell could overtake him; but in the mean time the gallant Earl of Derby, who was marching to his assistance, was routed and taken; and soon after General Cromwell blocked him up in Worcester, where, on the 3d of September, he attacked and carried the place, totally defeated the King's forces, and gained that which himself called, in his letter to the Parliament, the crowning victory (a) [Z]. He did not remain long with the troops: for having seen the walls of Worcester demolished, and directing some thousands of prisoners to be driven before him, he began his march, as it were, in triumph for London. He met four Commissioners from the Parliament not far from Aylesbury, and, when he came to Acton, the Speaker, the House, and the Council of State, met him in form, as did soon after the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and with all this pomp he proceeded to Whitehall, where, having reposed himself a little, September the 16th, he took his place in the House, where his great achievements were again the subject of Lenthall's eloquence; and the same day he dined upon a solemn invitation in the city (b). Yet these, though great, were far from being the most considerable marks of honour that were paid him. A general thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, and the 3d of September appointed an anniversary State holiday: he had besides four thousand pounds a year voted him out of the estates of the Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Worcester (c). When these ceremonies and acknowledgments were over, he had leisure to look about him, and to consider as well his own condition as that of the nation. He saw himself at present General and Commander in Chief of a great army in England, and, at the same time, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but then he knew that all this was derived to him from the Parliament; and he clearly discerned that, whether Independents or Presbyterians sat there, they would endeavour to perpetuate supreme power in their own hands, which, for many reasons, he disliked; and therefore he sifted the most eminent persons, in order to find out their sentiments about the establishment of the kingdom, which was a new phrase invented to cover the design of subverting the Parliament (d). In reference to this he found, that different men had different opinions, all concurring in part, but not in the whole, with his own [Z]. As it was not yet time for him

(y) See the article of Campbell, Marquis of Argyll, in this work.

(a) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 222. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 281, 282. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 507, 508. Echard's Hist. Eng. p. 697.

(140) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 118.

(141) Heath's Chron. p. 301. (142) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 460. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 214, 215.

(143) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 516.

[Y] *The crowning victory.* In this battle of Worcester Cromwell gave very high proofs of his personal courage, and that for a generous purpose, since he exposed himself extremely to offer quarter to the Scots who defended the Fort Royal, with a view only of preventing the unnecessary effusion of blood amongst his own troops, for his proposition being refused, and the place taken, he directed all that were in it to be put to the sword (135). He likewise shewed his impartiality in commending the courage of the King, who charged with the Scots foot, and gained some advantage even over Cromwell's guards (136): but the Scots horse, under the command of Lesley, behaved basely. There needed not much of conduct in the business, for besides that they were certainly better troops, Cromwell had also the advantage in numbers, the King's army consisting but of sixteen thousand, and that of the Parliament of twenty-eight thousand (137). It is said that Cromwell treated the militia but indifferently, though they contributed much to the victory; but in his letter to the Parliament he acknowledges their great services, in as clear and as strong terms as could be expected. There is no doubt that this was as signal and compleat a stroke of success, as even the ambitious heart of Cromwell could desire, and therefore it is no great wonder that it took him a little off his guard, as it certainly did. He would have knighted two of his principal Commanders upon the field of battle, and was with great difficulty dissuaded from it (138). His letter to the Parliament is conceived in more stiff and lofty terms than any of his former writings. Ludlow says that his behaviour was altered from that day, and that all who were about him observed it (139). Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say, it was altered upon that day and the next, for he very soon recovered himself, and shewed as much submission and humility as ever. He treated his prisoners with great severity, and it is thought would have brought Maffey and Middleton to the scaffold, if they had not had the good luck to escape. He was now compleatly master of the Army,

which expected its continuance and the payment of all arrears from his weight and influence, which opinion he took care to encourage, and gave them frequent assurances, that they might much better depend upon him than upon their old resource of Agitators (140). All his conduct afterwards was of a piece with this, and he took all the care imaginable to make the Army sensible of their own importance, and to let them see that nothing could divide their interests from his own, which was the true foundation of his growing greatness, and of the gradual declension of the Parliament's power, which, though they clearly discerned, they knew not how to prevent.

[Z] *But not in the whole with his own.* After the great victory of Worcester, General Cromwell took a new text, upon which he preached with wonderful eloquence upon all occasions, and this was, *the necessity of an establishment*. There had been a great deal of fighting, and now the fighting was over, he thought the conquerors ought to know what they had been fighting for (141). In a meeting among the principal persons in power, held about three months afterwards, he proposed the question fairly (142), when St. John, Whitlocke, Lenthall, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, declared plainly for monarchy, Harrison, Desborough, and Whalley, as plainly for a Commonwealth. Cromwell did not think fit to discover his own opinion with the like clearness, but expressed a desire of knowing, if a Monarchy was necessary, Who was to be that Monarch? Sir Thomas Widdrington answered directly, one of the late King's sons, and proposed the Duke of Gloucester then in their power. To this Whitlocke demurred, and was for inviting the two elder brothers; but this being nothing to Cromwell's design, he soon broke up that conference. Upon the 7th of Nov. 1652, meeting the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke in the Park, he entered into a long discourse with him upon this important subject, in which the part that Cromwell took was this (143): he shewed him that the Parliament was now become a faction; that they were resolved to rule all, and to rule for ever, merely

him to declare himself plainly, he made it his business to entertain as fair a correspondence as possible with all parties. He behaved in public with great decency and duty towards that body of men he was contriving to remove, but held a private correspondence with every one of the parties that were caballing against them, by which he was in all their secrets, as they probably thought they were in his, but in that they were deceived; he never had but one confident, and that confident was gone. This was his son-in-law Ireton, whom he had placed at the head of affairs in Ireland, where he died of the plague (e). It was of great importance to him to substitute another there as much devoted to his service; but the thing was difficult. The Parliament had cast their eyes upon Lambert, who was to govern with the title of Lord Deputy; but ways and means were found to change their resolution as to the title, though not as to the man: but as he rightly foresaw, the change of the one produced the change of the other; for Lambert, who would have been proud of being Deputy, disdained to go thither as a Commissioner (f). Under these circumstances the ordinance appointing Cromwell Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom determined, which he very prudently declined to renew, but instead of it got the ordinance appointing him Captain-General and Commander in Chief in England, extended by another ordinance to Ireland; and thus he had the power without the name: but as he never meant to go thither again in person, he gave his daughter, Mrs. Ireton, in marriage to Colonel Fleetwood, a man entirely under his direction, whom he procured to be declared Lieutenant-General of the forces in Ireland; by which the great point he aimed at was fully attained (g). This dexterity in his management became very soon after obvious enough, though little notice was taken of it at the time; which shewed the deep reach of his politicks, and how much his abilities were in reality superior to those of the persons he had to do with, who, with all the good-will in the world to oppose him, found themselves, at every turn, the dupes of his designs, which at the bottom were just as honest as their own (h). As a proof of this we may observe, that the very person worst treated in this affair, that is, General Lambert, not only misplaced his resentment, and grew disaffected to the Parliament, but suffered himself to be so far cajoled by Cromwell, as to believe, that he thought him worthier than to be sent to Ireland upon any terms, and that if any thing should happen to himself, he sincerely wished him for his successor, how eminent soever his station might be (i). All the winter of the year 1652 was spent in cabals and contrivances on both sides, that is, by the friends of the Parliament, to support and sustain its authority, and, by their opponents, to bring things into such a situation, as might render the necessity of dissolving that assembly universally apparent. But while all this was doing, General Cromwell neglected nothing that might establish hopes of favour from him, and of benefit to their respective causes in all the parties then subsisting in the nation; which, considering the diversity of principles on which they acted, and their inveteracy against each other, must appear a thing almost incredible (k) [AA]. As the Spring advanced

(e) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 467.

(g) Heath's Chron. p. 309.

(h) Bates's *Elementus Motuum*, p. 159, 160. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 125.

(i) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 414. Flagellum, &c. p. 126, 127.

(f) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 414.

(k) Bates's *Elementus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 159. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449, 450.

for their own sakes; that they gave all employments to themselves, their relations, or friends; that they drew every thing within their own cognizance, by which the subject lost the benefit of the law, and held his property but by a precarious tenure; that, all this considered, they had fought themselves into a worse condition, and that, instead of a Monarch with a prerogative royal, they had now many masters who made laws and broke them at their pleasure; that, on the other hand, the Army was very sensible of this; that they bore it with great reluctance; that they too had great disputes amongst themselves; and that it could not be long before these mischiefs broke out into a new flame. Whitlocke very readily agreed, that he had described both parties truly, but, at the same time, acknowledged, that, notwithstanding he was acquainted with the diseases of the Commonwealth, he was entirely ignorant of any right method of cure. What, said Cromwell, if a man should take upon himself to be King? Whitlocke undertook to shew him, that he would get nothing by it, that he had more power already than former Kings ever had, and that by assuming the name he might run a great hazard of losing the thing. Cromwell then pressed to know, What he would have done? upon which, as before, the Lord Commissioner propounded compromising matters with Charles Stuart, the debating of which Cromwell declined, as being a matter of much difficulty. There is no doubt but that he had many conversations of this sort with the most intelligent of all parties; but we shall mention only one more, and that for two reasons; first, because it shews us that he was perfectly aware of what is suggested in the text, that those who hated each other extremely, all concurred in still hating him with greater inveteracy; for as the

Vol. IV.

Royalists detested his person, so the Republicans abhorred his power. Secondly, because it is reported upon good authority, having been often related by Mr. Henry Nevil, a celebrated Politician, and once a Member of the Council of State. He was wont to tell it thus (144): 'That Cromwell upon this great occasion sent for some of the chief city Divines, as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly opposed the project of Mr. Cromwell's single government, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of unlawful, and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. But, says he, pray Mr. Calamy why impracticable? Calamy replied, Oh 'tis against the voice of the nation, there will be nine in ten against you. Very well, says Cromwell, but what if I should disarm the nine, and put a sword into the tenth man's hand, Would not that do the business?' [AA] Must appear a thing almost incredible.] It cannot but be satisfactory to the inquisitive reader to see this point a little more fully explained, the chief difficulty lying in this, that the inveteracy of people in those times was so great, as to render it next to impossible, to shew the least favour to any one party, without irritating all the rest. The path indeed was narrow, and precipices there were on every side; yet Cromwell had the courage to venture himself in this path, and so great conduct as to pass through it without making one false step. He never courted the Cavaliers directly, but, upon particular occasions, and under a variety of pretences, he did many of them signal services, and generally spoke of them as men of honour acting upon mistaken principles; exclaiming at

(144) Life of Henry Nevil, Esq; p. 35.

(l) Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 451, 452.

(m) Heath's Chron. p. 324, 325. Bates's *Eleventh Motuum*, p. 160.

(q) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 129. Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 230.

(s) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 554. Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 457.

(145) Dugdale's Short view of the late troubles, p. 405.

(146) Echard's History of England, p. 703, 704. Unparalleled Monarch, p. 114.

advanced this great affair began to ripen: the people in different parts of the nation, and the Army in general, began to murmur at the amazing stretch of power which the Parliament, though so thin of Members, assumed to themselves, which sometimes the General encouraged, and at others repressed; as for instance, when it was debated in the Council of Officers, whether they should petition the Parliament to turn their vote into a bill for their own dissolution, Cromwell sent Colonel Desborough, who had married a sister of his, to put an end to that debate, in which he declared, in express terms, against using any violence, and at the same time ran out into the highest commendations of that Assembly (l). But afterwards perceiving, that the party against them in the Army was growing daily stronger, and that, on the other hand, the Parliament, having gotten both courage and credit from their success in the Dutch war, were contriving to set up the Fleet against the Army, and to diminish the power of the one, and to augment that of the other, had ordered part of the Army on board the Fleet, he found himself obliged to make more haste (m). On the 19th of April, 1653, he called a Council of Officers, once more to debate this point, in which as he had many friends, so he had also some opponents, who insinuated, that what he did proceeded from self-interest and ambition. Major-General Harrison, a zealous Fanatick, but absolutely deceived by Cromwell, assured the Assembly, in the sincerity of his heart, That the Lord General sought only to pave the way for the government of Jesus and his Saints, to which Major Streater briskly returned, That then he ought to come quickly, for if it was after Christmas, he would come too late (n). Upon this Cromwell adjourned the meeting till the next morning, when a new point was started, whether it might not be expedient for the House and the Army to appoint twenty persons of a side, to be intrusted with the supreme power. In the midst of this dispute advice came, that the House had under consideration their own dissolution, and upon this such as were Members withdrew, and went thither to promote that design. But in reality the Parliament had framed a bill, to continue themselves to the 5th of November in the next year, proposing, in the mean time, to fill up the House by new elections (o). Colonel Ingoldsby came back to the General, and informed him what the House was upon: at which the General, who expected they should have meddled with no other business but putting an immediate period to their own sitting, without any more delay, was so enraged, that he immediately commanded some of the officers to fetch a party of soldiers, to the number of three hundred, with which marching directly to Westminster, he placed some of them at the door, some in the lobby, and others on the stairs (p). Himself going into the House, first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him, That he then came to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears prayed to God against; nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but that there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation (q). Then he sat down, and heard their debates for some time on the fore-mentioned act; after which calling to Major-General Harrison, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him, That he judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it (r). Harrison answered, Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it, before you engage in it. You say well, replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the said act being put, he said again to Harrison, This is the time, I must do it: and so standing up on a sudden, he had the Speaker leave the chair, and told the House, That they had sitten long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters, looking then towards Harry Martin and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he must desire them to go away (s). He charged them with not having a heart to do any thing for the

(n) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 126, 127.

(o) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 524.

(p) Bates's *Eleventh Motuum*, p. ii. p. 160.

(r) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 455, 456.

prudence and probity, which, the then situation of things considered, was very acceptable doctrine. His real design, however, he closely concealed; so that all who were desirous of a change expected it from him, and at the same time flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be such a change as they wished. In every thing he said and did, he had a manner that seemed to manifest the greatest sincerity; and yet there was so much of caution in all his words and actions, that he knew how to interpret the one, and to account for the other, in such a way, that no hold could be taken of them to his disadvantage. In short, he never expressed resentment against any but it was followed with destruction, so as to leave them no capacity of revenge; and wherever he conferred obligations, it was in a way so high and so generous, that as he never bestowed them on unworthy objects, so the memory of them was never lost, or himself deceived as to their effects (147).

(147) See Maurice's Memoirs of Lord Broghill, Winstanley's Select Lives of English Worthies, p. 596, 597.

public

public good, and espousing the interest of Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, and accused them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power. When some of the Members began to speak, he stepped into the midst of the House, and said, Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; then walking up and down the House, he cried out, You are no Parliament, I say you are no Parliament, and, stamping with his feet, he bad them for shame begone, and give place to honest men (t). Upon this signal the soldiers entered the House, and he bad one of them take away that bauble, meaning the mace; and Harrison taking the Speaker by the arm, he came down. Then the General, addressing himself again to the Members, who were about a hundred, said, 'Tis you that have forced me to this; for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work. And then seizing on all their papers, he ordered the soldiers to see the House cleared of all Members, and, having caused the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall (u). With the same spirit he proceeded to turn out the Council of State, and to take such other measures as appeared to him the most proper, for the support of that great authority he had attained, preserving the affection of the Army, and keeping peace and quietness in the nation [BB]. He continued, for a few days, to direct all things by the advice of the Council of Officers, where he professed his own painful sense of the vast burthen laid upon his shoulders, and how desirous he was to remove it; but finding, by the speeches of some of them, he might probably be taken at his word, he first excited them to discover, and then so effectually exposed their different, contradictory, and irreconcilable sentiments as to Government, that they were at last glad to propose a new Council of State, in which the supreme authority was vested (w); and then published a very rational and well-drawn declaration, dated April 22d, in which they gave the fairest colours possible to the late dissolution, and promised that a new representative should be called (x). This was accordingly done, by virtue of letters or warrants under the Lord General's hand. This Assembly consisted of one hundred forty-two persons, and met July the 4th, in the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, where Cromwell told them, that they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority; which they did without ceremony, and elected Francis Rous, Esq; Provost of Eton, their Speaker. This, from its narrowness in point of numbers, was stiled the little, from its manner of proceeding, the godly, and from the pragmatistical behaviour of one Praise-God Barebone, a Leatherfeller in the city, Barebone's Parliament. This Assembly sat long enough to do Cromwell's business and their own; for the majority of them being Fifth Monarchy-men, threatened total destruction to the Ministry, and the Lawyers; and took such strange steps with re-

[BB] *And keeping peace and quietness in the nation.*

When General Cromwell came back to Whitehall he found a Council of Officers still assembled, and this grand point yet in debate, upon which he told them roundly, they need trouble themselves no farther about it, for he had done it. Col. Okey, who was none of his creatures, demanded immediately What he had done? and, when he had told him, expostulated the point warmly; but Cromwell talked so much louder than he, of the glory of God and the good of the nation, the removing of yokes and badges of slavery, that he very soon thought proper to be silent, and to wait for the conclusion of this affair, in order to distinguish from his actions, what were Cromwell's real intentions in so bold an action (148). In the afternoon of the same day, Cromwell, attended by the Majors-General Lambert and Harrison, went to the Council of State, and finding them sitting, addressed them in the following terms: 'Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a Council of State, this is no place for you. And since you cannot but know what was done at the House this morning, so take notice, that the Parliament is dissolved.' Serjeant Bradshaw boldly answered, 'Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and, before many hours, all England will hear it. But, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved, for no power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves, therefore take you notice of that.' Some others also spoke to the same purpose: But the Council finding themselves to be under the same force, they all quietly departed (149). The true reason why General Cromwell dismissed, in that manner, this Council of State, was, because he intended to have another of his own construction, these as they derived their authority from, being men entirely devoted to the Parliament. It cannot be supposed that such a transaction as this should pass in silence, or that the persons ejected, and their friends

and creatures, should not make a very great noise, as indeed they did, representing this act of Cromwell's as the most insolent violation of the supreme authority that could be practised or imagined (150). To prevent any impression that these invectives might otherwise make, some were employed to tell the people, that these men had no reason to complain; that themselves had taken pains to shew the nation that there was no authority inviolable in its nature, that they had themselves fled to the Army, and by the assistance of the Army purged their own House at their pleasure; that they had taken away the Upper House of Parliament without any other law than their will; and that in all their proceedings they had been by far more arbitrary, than any Monarch that ever filled the English throne, and this without any other colour of right than what was derived to them from their own vote. The Royalists took this advantage also to descant upon public affairs, and without much ceremony treated the dispersed Parliament as a herd of usurpers, exhausting the wealth, and trampling upon the liberties of the people, who could only be delivered by one who had superior power in his hands, and who in this instance had made the right use of it (151). When such discourses had been thoroughly spread, and the General afterwards proceeded to some popular acts, such as reducing the tax from one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to ninety thousand pounds a month, and had emitted the Declaration mentioned in the text, it was presently approved by addresses from the fleet and army, as well as from different parts of the kingdom, which was called the voice of the nation: and, by the way, it may not be amiss to take notice, that this was the first rise of addresses (152), which very clearly shews how great a politician Cromwell was, and how much better skilled in the art of giving a fair colour to all his proceedings than is generally imagined.

gard

(t) Dugdale's Short view of the troubles, p. 405. Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 161. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 457.

(u) Heath's *Chron.* p. 340.

(x) Heath's *Chron.* p. 340, 341, 342, 343.

(w) *Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell*, p. 136.

(148) *Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell*, p. 127, 128.

(150) *Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell*, p. 136. Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 162.

(151) *Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell*, p. 128.

(149) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 461.

(152) Heath's *Chron.* p. 343.

(*) Flagellum; or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 139. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 170.

(a) Echard's *Hist. of England*, p. 707. Heath's *Chron.* p. 354.

(c) Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 357. Ludlow's *Mem.* vol. ii. p. 487.

(153) From Dr. Nelson's MS. Collections, vol. xvi. num. 134.

(*) Alluding to the Protector's arms.

(154) Examination of Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 153.

(155) Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 249.

gard to the Dutch Ambassadors, that they were absolutely at a loss how to deal with them; so that all parties (except their own small one) being heartily tired with these Legislators, some of themselves, who were in the secret, met early on the 12th of December, and agreed to surrender up their power to Cromwell, from whom it came (y). Major-General Harrison, and about twenty more, remained in the House, and seeing the reign of the Saints at an end, placed one Mr. Moyer in the Speaker's chair, and began to draw up protests; but they were soon interrupted by Colonel White, with a party of soldiers; who asking them what they did there, they told him, They were seeking the Lord: to this he replied, That, to his knowledge, the Lord had not been fought there many years, and so fairly turned them out of doors (z). The scene thus changed, the supreme power was said to be in the Council of Officers again, and they very speedily resolved, that the Lord General, with a select Council, should have the administration of public affairs, upon the terms contained in a paper, intituled, The INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT; and that his Excellency should be Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and have the title of Highness; and accordingly he was invested therewith on the 16th of December, in the Court of Chancery in Westminster-Hall, with great solemnity (a). When he had thus reduced the Government into some order, he proceeded very wisely and warily; appointed a Privy-Council, in which there were several great and worthy men, who, he knew, would either not act at all, or not act very long with him; but their names giving a sanction for the present, he proceeded, with the advice of so many of this Council as attended upon him, to make several ordinances that were necessary, as also to dispose matters for the holding a new Parliament (b).

Thus, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, he assumed sovereign power, and exercised it with great dignity; and though he well knew, that all obedience to him rose from fear, and that his danger was nearly equal from all parties, yet, by his prudent management, he left none the capacity of hurting him [CC]. He applied himself immediately to the settlement of the public affairs, both foreign and domestic; he concluded a peace with the States of Holland, in which the point of the flag was carried pretty high, satisfaction was promised for the barbarous massacre at Amboyna, the restitution of Polleroon, and other things that were never complied with (c). In this treaty the King of Denmark got himself included: the Lord Commissioner Whitlocke made a firm peace with Sweden: the King of

[CC] *Though by his prudent management he left none the capacity of hurting him.* Immediately after his turning out the Long Parliament, when, as we before observed, all parties took the liberty of speaking, and some places that of addressing, which those who liked the contents called the sense of the people; some there were in the counties near London that talked of a King, and this hint some people had a mind to improve; for which purpose, on Tuesday the seventeenth of May in the forenoon (153), about 'Change time, a Gentleman extremely well dressed came in a coach to the Royal Exchange, where, taking out of his coach the General's picture, he fixed it against one of the pillars, and after making two or three turns, took coach again and drove away. Over the head of the pourtrait stood these words, 'Tis I; and underneath were the following verses:

*Ascend three thrones, great Captain and Divine,
By the will of God, (*) O Lyon, for they're thine:
Come Priest of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,
Bring crowns and sceptres; 'tis high time I' unfold
Your cloister'd bags, ye State Cheats, lest the rod
Of steel and iron, of this your King and God,
Pay you in 's wrath with interest; kneel and pray,
To Oliver, the Torch of Sion! the Star of day!
Shout then ye Merchants, City and Gentry sing,
And all bare-headed cry, God save the King!*

As soon as exchange time was over the Lord Mayor caused the picture to be taken down, and carried it directly to the Lord General at Whitehall. Some writers mention this as a libel upon Cromwell (154); but in those days, when the thing was most likely to be understood, it was believed that the fox was the finder, and that the Lord Mayor himself, not without the privy of the Lord General, set up this picture on the Royal Exchange by way of a political weather-cock, to see in what corner the popular wind sat (155). Indeed, why might not my Lord Mayor ask the citizens upon 'Change the same question that Cromwell did Whitlocke in St. James's Park, *What if a man should take upon himself to be King?* When it was found this scheme could not be brought to bear, then

the calling an assembly by way of Parliament was the next step, and for this the Lord General had three good reasons; the first was, that it might appear that he made a distinction between disliking the Rump, and discarding Parliaments: the next, that upon their sinking again into nothing, he might receive his power back from them, as it were by form of law; and, lastly, that by making the Fifth Monarchy men, who were predominant in this Parliament, both odious and ridiculous, he might have the less to fear from them, and withal the greater support from the Clergy and Lawyers, for that Parliament had fairly voted that tythes were a relic of Judaism, that the Common-Law was a badge of slavery; and, on the other hand, that the Court of Chancery ought to be abolished; and thus, to all the thinking part of the world, it was made evident that the Saints, having no sense, were not fit to govern (156). The task he now undertook, of governing as a Monarch with a Council, was still harder than all the rest; and yet he seemed to manage it with the same ease, for he still continued to practise upon all parties by their hopes and fears. As to the Cavaliers, he intimated that he was not irreconcilable to those who should give proofs of their affection to his government; that he meant not to hurt or oppress those who were inclined to live quietly; but that if any attempted to assassinate him, he had those at his command who should immediately repay that by taking off whole families (157). He encouraged and protected the Presbyterians that submitted, and delivered up those who opposed him to be worried by the sectaries. He maintained his old language to the Fifth Monarchy men: he said things were not ripe for the Saints to take the rule of the earth, and that in the mean time he was so far from taking the sceptre, that he had only taken the Constable's staff, in order to keep the peace, and prevent the people from cutting one another's throats. As for the sensible Republicans he knew them to be irreconcilable, and therefore he signified to them, that if they would live quietly they might, but that if they disturbed his government he would make them feel the weight of his power, which he knew by experience was the only way to keep them in order (158).

Portugal

(y) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 475. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 353.

(b) Coke's *Deception*, p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265.

(156) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 164, 165.

(157) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 257, 258.

(158) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 471-488.

Portugal also, notwithstanding all that had passed between him and the Parliament, was obliged to accept of peace upon his terms. But matters were not so easily adjusted with France, though, from the very beginning, that Crown paid the Protector great court, from an apprehension, it is said, that he meant to marry one of his daughters to the Prince of Conde, which would have engaged him on the side of the Spaniards (*d*); but for this, perhaps, there never was any great foundation. By degrees, however, he impressed such an opinion of the great importance of his friendship, both upon France and Spain, that the two crowns contended for it, with an earnestness that made them both ridiculous [DD]. In reference to affairs at home, he filled the Courts of Westminster-Hall with very able Judges; and directed the Lawyers themselves to make such corrections in the practice of their profession, as might, in some measure, free them from public odium; which had a good effect. The same moderation he practised in Church affairs, affecting to carry himself equally between the Presbyterians and Independants, but professing an unalterable resolution of maintaining liberty of conscience (*e*). He laboured by degrees to purge the Anabaptists out of the army, dismissing from their commands such officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and sent his son Henry to govern Ireland (*f*). He by an ordinance, dated April 12th, 1654, united England and Scotland, fixing the number of representatives for the latter at thirty, and soon after he did the same by Ireland (*g*). He shewed great zeal for justice, in causing the brother of the Ambassador from Portugal to be executed for murder, occasioned by a quarrel that he had with one Colonel Gerrard. Upon pretence of a conspiracy against himself, he procured several persons to be convicted and condemned by a High Court of Justice, of which Major Lisle was president; and it is very remarkable, that the Portuguese Gentleman before-mentioned, who murdered another Gentleman by mistake, never saw his antagonist Colonel Gerrard again till they both came to lose their heads together on a scaffold at Tower-Hill, July the 10th, the former for that murder, the latter for this conspiracy, which he denied with his last breath; and shewed as much courage upon that melancholy occasion, as his fellow-sufferer did the want of it (*h*). The same day one Mr. Vowell, a schoolmaster, was executed for the plot at Charing-Cross; which he likewise denied, dying with heroic constancy, and reproaching the Guards for being instruments of tyranny and injustice, by assisting at his execution, which, he asserted, was against law, because without a crime (*i*). But, notwithstanding all these successes, and all the pains the Protector could take to conciliate the affections of the people, he found a great spirit stirring against him in all the three kingdoms, and his government so cramp for want of money, that he was under an absolute necessity of calling a Parliament, according to the form which he had prescribed in the *Instrument of Government* (*k*); and which though it put much in his power, and left the decision of disputed elections to his council, yet, as it remained still some sort of representative of the nation, he was not without apprehensions of their not proving so tractable as he could wish; and the event proved, that his suspicions were not without grounds (*l*). He fixed upon the third of September for the day on which they were to assemble, esteeming it particularly fortunate to him; and to this he peremptorily adhered, though it happened to fall upon a Sunday. The Parliament was accordingly opened on that day, after hearing a sermon at Westminster-Abbey, to which the Protector went in very great state (*m*). He received this House

(*d*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 358, 359. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 5—12—31.

(*e*) Coke's Detection, P. ii. p. 49. Life of O. Cromwell, p. 265. (*f*) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 724. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 149. (*g*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 497. Heath's Chron. p. 358.

(*h*) Echard's Hist. of Engl. p. 710. Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 179. (*i*) Heath's Chr. p. 360. Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 645.

(*k*) Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 186.

(*l*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 375.

(*m*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 363.

[DD] *That made them both ridiculous.*] In this note we shall give some account of the Protector's conduct with respect to foreign courts, at his first entering on that office. His peace with Holland has been very much magnified by some, whereas others affirm, that he was bribed by the Dutch to make it upon the terms he did (159). These facts are certain, that the Parliament stood upon higher terms; that the English fleet beat that of the States twice after the Parliament was turned out; and that the expulsion of King Charles and his followers, with the exclusion of the Prince of Orange, were points particularly insisted on by Cromwell (160). The Queen of Sweden paid great respect to the Rump, and as great to Oliver, who, to express his regard for her on the other side, hung her picture in his bed-chamber, which the laughers in those times said, made the Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's consort, not a little jealous (161); and yet it was not long after, that one of his agents wrote the Protector a very serious account of Queen Christina's being inclined to marry Charles Stuart; but that was after her abdication, and no question one story was as true as the other (162). The Kings of Denmark and Portugal the Protector treated very haughtily, and obliged the Ambassador of the latter to come and sign the peace at Whitehall the very morning his brother was executed on Tower-hill. He refused the title of cousin from the French King, expecting that of brother; and so artfully played the Spaniard against him

VOL. IV.

at a very critical conjuncture, when the French were laying the ground-work of that power which has been since so fatal to Europe, that both Ambassadors made such extraordinary advances, with so many singular acts of submission, that the Dutch struck a medal (163) with the bust of Cromwell and his titles on one side, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thrusting his head in her bosom, with his breeches down and his backside bare, the Spanish Ambassador stooping to kiss it, while the French Ambassador holds him by the arm with these words inscribed, *Retire toi l'honneur appartient au Roi mon maitre*, i. e. Come back, that honour belongs to the King my master. It is true this medal was not struck till two years afterwards; but as the structure of this work obliges us to place together things of a like nature, we chose to mention it here, the rather, because I find no mention of it in any of the Histories of Cromwell: but there is reason to suspect it might occasion that mistake, which appears in a private letter intercepted in those times, where it is said, that a print had been handed about beyond the sea, representing Cromwell sitting upon a close-stool, the King of France on the right-hand, and the King of Spain on the left, offering each a supply of paper for his present occasions (164). There have been many curious collections of prints made since, but I never heard of any such thing amongst them, whereas the medal is yet preserved in several Dutch cabinets.

(163) Catalogue des Medailles qui se trouvent dans le Cabinet de Nicholas Chevalier, à Amsterdam, p. 7.

(164) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 658.

(159) Echard's Hist. England, p. 709.

(160) Coke's Detection, B. iii. p. 44, 45, 46.

(161) As appears by an intercepted letter in Dr. Nalson's Collection.

(162) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 468.

of Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he made them a very long and a very sensible speech, in which he gave them a large account of the nature of that government which he had thought fit to establish, the ends he proposed, and the means he had used to compass those ends. He took great pains to shew them the folly of extravagant notions about liberty, civil and religious; told them to what purpose he had called them together, and promised to allow them all imaginable freedom in their debates on public affairs (n). When they came to their House, they elected Mr. William Lenthall their Speaker, but did not present him; next they fell to debating, whether the supreme legislative power of the kingdom should be in a single person, or a Parliament? This alarmed the Protector, who found himself in danger of being deposed by a vote of this new Parliament; to prevent which, on the twelfth of the same month, he caused a guard to be set at the door, to prevent their going into the House of Commons, then sent for them into the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a very sharp reproof; nor were any permitted to go into the House afterwards, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government; and though this excluded a great number, yet the new courtiers were still a minority (o). While this Parliament was sitting, an odd accident happened to the Protector. He had received a set of Friezland horses from the Duke of Holstein as a present, and would needs drive his Secretary Thurloe in his coach, drawn by these horses, round Hyde-Park; but the horses proving as ungovernable as the Parliament, threw his Highness out of the box, and, in his fall, one of his pocket-pistols went off, notwithstanding which he escaped without either wound or broken bones (p). By the *Instrument of Government* the Parliament was to sit five months, which the Protector took the liberty of computing by his soldiers almanack, in which months consists only of twenty-eight days; and, finding they were about to take away his power, and would give him no money, he, on the 22d of January, sent for them once more into the Painted Chamber, where, in a very long, ambiguous, and bitter speech, having told them his mind, he dissolved them (q). These were the principal events of the first year of his Protectorate, for of the principal events only we can, in this place, take notice [EE]. The opening of the year 1655 proved but cloudy. The dissolution of the Parliament stirred all the ill blood in the kingdom, so that he found himself at once beset with conspiracies on all sides, and by all parties; but he had the good luck to discover them before those concerned were ready to put them in execution. His first step was to put the city in good humour, by restoring to them their militia, under the command of their old officer Major-General Skippon; then, February 13th, he went to Guild-hall, and declared the Republicans and Cavaliers had formed designs against his person (r). Of the former Major John Wildman, who had been an intimate friend of his, was seized, while penning a paper, intituled, *A Declaration of the Peo-*

(n) Bates's *Elementus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 186.

(o) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 500, 501. Clarendon's *Hist. Rebellion*, p. 647.

(p) Compleat *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 212. Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 508.

(q) Clarendon's *Hist. Rebellion*, p. 648. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 365.

(r) Bates's *Elementus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 200. Flagellum, or *life of O. Cromwell*, p. 161, 162.

[EE] *We can in this place take notice.* It must appear very strange to the reader, that Cromwell and his Council having a power to levy money by virtue of their ordinances, he should, notwithstanding, be so much distressed for it, as to be under the necessity of calling a Parliament; still stranger, that with all the powers he had given himself in the instrument of government, he should not have it in his power to pack one for his purpose; and strangest of all, that he who formerly purged the Houses so effectually by his army, when it was chiefly for other men's service, should not be able to do it as effectually for his own. We will endeavour to explain all these points. His ordinances had indeed the force of laws, and it was under colour of them that he raised those monthly assessments which enabled him to carry on his government; yet these were not sufficient for his expences, and almost all the casual revenue of the public had been granted away by the Rump, or rather shared amongst themselves (165). He was unwilling to hazard raising new taxes without the consent of Parliament, because he had promised the contrary in his instrument of government, and he had equal reason to doubt whether the people would pay, or the army levy, such taxes; to avoid which he took very extraordinary ways of coming at money, such as seizing four hundred thousand pounds belonging to the King of Spain, though as yet there was no war declared. But the want of money was not the only reason which drove him upon this measure: he wanted to have his own power and the *Instrument of Government* confirmed by Parliament, and flattered himself with many good turns from them, which could not with any decency be done by his own power (166). In his endeavours to model the Parliament before they sat, he pushed every thing to the utmost; but an act of cunning that had been very serviceable to him before, rendered all his contrivances abortive now, for in the plan of Parliament settled by the instrument, the counties, instead of having two, had most

of them five, and some more, representatives, a thing very right in itself, and therefore very wrong with respect to him, since he could introduce in that quality but very few of his creatures. Scotland and Ireland indeed, sent for the most part officers of the army; and therefore the Patriots in the Parliament treated it as a solecism, first to enslave countries, and then to enable them to send up their jailors and tyrants to sit amongst, and become a part of, the representatives of a free nation (167). What was worst of all, many of his own creatures fell off; for the free speakers in the House unmasked his policy so effectually, that they saw they were forging chains for themselves. His purges, however sharp, came a little too late, the body of this House of Commons being pretty well seasoned to them; so that many of them took the Engagement in order to get into the House, and explained it away as soon as they were got in. He was obliged to trust the management of the Parliament to Lambert, who desired to have the *Instrument of Government* confirmed, in hopes of becoming his successor; but the true secret of their hasty dissolution was a design discovered to the Protector by Col. Pride, which many of the inferior officers of the army had formed, of seizing and delivering him prisoner to the Parliament (168). In the midst of these public perplexities his domestic quiet was interrupted by the death of his mother, Nov. 18, 1654. She lived with him at Whitehall, shared in the splendor of his Court, but enjoyed it not; for though she troubled him but little with her remonstrances, yet her fears were so strong, that she could not believe he was safe if she did not see him twice a day, and if by accident she heard a pistol at any time discharged, she could not help crying out, *My son is shot* (169)! The Protector, contrary to her desire, who foresaw they would never rest there in peace, caused her remains to be interred in King Henry VIIIth's chapel in Westminster-abbey (170).

(167) Flagellum, or the *life of O. Cromwell*, p. 152, 153. See the *Instrument of Government* in Whitlocke and in Bates.

(168) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 500, 501—503.

(169) Heath's *Chron.* p. 366. (170) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 488, 489.

(165) *Hist. of Independency*, the third and fourth parts throughout.

(166) Dugdale's *Short view of the troubles*, p. 423. Ludlow's *Mem.* vol. ii. p. 498.

ple of England against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq: some other violent men of that party he imprisoned, but was afraid of doing more (s). As to the Royalists, he suffered them to go on a little; for by the help of one Manning (t), who was his spy in the Court of King Charles II. he was so well acquainted with their projects, as to put themselves upon such measures as entirely defeated them; and this is a true account of that insurrection which broke out at Salisbury, where the King was proclaimed, and Cromwell's Judges seized; which act of open force left no doubt with the public, that there were some designs against the Protector, which, otherwise, they were ready enough to disbelieve (u) [FF]. For this insurrection Colonel Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and several other persons, suffered death; and from hence the Protector, who had hitherto shewn an inclination to have governed as a lawful Prince if he could, seemed to lay aside this disposition, and no longer to make any difficulty of supporting his authority in any manner, and by any means; so that from the time the first public disturbance broke out into a civil war, the people of this kingdom in general never underwent so great oppression, either in their properties or persons; were deprived to such a degree of the benefit of the laws, or had so melancholy a prospect before them, of unrelenting and irresistible dominion, supported by an armed force (w) [GG]. In the Spring of this year was carried into execution that famous expedition, by which the Protector hoped to make himself master of a great part of the Spanish West-Indies, having sent thither a powerful fleet, under the command of Admiral Penn, and the greatest body of land-forces that had been ever seen in America, commanded by General Venables; and though, in the main part of their design, these officers were utterly unsuccessful, yet they made themselves masters of the Island of Jamaica, which has remained ever since part of the dominions of the British crown (x). We have different accounts of this great transaction in our general histories, and many circumstances there are which have not been hitherto fully explained [HH]. He was very de-

firous

[FF] *They were ready enough to disbelieve.* It is very certain that Mr. Thurloe, who, from being Secretary to Oliver St. John in his embassy to the States, was raised to be Secretary and Prime-Minister to Cromwell, had a great deal of the old Walsingham spirit, and knew how to manage a great number of busy intriguing spirits so dexterously, as by the help of sham plots of his own contriving, to find out and disappoint the true. Here we must observe the wise distinction made by Cromwell for the present, between the Republicans and the Royalists, who were equally enemies to the Protector, though he did not care to show himself equally an enemy to them. He contented himself therefore for the present, with displacing Major-General Harrison, Col. Rich, Col. Okey, &c. and with the seizing Major-General Overton and some others, that expressed themselves in terms of dangerous resentment. Nay, to such a degree was he master of his passions, though naturally no man was more passionate, that when Colonel, the same who was formerly Cornet Joyce, reproached him to his face with his services, he only-bid him *Be gone* (171). But he did not think himself obliged to treat the Royalists so favourably, and therefore being quite master of their projects, he made, or rather his Secretary Thurloe made, some of his creatures give out false times for a general insurrection, by which the design was effectually defeated, and yet there were so many appeared in arms, as to shew that there really was such a design, and thereby afford a colour for putting such to death, as were unluckily involved in it; and they had the less reason to hope for mercy, since they pleaded in their own defence, that they could not be guilty of any treason, because those against whom they acted were not a legal government; and indeed the Chief Justice Rolle did not care to try them, and Mr. Ludlow very frankly owns, that their defence was well founded (172).

[GG] *Supported by an armed force.* To lay a foundation for all this violence, the Protector, with the advice of his Council, published an Ordinance, importing, that all who had borne arms for the King, or who at any time had declared themselves of his party, should be decimated, or pay a tenth part of the income of their estates for the expence of those extraordinary forces that they obliged his Highness to keep up. Commissioners were appointed in every county to receive the money arising from this new establishment, which brought in a prodigious sum of money, as the Commissioners had power to compound all demands for three years purchase (173). This ordinance was so penned, that it took in all that should

disturb his government, or rather be suspected of disturbing it, upon any principle whatever. At this time county troops were established, every private man having eight pounds a year given him, not for military service, but for informing: a Captain had a hundred pounds a year, and other officers in proportion. And finally to provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army, he divided England as it were into so many cantons, over each of which he placed one called by the name of Major-General, which Major-Generals were in the nature of Prefects, or Governors of provinces (174). These men were to have the inspection and government of the inferior Commissioners in every county, to commit to prison all such persons as they suspected, to levy all monies which were ordered by his Highness and his Council to be collected for the public, to sequester all who did not pay their decimation, and to put in execution such farther directions as they should receive; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himself (175). For the management of the affairs relating to this commission they had an office at London, where recognizances were entered, and their proceedings filed, by which the Protector hoped to obtain a distinct account of the quality of every person in the Royal interest, and of the value of his estate, throughout the kingdom; for as to these Christian Bahaws, they were empowered by their commissions to take an account of all suspected persons of the King's party, and such as were actually so to receive security of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing against the government, and to reveal all plots that should come to their knowledge. They were to suppress all horse-races, cock-matches, and other concourses of people; to secure the high-ways; to take Engagement from Cavaliers for their servants and children; and those that did not so, nor give security, to commit to prison, and to rate and receive the money arising from this decimation (176). These Major-Generals carried things with a very high hand, decimating whom they pleased, interrupting the proceedings at law upon petitions of those who thought themselves aggrieved, and threatening such as would not readily submit to their orders, with transportation to the West Indies.

[HH] *Which have not been hitherto fully explained.* It is not to be expected that in a short note, any competent account should be given of a very long expedition, the preparatives for and proceedings in which might well employ a small volume, without inserting any thing that could be esteemed tedious by the reader: all therefore that I propose, is, to offer a few hints of circumstances worthy of being thoroughly examined.

(w) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 519.

(171) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 161.

(172) Heath's Chron. p. 367, 368. Ludlow's Mem. vol. ii. p. 518, 519.

(173) Heath's Chronicle, p. 373.

(s) Echard's Hist. Eng. p. 713. (r) Heath's Chronicle, p. 368. Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 185. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 668—671. (u) Heath's Chronicle, p. 372, 373. Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 163.

(x) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, P. ii. p. 206, 207, &c. Heath's Chron. p. 376. Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(174) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 676. Heath's Chron. p. 378.

(175) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 164, 165.

(176) Coke's Deception, B. iv. p. 59.

(y) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 321, 322. Echard's Hist. of England, p. 716.

(z) See list of honors and offices conferred by O. Lord Protector.

(a) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 323.

(b) Bates's *Elements Motum*, p. 210.

(c) Life of O. Cromwell, p. 326.

firous of bringing most of those projects to bear, that he knew had a tendency to please the people; and therefore thought he could not make a better use of his power, than to restrain some things that were deemed exorbitant in the proceedings of the High Court of Chancery; upon which, however, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr. Whitlocke, and Mr. Lenthall, desired to resign their offices, who had kept them through such a variety of changes, and when most people thought the Constitution had received greater injuries than this (y). They were permitted to do this without any offence taken, as appears from the Protector's making the two former Commissioners of the Treasury, and the regard he shewed to Lenthall as long as he lived. As for the Great Seal, it went into such hands as had scarcely been intrusted with it before, viz. Major Lisle and Colonel Fiennes (z). The new King of Sweden sent over an Ambassador, to compliment the Protector, who was most graciously received, and great pains were taken to make this instance of respect from a foreign Court as public as it was possible; but the visit that Queen Christina was inclined to have paid him he judged proper to avoid, which was certainly an argument of his great prudence (a). That alliance, which had been so long in treaty with the Crown of France, was signed November 24, 1655, and proclaimed the 28th of the same month; by which it was stipulated, that Cromwell should send over a body of English troops, to act in conjunction with the French against the Spaniards in the Low-Countries, and that, on the other hand, the French King should oblige the Royal Family to quit his dominions (b). This treaty has been much magnified by some, but certainly without any great cause, since it was entirely destructive of the balance of power, and became, in its consequences, the real cause of most of those wars that have cost us so much blood and treasure [II]. The glorious successes of the great Admiral Blake in the Mediterranean, and the great sums that he recovered from several powers, for depredations committed by their subjects on the English trade, did much honour to the Protector's government; and, to conclude the transactions of this year, it must be allowed, that, how much soever he might be disliked at home, his reputation, at this time, was very great abroad (c) [KK]. The loss he sustained in the discovery of Manning, whom King Charles caused to be shot for corresponding with Thurloe, was most effectually repaired by the assistance he received from a person of superior character, who was Chancellor Hyde's great correspondent, and supposed to be one of the most active and determined Royalists in England. The war with Spain, which had hitherto produced only vast ex-

examined. The motives to this expedition were none of the most honourable, since they were plainly avarice and fear. The Protector had just tasted the Spanish treasures, and he had a mind to take a full meal; for whoever consults his instructions will find, that it was not the particular Island of Hispaniola, but the Continent also that he had hopes of conquering; and yet the embarkation of the troops was from time to time deferred, so that the end of the expedition was no secret, even before the ships sailed from England (177). In the next place it was fear, for Venables, who commanded the land forces, had never been well affected to Cromwell, and before this time was reconciled to the King, of which it is not impossible the Protector might be informed. The troops too were composed of men discharged out of all the regiments in his service for disaffection, and if at last they had not been hurried on board at Portsmouth, when they least expected it, Venables had marched up to London, in order to try if it had not been possible to dethrone the Protector (178). There was a great deal of mismanagement on all sides in the setting out; a very high misunderstanding between the Commanders in Chief from the very beginning; the additional forces they took on board at Barbadoes were the most profligate and worthless people in the world; so that, upon the whole, it is much more wonderful that ever these people became masters of Jamaica, than that they were disappointed at Hispaniola, for which, however, Cromwell had no body to thank but himself; for there were such a narrowness and selfishness in his instructions as dispirited the soldiers, who found, that after all the hazards they had run, and dangers they had endured, they were to fight, not for themselves, but to fill the Protector's privy purse (179).

(177) Burchett's Naval History, p. 385.

(178) Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 185, 186.

(179) Burchett's Naval History, p. 385.

[II] *That have cost us so much blood and treasure.* The conjuncture of those times, and the high struggle between the Crowns of France and Spain, were very favourable for the Protector, who might, if he had pleased, have taken the balance of power in Europe entirely into his own hands, and not only have held it during life, but have fixed it for the rest of that century at least. But after much deliberation he resolved, or rather his affairs compelled him, to break with Spain,

in hopes of filling his Exchequer by that war; and this made him join with France, as well as for two other reasons; the first, that he might procure the Royal Family to be driven out of that country by treaty, as they had been before out of Holland; the second, that he might have a port upon that Continent; the expediency of which was first suggested to him by the Spaniards, who, if he would have joined with them, promised to put him in possession of Calais (180). It is asserted by Dr. Welwood, on the credit of Puffendorff, that in the negotiation of these treaties he carried himself very haughtily; that in the instrument he caused his own name to be put before the French King's; that he would not allow him to stile himself King of France, but of the French, though at the same time he stiled himself Protector of France as well as England. It would be very difficult to make any of these points good; for in Milton's Letters it will be found, that Cromwell, writing to Lewis XIV. gave him the title of King of France (181), not in the superscription only, but in the body of his letter; nor does it any where appear that Cromwell ever took the title of Protector of France at all, but of the republick or commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and therefore this is as much to be relied on as another fact laid down as notoriously true, that Cromwell was born on the third of September, though it is notoriously otherwise (182).

(180) See Thurloe's account of the negotiations of Cromwell with France and Spain, delivered to the Earl of Clarendon, at the end of the first vol. of his State Papers.

(181) Milton's Works, vol. ii. p. 455-457-469.

(182) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 113.

[KK] *Was very great abroad.* It would be a very easy thing to prove this, from what is said of him by a multitude of foreign authors; but it may be sufficient to observe, that at this time there was a print of the Protector on horseback publicly sold at Paris, with these Latin verses under it (183).

(183) From the MS. of the late Rev. Mr. Knight, Fellow of Christ-Church Oxford.

Cernimus hic omni caput admirabile mundo
Quod Reges, Populi, Barbariesque stupent.
Regibus hic frater; populis pater, hostis multum,
Barbariem vera religione domat.
Nullius ille timet quam summi numinis arma;
Non timet, et pacem cuilibet esse parat.
Quis dubitat sacro hoc si pergat Flamine Victor,
Quin subita Meretrix de Babylone cadet?

pectations,

pectations, began now to bear some fruit; for the gallant and fortunate Blake, falling in with the Plate Fleet, almost at the mouth of the harbour of Cadiz, attacked and destroyed it to the irreparable damage of the Spaniards, and the no small gain of the Protector, who received two millions in ready money out of the prizes that were taken (d). The Protector, in the midst of all that he possessed, still felt some wants, which he judged nothing could supply but a Parliament; and, having concerted more effectual methods, as he conceived, for bending them to his will, than had been practised before the last, he directed writs to issue for the meeting of that assembly September 17th, 1656, at which time they met accordingly, but with a guard posted at the door of the House, who suffered none to enter till they had swallowed the oaths that were ready prepared for them, by which about two hundred were excluded, who signed a protest against this proceeding, and against all that should be done by those who sat without them (e). The Parliament, however, chose Sir Thomas Widdrington their Speaker, passed an act for disannulling the King's title, another for the security of his Highness's person, and several money-bills; for all which the Protector gave them his most gracious thanks (f). It was apprehended, that some difference might have arisen upon a motion in the House, against the exorbitant power of the Majors-General; but, as they began to be formidable now to the Protector himself, they were fairly given up by Mr. Claypole, who had married the Protector's daughter, in a speech, which set all things right again (g). About the close of the year a new plot was either discovered, or made, for which one Miles Sindercombe was condemned, and that by the ordinary forms of justice; but he disappointed the Protector, and was found dead on the morning intended for his execution, which gave birth to many conjectures (h) [LL]. However, a public thanksgiving was appointed for the happy deliverance of his Highness's person, and the Speaker and Parliament were splendidly regaled at Whitehall (i). In the Spring of the year 1657 it plainly appeared what the Protector drove at, by all the pains he had taken with his Parliament, in which a kind of legislative settlement of the Government was brought upon the carpet, under the title of *The Humble Petition and Advice*, in which there was a blank for the supreme Governor's title, and a clause prepared to countenance the establishing something like Peers, under the name of the Other House (k). At length the whole came to light: for one Alderman Pack, a forward, time-serving, money-getting fellow, and deep in all the jobs of the Government, moved, that the first blank might be filled up with the word King, which was violently opposed by the Army Members; but at length, after various debates, it was carried, as well as the clause impowering him to make something like Lords; and in this form the petition was presented to his Highness, who desired some time to con-

(d) Bates's *Elementary Motuum*, P. ii. p. 212. See the article of Blake in this Dictionary.

(e) Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 651. Dugdale's *Short view of the late troubles*, p. 450. Heath's *Chron.* p. 382. (f) Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 651. Bates's *Elementary Motuum*, P. ii. p. 213. (g) *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 338.

(b) Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 654, 655. Heath's *Chron.* p. 385. (i) Dugdale's *Short view of the troubles*, p. 450.

(k) Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 657.

[LL] Which gave birth to many conjectures.] The case of this Miles Sindercombe was very extraordinary. He was drawn in to conspire against the Protector by Col. Edward Sexby, formerly a famous Agitator, and one in great confidence with Cromwell, afterwards his most violent and bitter enemy. That Col. again was an Agent of the Spaniards, and so well supplied by them, that, as he confessed, he furnished Sindercombe at several times with five hundred pounds (184). But as in conspiracies of this sort a man cannot act without assistance, Sindercombe found out one Toope (185), who was of the Protector's guard, and withal one of Mr. Thurloe's spies, to whom he communicated his design, and three different methods were contrived and attempted: one was, to shoot Cromwell in his passage through Hammer-smith in his way to Hampton Court; another, to fire Whitehall; and a third, to shoot him as he was going to Westminster-abbey. These attempts having miscarried, he was seized, and brought to his trial in the Upper Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Glynn, Feb. 19, 1656 (186): but whereas some writers say, that he was tried upon a law made by Cromwell's Parliament, that is a mistake; for he was tried upon the common statute of treason, the Chief Justice taking upon him to inform the Jury, that by the word King the Supreme Magistrate was intended, whether he had that title or not (187). The Jury, upon very full evidence, found him guilty; and Friday the fourteenth of the same month was appointed for his execution. He went to bed well; but when they came to call him up he was dead, and as appeared by a paper he left under his close-stool, he destroyed himself by poison (188). It was given out however at that time, and believed by many, that Cromwell caused him to be poisoned, being afraid of bringing him to a public execution (189). The reader will understand this better from what the Noble Historian (190) says upon this subject: 'Sindercombe was a very stout man, and one who had been much in Cromwell's favour, and who had twice or thrice, by

wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he had made sure to kill him. And when Cromwell had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had more associates who were undiscovered, and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment, which made Cromwell believe that a party in the army would attempt his rescue. Whereupon he gave strict charge that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or four of the Guard always with him day and night. At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of were placed upon Tower-hill, where the gallows was erected. But when the guard called Sindercombe to rise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed, which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell, for besides that he hoped that at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates; he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice, nor could he suppress that scandal. It appeared upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed, in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him, and upon her going away he put off his cloaths, and leaped into his bed, and said, *This was the last bed he should ever go into.* His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have been hanged, and buried under it with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murder. Yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much, and though he was without the particular discovery he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.'

(184) Thurloe's *Letters*, vol. vi. p. 530, 553. (185) A further narrative of the passages of these times in the Commonwealth of Engl. p. 21.

(186) State *Trials*, vol. vii. p. 372.

(187) Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 654.

(188) State *Trials*, vol. vii. p. 375. (189) Killing no Murder, p. 22. (190) Clarendon's *Hist. of Rebellion*, p. 696.

sider before he gave his answer. The Parliament appointed a Committee, with their Speaker at the head of it, to confer with and satisfy the Protector; and, in this conference, they, with great learning and eloquence, proved, that, notwithstanding all the faults they had formerly found with the office of a King, yet, after all, they were now perfectly satisfied, the four letters, of which that word was composed, were as harmless and inoffensive as any in the whole alphabet (*l*). The Protector, who was not of a narrow way of thinking, but had as comprehensive sentiments as they upon this point, would have been content to have had the Kingship forced upon him, but that he found, that some of his best friends and nearest relations, such as his son-in-law Fleetwood, his brother-in-law Desborough, and many others, were utterly against it, and carried their opposition so far, as to promote a petition from the Army to the Parliament against this measure (*m*); which though, to countenance parliamentary authority, laid aside, yet chiefly determined Cromwell to refuse that honour which he had been so long seeking; and accordingly, May 8th, 1657, he told them, in the Banqueting-house, that he could not, with a good conscience, accept the government, under the title of King (*n*). The Parliament then thought proper to fill up the blank with his former title of Protector; and his Highness himself, that all the pains he had taken might not be absolutely thrown away, resolved upon a new inauguration; which was accordingly, with great solemnity, performed on the 26th of June, 1657, in Westminster-Hall, with all the pomp and splendor of a Coronation (*o*). After this the House of Commons adjourned to the 20th of January following, in order to give the Protector time to regulate all things according to the new system; with a view to which he summoned his two sons, and many other persons, to take their seats in the other House (*p*). About this time it was, that Major-General Lambert lost his favour; which, however, does not seem to have been an act so much of the Protector's will, as a scheme of his own; for he utterly disliked the design that Oliver had formed of making himself King; and told him plainly, that, if he persisted in it, he could give him no assurance of the fidelity of the army. The necessary and immediate cause of his disgrace was, refusing to take the oath appointed by *The Humble Petition and Advice*; upon which the Protector removed him from all his commands, but, at the same time, granted him a pension of two thousand pounds a year, to keep him quiet (*q*). The sense of this, and some other untoward accidents, was, in some measure, qualified by the news of Admiral Blake's great successes at the Canaries, and in the Mediterranean, by which Spain felt very severely the weight of the English arms, and the Protector's coffers drew considerable supplies, but the honour and interest of the nation suffered extremely (*r*) [*MM*]. That gallant seaman, no way answerable for the cause or conduct

(*l*) Heath's Chron. p. 386, 387.
Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 214, 215, 216.

(*n*) Heath's Chron. p. 389.
Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 312.

(*p*) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 594, 595, 596.

(*m*) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 587.
Flagellum, &c. p. 175, 176.

(*o*) Whitlocke's *Memorials*, p. 661, 662.

(*q*) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 185.
Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 593.
(*r*) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 227, 228.

[*MM*] But the honour and interest of the nation suffered extremely.] We will take occasion in this note to set the business of the Spanish war in its true light. The Crown of Spain was very much distressed in almost every part of her dominions, and this induced her Monarch to be very ready in owning the Parliament, and very desirous, if it had been possible, to procure the good will of Cromwell, whom, as is before observed, he courted to a degree that was indecent and ridiculous (191). The true motive to this war, on the part of Cromwell, was necessity. He wanted money exceedingly; some of his troops and many of his officers he could not depend on; therefore a war was requisite, and that too such a war as he might get by (192). He endeavoured to colour this, by engaging the Merchants to complain against Spain, in which he was unsuccessful; for which he revenged himself, by suffering their effects to be seized in that kingdom (193). He next seized a large sum of money belonging to that Crown, which they offered to lend him for a certain number of years without interest, and to have taken his word for the repayment; so desirous they were of maintaining peace if it were possible (194). His West India expedition was in itself a bad design, because no war declared, ill concerted, worse executed, and yet in some measure luckily concluded. Capt. Stayner's taking two galleons at Cadiz, with two millions of silver on board, and destroying twice as much more, was a dreadful blow to the Spaniards; and yet this loss was inconsiderable in respect to the burning the Plate Fleet at Santa Cruz, by which however Cromwell got nothing (195). When Captain Richard Stayner came home with his prizes, all imaginable pains were taken to magnify the exploit in the eyes of the people: the money was carried with great parade through London, the Captain knighted and handsomely rewarded; there was a solemn thanksgiving also for this mighty success, which Mr. Waller celebrated in a poem that will render it immortal, though the design with which it was written failed; for it plainly appears that the

Poet meant to have recommended his hero to the regal dignity, as the only adequate return the nation could make for the benefit they had received (196). But in those times men were more quick-sighted; and all this pomp and art could not hinder the expressions of high discontent, arising from the general knowledge that this affected triumph was a downright imposition calculated to amuse and deceive the populace, without making the least impression upon men of sense and property. The Merchants exclaimed bitterly, and with very good reason, as fully appeared from a report made to Richard's Parliament, that fifteen hundred English ships were taken in the course of this war (197). Besides, this threw the Spanish trade first into the hands of the Dutch, to whom they were naturally averse, and could hardly have been reconciled any other way (198). We may add to this, the irreparable loss to all Europe of ten times as much silver as Cromwell gained, and of which this nation, in a fair course of trade, would have obtained much more than ever the war brought into the Protector's coffers (199). Yet must we not imagine that even he was at all the better for it upon a balance: on the contrary, the expence of the American expedition exceeded all that he acquired. This does not at all lessen the reputation of Blake and the rest of the Commanders. They obeyed orders, did what they took to be their duty, and carried the glory of the English Flag to an amazing height. Some have very improperly interested religion in this quarrel, and because Cromwell made war upon a Catholic power, and threatened the Pope with burning Civita Vecchia, which no doubt might have been easily done, would thence magnify his zeal to the Protestant faith (200). At the bottom, however, this will be found but a very untoward compliment to the Protestant cause, which most certainly never inclines those who espouse it to unjust proceedings; and to the avowed breach of the law of nature and nations; and therefore to wipe off this aspersion it was necessary to shew, that this war really took

(196) Waller's Poems, p. 274.
The proposition is contained in the four last lines.

(197) The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 16.
(198) Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 51, 52, 53.

(199) Happy future State of England, p. 127.

(200) Burnet's *Hist. of his own times*, p. 80, 81.

(191) See Mr. Secretary Thurloe's account, published in the first vol. of his State Papers.
(192) Behemoth, by T. Hobbs, p. 306.

(193) The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell.

(194) Burnet's *Hist. of his own times*, vol. i. p. 71.
Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 113.
Coke's *Detection*, vol. ii. p. 51, 52, 53.

(195) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 323.

(i) Echard's
Hist. of England,
p. 725.

conduct of that war; but justly famous for his generous courage; and constant zeal for his country's service, dying in his return home, within sight of his native shore, in the arms of victory, his corps, by the Protector's orders, was, with great solemnity, transported to Westminster-Abbey, and there interred with all the honours due to so great an officer, and to so good a man (s). The forces which had been sent over to Flanders, for the assistance of the French against the Spaniards, gained very great reputation, and made the French Court more and more attentive to the preservation of Cromwell's friendship; but, at the same time, it induced his Catholic Majesty to afford some countenance and assistance to King Charles, then in the Low-Countries, and meditating an attempt upon England. To facilitate this great design, the Marquis of Ormond was sent over, and remained some time in London, where he very narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Protector, who received from his spies an exact information of all the measures taken by the Royalists, which, therefore, he easily disappointed. Only Captain Titus contrived to wound him deeply, not in his body indeed, but in his mind, by publishing a small treatise, under the name of William Allen, intitled, *Killing no Murder*; in which he argued so strongly, that one, who had violated all laws could derive protection from no law, that Oliver thenceforward believed himself in continual danger (t). In the beginning of the year 1658, he pleased himself with the hopes of being once at the head of an assembly, somewhat resembling the antient Parliaments of England; and accordingly, pursuant to their own adjournment, the Commons met on the 20th of January, as the other House also did, agreeably to the writs of summons issued by the Lord Protector. He sent for them by the Black Rod, and began his speech with the pompous words, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses of the House of Commons*; and, after he had done speaking, suffered them to retire to their respective Houses, where, to give the greater credit to his government, all shew of force or restraint was now withdrawn. This served only to discover, that therein lay his whole support; for the antient nobility would not resume their seats in such company as he had assigned them, several Members of the House of Commons chose to keep their writs requiring their attendance in the other House, and sit where they were; and not a few, who had been before excluded, took advantage of the doors being open, and boldly came to the House (u). In less than a fortnight the new system was in a fair way of being pulled to pieces. The House of Commons would have nothing to do with the new nobles in the other House; and they, on the other hand, were at a loss to know what to do by themselves; of all which the Protector being informed, he came on the 4th of February, and dissolved them with great bitterness of speech, and deep sorrow of heart; for now he saw plainly, that a regular establishment was a thing impracticable (w). Some farther designs were soon after discovered, not of the Cavaliers only, but of the Fifth Monarchy-men also; which discoveries were chiefly owing to the dexterity of Secretary Thurloe, whose implements, in the shape of Cavaliers and Fanaticks, mixed in all companies, and thrust themselves into all secrets, that they might acquire a subsistence by betraying them (x). With the latter, the Protector was obliged to observe some measures, and, though he took care to secure himself, yet he durst not act with severity towards them; which, perhaps, heightened his resentment against the former, whom, contrary to Whitlocke's advice, he delivered over to a High Court of Justice (y). By the sentence of that Court Dr. Hewett, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, who had married one of Cromwell's daughters to the Lord Fauconbridge, suffered death for contumacy, having refused to plead, or to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, June 8th, 1658; as did also Sir Henry Slingsby by the like sentence. Several others were condemned by the ordinary forms of law, which, at length, the Protector was persuaded to use, which struck the nation with as much horror as fear (z). The gloominess of this scene was a little dispersed by the success of the English arms abroad, and the delivery of Dunkirk, taken chiefly by their valour, into the hands of Lockhart, his Ambassador; concerning which we have a very remarkable story, if it be well founded [NN]. The great satisfaction the Protector expressed at this, and at the French

(t) Flagellum,
or the life of
O. Cromwell, p.
185.

(u) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii.
p. 595—597.

(w) Echard's
History of Eng-
land, p. 730.
Whitlocke's Me-
morials, p. 672.

(y) Memorials
of the English
affairs, p. 673.
Ludlow's Mem.
vol. ii. p. 604,
605.

(z) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
673.
Lloyd's Loyal
Sufferers, p. 553.

(x) Flagellum, or
the life of O.
Cromwell, p.
184, 185.

(201) Coke's De-
tection, vol. ii.
p. 52.

The World's
Mistake in O.
Cromwell, p. 13,
14, 15.

(202) Welwood's
Memoirs, p. 107,
108, 109.

its rise from Cromwell's mistaking his own interest, and preferring that mistaken interest to the welfare of the nation, which manifestly appeared, not only from his attacking the Spaniards without cause and without warning, but, that he might do this, barbarously sacrificing the British Merchants, whose effects were justly seized by way of reprisal for his injustice (201).

[NN] Concerning which we have a very remarkable story, if it be well founded.] This is to be met with in Welwood's Memoirs, and very well deserves the place it holds there, if it could be supported by any clear authority. His relations runs thus (202): 'There was an article in the Treaty between France and the Protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it should be immediately delivered up to the En-

glish, and his Ambassador Lockhart had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the French army, being joined with the English auxiliaries, was in its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning for the French Ambassador to White-hall, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the French General to keep possession of Dunkirk in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him there was no such thing thought of; upon which Cromwell, pulling a paper out of his pocket, *Here, says he, is the copy of the Cardinal's order; and I desire you to dispatch*

(a) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
674.

French King's sending over the Duke de Crequi to compliment him upon the occasion, in return to a civility of the same kind paid by the Protector, in sending over his son-in-law Lord Fauconbridge (a), lasted not long; for his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, falling sick of a distemper, which, by the excruciating pains it brought upon her body, not a little distempered her mind, so wounded him by her vehement exclamations against his cruelties, and more especially for the death of Dr. Hewett, on whose behalf she had made the most importunate intercessions, that he was no less affected thereby than from her death, which happened on the 6th of August following (b). He was, from that time, wholly altered; grew daily more reserved and suspicious, not indeed without great reason; for he found a general discontent prevailed through the nation, a signal disaffection in the Army, and a great increase of the influence of the Republicans, to whom his son-in-law Fleetwood, and even his wife, were very much inclined; and besides them, his Privy-Counsellors Pickering and Sydenham, upon whom he had principally depended, and even Desborough, his near relation and great confident, caballed with Lambert, so that he knew not which way to turn, or what to expect (c). These cares having long tormented his thoughts, at last affected his body, so that, while at Hampton-Court, he fell into a kind of slow fever, which soon degenerated into a tertian ague. For about a week his disease continued without any dangerous symptoms, insomuch that every other day he walked abroad; but one day, after dinner, his five Physicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulse, said, that it intermitted, at which, being somewhat surprized, he turned pale, fell into a cold sweat, and, when he was almost fainting, ordered himself to be carried to bed, where, by the assistance of cordials, being brought a little to himself, he made his will with respect to his private affairs (d). As to the remaining part of the history of his distemper, which, on many accounts, is very remarkable, the reader will find

(b) Clarendon's
History of the
Rebellion, p.
196.
Echard's Hist. of
England, p. 734.
Ludlow's Me-
moirs, vol. ii.
p. 607.

(c) Bates's *Elen-
chus Motuum*,
p. ii. p. 233, 234.

(d) Echard's Hist.
of Engl. p. 734.

* *dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon, and that, if he deliver not up the keys of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shall be taken, tell him, I'll come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris.* There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the Queen-mother, the Cardinal, the Marshal de Turenne, and a Secretary, whose name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as if she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women; whereas it was found, after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years, and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order beforementioned. The message had its effect, for Dunkirk was put into the possession of the English. And to palliate the matter, the Duke and Marshal Crequi was dispatched into England Ambassador Extraordinary to compliment Cromwell, attended by a numerous and splendid train of persons of quality, among whom was a Prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle to the Protector, full of the highest expressions of respect, and assuring his Highness, that being within view of the English shore, nothing but the King's indisposition, (who lay then ill of the small-pox at Calais) could have hindered him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greatest men that ever was, and whom, next to his master, his greatest ambition was to serve. But being deprived of so great a happiness, he had sent the person that was nearest to him in blood, to assure him of the profound veneration he had for his person, and how much he was resolved, to the utmost of his power, to cultivate a particular amity and friendship betwixt his master and him. This narrative has a very fair appearance, and has so long passed for an indisputable truth that I should not easily have inclined to question it: but thus much is certain, that, if there be any truth in it, it would be a very difficult matter to find it out, because almost every circumstance of it may be shewn to be false. It appears from Lockhart's letters, who was not only the Protector's Ambassador in France, but also Commander in Chief of his forces, that the difficulty at the opening of the campaign lay in bringing the Cardinal to resolve upon besieging Dunkirk early, because the Spaniards were possessed of Hesdin, and were thereby in a condition to have made a diversion by an excursion into France; and the people glomoured that the Cardinal was leaving them at the

mercy of the Spaniards, while the army of France was to be employed in taking of towns, which were to be given up to the English, their antient and inveterate enemy (203). It appears farther, that it was impossible for the French to have broken their treaty with Cromwell in this respect, for three reasons: the first, because without the assistance of an additional assistance from him, they were not able to invest the place; secondly, because he had a pawn in his hand, which was Mardyke, and which was to be given up to France, upon putting Dunkirk into his hands; thirdly, because after taking the place, the preservation of their own conquests, and even of their army, depended absolutely upon the continuance of his friendship; so that if they had deceived him, not only the forces of France, and the fortune of the war would have been in the utmost danger, but the persons also of the King and Cardinal, who were at that time in the army (204). We may add to all this, that there is not the least notice of such a transaction in Whitlocke, or in any of the Historians of those times, and, which is the more remarkable, Whitlocke informs us, that Cromwell might have had the place betrayed to him by the Spanish Governor, which he refused (205) as less honourable than receiving it from France, a thing altogether incredible if he had entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity. Add to all this, that from several of Lockhart's letters it appears, he never had the least jealousy of the Cardinal in that point (206), and that if there had been any such transaction as this between the Protector and the French Ambassador, it could not have escaped the Minister's notice. In reference to Marshal Crequi and Mr. Mancini, they came over in consequence of Cromwell's sending his son-in-law Fauconbridge to compliment the King and Cardinal, who carried letters from the Protector to both, and was received with unprecedented marks of respect. Besides, the French Marshal and the Cardinal's nephew had their audience of Cromwell before Dunkirk was taken, which within one hour after its being taken was put into the English hands. The truth of the matter was, what does infinitely more honour to Cromwell than this story, that the French durst not deceive him, nay, durst not take any step that could give him the least jealousy or suspicion; for it was his fleet and army that enabled them to do all they did, and there is nothing more certain, than that he was the true author of all their future greatness, as well as of that lamentable depression of the Spanish monarchy, which it could never recover, and which has been so fatal to the balance of power in Europe.

(203) Thurloe's
State Papers,
vol. vii. p. 60.
160. 169. 173.

(204) Quincy,
tom. i. p. 238.
Riencourt, tom.
ii. p. 119.
Bussy, tom. ii.
p. 129.

(205) Memorials
of the English
affairs, p. 674.

(206) Thurloe's
State Papers,
vol. vii. p. 174.

(c) Whitlocke's
Memorials, p.
674.
Wood's *Atben.*
Oxon. vol. ii.
col. 424.
Echard's *Hist. of*
Eng. p. 734.

it in the notes [OO]. Being removed to London he became much worse, grew first lethargick, then delirious; whence recovering a little, but not enough to give any distinct directions as to the management of public affairs; he died on Friday, September the 3d, 1658, aged somewhat more than fifty-nine years and four months. Some have intimated a suspicion, that he died of poison (e); but the nature and length of his disease, together with his body's being publicly opened, seems to destroy all probability in such a suppo-

[OO] *The reader will find it in the notes.* It is impossible to have a better account of his last sickness, than that given by Dr. Bates, who was his Physician. After mentioning the circumstance of making his private Will, as related in the text, he proceeds thus: 'Next morning early, when one of his Physicians came to visit him, he asked him (207), Why he looked so sad?' and when he made answer, 'That so it became any one, who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him;' 'Ye Physicians, said he, think I shall die.' Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, he spoke to him to this purpose: 'I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure on it.' And because he observed him to look more attentively upon him at these words, 'Don't think, said he, that I am mad; I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater interest with him. Go on cheerfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would do with a serving-man. Ye may have a skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all Physicians put together, and God is far more above nature.' But being ordered to take his rest, because he had not slept the greatest part of the night; as the Physician was coming out of the chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him, to whom 'I am afraid, says he, our Patient will be light-headed.' 'Then, said he, you are certainly a stranger in this house. Don't you know what was done last night? the Chaplains, and all who are dear to God, being dispersed into several parts of the Palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all have brought this answer, *He shall recover.*' Nay, to this degree of madness they came, that a public fast being for his sake kept at Hampton-Court, they did not so much pray to God for his health, as thank him for the undoubted pledges of his recovery, and repeated the same at Whitehall. These oracles of the faints were the cause that the Physicians spake not a word of his danger. In the mean time Cromwell leaving Hampton-Court, where hitherto he had lain sick, is brought to London, and the Physicians meet at a consultation in the Chamber of the afore-mentioned Doctor, who at that time was troubled with a grievous head-ach, and an imposthume in his ear. But next morning early, another Physician coming, who had watched all night with the patient, and telling the rest how ill he had been in the last fit, they all concluded that he could hardly out-live another. This sentence of the Physicians awaking the Privy-Council, at an appointed time, they come to advise him that he would name his successor. But when in a drowsy fit he answered out of purpose, they again asked him if he did not name Richard his eldest son for his successor, to which he answered, Yes. Then being asked where his Will was which heretofore he had made concerning the heirs of the kingdom, he sent to look for it in his closet and other places, but in vain, for he had either burnt it himself, or somebody else had stole it.' All this agrees very well with those authentic accounts written by Lord Fauconbridge and Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell in Ireland. In the letters of the last it is said, that the Protector named his successor in writing during the sitting of the last Parliament; that he folded up the paper containing this nomination in the form of a letter directed to Thurloe; that when he was so ill at Hampton-Court he said this letter lay upon the table in his study, and directed it should be brought, but search being made for it no such paper could be found (208). It is farther said, that he declared his son Richard his successor, in the presence of several

of his Council; but this was generally doubted at the time, and is not affirmed in the Proclamation upon Richard's assuming the title of Protector (209). Before I close this note it may not be amiss to discuss two points, that seem to have been but indifferently treated. The first is with respect to his pretending to have received a revelation that he should not die at that time, not only at the beginning of his sickness, but after he was brought to London, and given over by those of the Faculty that were about him. The fact itself is very certain: General Fleetwood mentions it in a letter to Henry Cromwell, but recommends secrecy to him till the event should direct him whether to bury it in silence or proclaim it to the world (210). One would think it hardly possible to assign a reason for this, excluding fanaticism or enthusiasm; and yet a foreign writer pretends to relate, upon good authority, somewhat on this head that deserves notice. He observes, that the Physician who attended the Protector could not help expressing great astonishment at his boldness in this respect, to whom Cromwell, when they were alone, expressed himself to this effect: 'You are an honest man, Doctor, and have good sense; I wonder that you do not see that I hazard nothing by my prediction; for if, as you say, I should not survive twenty-four hours, this rumour of my recovery which will be diffused through the whole nation, will keep the minds of men in suspense, and prevent my enemies from coming to any certain resolutions: on the other hand, if I should recover, as you Physicians are not infallible, it will add new credit to my Government, and the bulk of this people will believe me a man sent from God (211). It may be objected, that it is very improbable Cromwell should deal so very freely with any man, and indeed I lay no great stress upon this story; but this may be observed by the way, that the only vanity he had was boasting of his power to overreach, of which there is a remarkable instance in what he said to Mr. Waller (212), and still a stronger instance in a matter of greater notoriety; for to his first Parliament he magnified the *Instrument of Government* as the most compleat thing that could be, whereas, in his speech to his last Parliament, he ran it down as a weak and inconsistent project, which he compared to a rotten plank (213). Besides, had he lived, the Doctor durst not have disclosed it in prejudice to his scheme of passing for a Prophet; and his divulging it after his death served only to shew, that the Protector was in reality a consummate Politician to the very last. The second point to be explained is as to his being poisoned, of which Mr. Wood tells us (214) there was a report that it was done by Dr. Bates; but he insinuates that this was invented by the Doctor's friends, to apologize for his conduct in those times, and that it might be no bar to his preferment; for he was Physician to King Charles I. to the Protector Oliver, and to King Charles II. Archdeacon Echard (215) sets it down as a fact that he gave Cromwell a sure dose; but, in this respect, neither of these writers deserve much credit, since it appears from Whitlocke (216), that there was a rumour of his being poisoned at the very time of his death, consequently it was not a tale invented after the Restoration; and that it was not a fact, appears from the sense his family had of it, visible in the Letters of Fleetwood, Fauconbridge, and Thurloe, and from the history of his distemper in those letters, which appears to have been at first a slow fever, then a tertian, and at last a double tertian, which might well carry off a person of his years, without the assistance of a sure dose, and indeed in spite of the assistance of the Faculty: neither can it be believed, that such a thing was practised upon such a person by one, when, at the same time, he was attended by four other Physicians.

(209) See that proclamation in Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 674.

(210) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. viii. p. 355.

(211) Vie de Cromwell, par Raguenet, p. 395.

(212) See the life of Waller, prefixed to his poems.

(213) See that speech in Whitlocke's Memorials.

(214) *Atben. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 424.

(215) *Hist. of England*, p. 862.

(216) Memorials of English affairs, p. 674.

(208) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 364.

(f) See that point explained at large in the notes.

fition. It appears to be more generally agreed, that there was something very mysterious in the manner of disposing of his body, which several authors, and those too of opposite principles, very positively assert, was never carried to Westminster-Abbey. It would undoubtedly be a very difficult thing to affirm which of the stories that are told about it is most probable; though there can be nothing clearer, than that none of them ought to be accounted certain (f) [PP]. A very pompous funeral was ordered at the public expence, and performed from Somerset-House, with a splendor not only equal but superior to any that has been bestowed upon crowned heads; though it is said, that expence fell heavy upon his family, and upon some of the tradesmen who furnished the ornaments of the solemnity, of which as there are many particular accounts common to be met with, there is no need that we should insist longer upon it here (g).

(k) See all these panegyrics collected and translated by the Rev. Mr. Francis Peck, in his *Memoirs of the life and actions of O. Cromwell*, Lond. 1740, 4to. (l) Wood's *Atben. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 485.

(n) Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 480.

There were other, and those still more extraordinary, marks of public approbation bestowed upon his memory, such as the celebrated poems of Waller, Sprat, and Dryden, which are likely to last as long as our language (h); and which, though the authors lived all of them to change their sentiments, will not fail of giving posterity a very high idea of those great actions, which were capable of exciting such elevated descriptions by those who were eye-witnesses of them. Besides these, there are multitudes of Latin verses, some of them very fine, which speak the same language with the same warmth (i). In his life-time his actions had been celebrated by two very learned foreigners, as well as by his own Secretary Milton (k), with which, very probably, he was not displeased. Yet, after all, Poets are not the most credible witnesses; and we are, for very good reasons, apt to suspect whether truth be the ground-work of panegyrics. It was for this reason that Cromwell was mightily desirous of engaging a very learned man to write his history, in which nevertheless he failed; for though considerable rewards were offered, that very able person declined the task (l). We have indeed various characters from various persons, and those too of various sentiments; yet in most of these there seems to be a mixture either of flattery or of prejudice. Such as approved his actions, knew not where to stop their praises; and such as detested his proceedings, gave a loose to their resentments, that, in some respects perhaps, carried them beyond the bounds of truth. Those who hated his person went farther still. Lord Hollis will hardly allow him either great or good qualities (m); and as for Lieutenant-General Ludlow (n), one principal design of his book is to represent Cromwell as the vilest and wickedest of men. Against this last writer he has been very well defended by one, who, with great force of argument, and in very elegant language, has

(g) Echard's *Hist. of Engl.* p. 737. Heath's *Chron.* p. 410, 411. Perfect *Politician*, p. 266, 267. (h) See these and others all collected in the 3d vol. of *State-poems*. (i) Gray's *Examinations of Neal's H. St.* vol. iv. p. 226, 227.

(m) See the instances already given from Hollis's *Memoirs*.

(217) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. ii. p. 236.

(218) *Compleat Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 228. in the notes.

[PP] *Than that none of them ought to be accounted certain.* In the first place it is proper to produce an authentic proof of the only fact that is asserted in the text, that his body was really buried before his pompous funeral. Dr. Bates gives us this account in the following words (217): 'His body being opened; in the animal parts, the vessels of the brain seemed to be over-charged; in the vitals, the lungs a little inflamed; but, in the natural, the source of the distemper appeared, the spleen, though found to the eye, being within filled with matter like to the lees of oil. Nor was that incongruous to the disease that for a long time he had been subject unto, since, for at least thirty years, he had at times heavily complained of hypochondriacal indispositions. Though his bowels were taken out, and his body filled with spices, wrapped in a four-fold sear-cloth, but put first into a coffin of lead and then into a wooden one, yet it purged and wrought through all, so that there was a necessity of interring it before the solemnity of his funeral.' Echard asserts precisely the same thing, and, in all probability, from the same authority. We have another story, said to be founded on the testimony of Mr. Barkstead, son to the famous Barkstead, who was Lieutenant of the Tower in Cromwell's lifetime, to this effect (218): 'That Barkstead, the father, among other confidants of Cromwell's, desiring in his illness to know where he would be buried, the Protector answered, where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby in Northamptonshire: which accordingly was thus performed. At midnight, soon after his death, the body, being first embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin, was in a hearse conveyed to the said field, Mr. Barkstead himself attending, by order of his father, close to the hearse. Being come to the field, they found about the midst of it a grave dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other, in which the coffin being put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken

that the surplus should be clear removed. Soon after, the like care was taken that the field should be entirely ploughed up, and it was sown three or four years successively with corn.' We have a very different account from Mr. Oldmixon, who assures us that he had it from a gentlewoman who attended the Protector in his last sickness (219): 'She told me, says he, that the day after Cromwell's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse; they could not pretend to keep it for the pomp of a public burial. Amongst other proposals this was one, that, considering the malice, rage, and cruelty of the Cavaliers, it was most certain, they, who never spared either living or dead, in the lust of their revenge, would insult the body of this their most dreadful enemy, if ever it was in their power; and, to prevent its falling into such barbarous hands, it was resolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it aboard a barge, and to sink it in the deepest part of the Thames, which was done the night following, two of his near relations, with some trusty soldiers, undertaking to do it.' That the Protector's body was buried before the public and pompous ceremony of the funeral seems to be out of all doubt; but that there was a body interred at Westminster, and that this body was really the Protector's body, seems to be very clear, from the following account of what passed upon the order to dis-inter him after the Restoration (220). 'In the middle isle of Henry VIIIth's chapel, says my authority, at the east end, in a vault, was found his corps. In the inside of whose coffin, and upon the breast of the corps, was laid a copper-plate finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead; on the one side whereof were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverse, this following legenda: *Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, natus 25 April, 1599, inauguratus 16 Decembris 1653, Mortuus 3 Septembris ann. 1658. Hic situs est.* Mr. Gifford of Colchester, who married the Serjeant's daughter (who by order of the House took up the body) had, in 1719, the plate.'

(219) *History of the Stuarts*, vol. i. p. 426.

(220) *Compleat Hist.* vol. iii. p. 229.

shown

shewn, that Cromwell had just as much right to erect a new Monarchy, as the long Parliament had to establish a new Commonwealth upon the ruins of our old Constitution (o). Another writer has laboured to vindicate the long Parliament, by shewing that they had the welfare and reputation of their country more at heart than Cromwell (p). The learned and ingenious Abraham Cowley has excelled all others, as well in respect to the matter as the manner of representing his actions and administration in the different lights of praise and censure, so that his performance may be justly esteemed the most perfect of any, as it is indeed, beyond comparison, the most beautiful of all that have been written upon this subject (q). It is said, that Cardinal Mazarine styled him a fortunate madman (r). Father Orleans dislikes that character, and would substitute in its stead that of a judicious villain. The noble Historian, with better sense and better language, styles him, a brave wicked man (s). A certain writer, very conversant in the history of those times, would persuade us, that a foreign author has given us the justest idea of Cromwell in these few words: He was a Tyrant without vices, and a Prince without virtues (t). This, perhaps, is a character not easy to be understood. A certain Prelate of our own nation, has a very judicious reflection upon his death: he says, His life and his arts were exhausted together, and that, if he had survived longer, he would have scarcely been able to preserve his power (u). But it is not in general characters, or from the many lives that have been written of Oliver Cromwell, that we may hope to find what it imports us most to know, with respect either to his public or to his private character; and there is still wanting, though there seems to be now sufficient materials, a candid, circumstantial, and sensible account of both. As to the first, the world may justly expect to be satisfied how his domestic administration was conducted, what measures he pursued for the general benefit and advantage of the people, what superior and extraordinary blessings he procured, what oppressions he removed, what grievances he detected and took away, what respect he paid to the laws, and with what revenue he was pleased to be contented. These are things that would give us a true and rational notion of his title to fame, considered as the possessor of supreme power, by what means soever attained, or held by whatever title [22]. As to

[22] Or held by whatever title.] It has been said, by such as were desirous of raising the character of Cromwell, that the nation was much benefited by his Government; that there was nothing of pomp or needless magnificence in his dress, his equipage, his household, or in his way of living (221); that his ears were open to complaints and to informations of every kind; that he was familiar with his old friends, and with the officers and soldiers of the army, after his advancement to the supreme power, which shewed that he had not either pride or vanity (222); that he shewed much justice in all private affairs, administered those of the public with frugality, and paid both his civil and military officers punctually (223); that he kept up a great face of religion in his own Court, and through the nation; that he always professed himself for liberty of conscience, and shewed a very high zeal for the Protestant religion (224); that Westminster-hall was never filled with Judges of greater learning and worth, than in his time (225); that his army observed the strictest discipline, and were not troublesome in their quarters (226); that he was beneficent to learned men; that trade flourished in his time (227); and that in spite of the badness of his title to, and the means by which he acquired power, he was universally respected at home and abroad (228). Now there are also some few particulars that deserve notice on the other side. It is observed that Cromwell's motion to the supreme power was progressive, and that his state augmented as it went: he took possession of the King's lodgings at Whitehall, when he was only General; he prevented several Palaces from being sold while a private man, that he might possess them in a princely character (229); he gradually increased his great officers, to the very end of his life; and, by a stroke of prerogative for which none of our Kings set him a precedent, would have made a house full of new Peers at once (230). Our former Kings swore to maintain the laws and liberties of their people, the meaning of which was very well known and ascertained; but Cromwell's *Instrument of Government* was of his own making, so that his oath to maintain it was only swearing he would govern by his own will (231). Yet this was not kept, for the *humble Petition and Advice* was a new model of Government, which, as perfect as it was, needed a *Supplement*, and had it; so that a Government fre-

quently changed, and changed by the will of him who administered it, was most certainly an arbitrary Government, if there ever was one in the world (232). He might be familiar with his creatures, and it was necessary he should be so with his officers; yet not only Hollis and Ludlow, but even Whitlocke (233) says, he took upon him great state; and Sir Philip Warwick (234), without intending him any hurt, confirms the same thing. There was a strange kind of splendor in his time at Whitehall; for sometimes his Court wore an air of stately severity, at other times he would unbend himself and drink freely, though not to excess, that he might have an opportunity of sounding then men's thoughts, in their unguarded moments, of fishing for secrets in a free conversation, and of ravishing opinions by unexpected questions, for all which he was admirably qualified by nature, having two qualities that seldom meet in the same person, a memory retentive as marble, and a judgment that pierced like lightning (235). Sometimes, even in the midst of serious consultations, he started into buffoonry; sometimes, the feasts that were prepared for persons of the first distinction, were, by a signal of drums and trumpets, made the prey of his Guards (236); there was a kind of madness in his mirth, as well as of humour in his gravity, and much of design in all. His justice, when not at his own expence, was his interest; but the cases of Lilburn, Coxe, and Sir Henry Vane, afford no great proofs of his sacrificing interest to justice when he could not comply with both (237). As to frugality, there are some facts that will not allow us to believe their assertions. When he turned out the Long Parliament there were five hundred thousand pounds in their coffers, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in their magazines, the army three or four months pay in advance, the fleet in an excellent condition, and nine hundred thousand pounds *per annum* had been refused for the customs and excise: when he died, the state was much in debt; while he lived, it was always embarrassed; his army was often in arrear, and the fleet in great decay (238). When he first seized the government he levied money by his own authority; afterwards very large sums were given by assemblies that had no title to be called Parliaments; yet all could not suffice, even the addition of the vast sums raised by decimating the Cavaliers; which was a direct

(q) Cowley's Works, vol. ii. p. 631, &c.

(s) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 697.

(u) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 70.

(221) History and Policy reviewed, p. 112, 113.

(222) See Whitlocke, Coke, and Heath in his Flagellum. (223) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 111.

(224) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. i. p. 77. (225) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 95. (226) Winstanley's true Character of Cromwell, p. 2. (227) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 410. (228) Unparalleled Monarch, p. 19.

(229) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 479.

(230) See the fourth part of the Hist. of Independency, p. 95.

(231) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 65.

(o) Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell. (p) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(r) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 185.

(t) Vie de Cromwell, par Gregorie Leti, vol. ii. p. 452, 453.

(232) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 591, 592, 593.

(233) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 661, 662. (234) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 248.

(235) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 158, 159. True Character of O. Cromwell. (236) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 240.

(237) Clarendon's Hist. Rebellion, p. 697. The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(238) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 428. Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 65, 66, 67.

to foreign affairs likewise, though very much has been said about them, we are nevertheless greatly in the dark. It is to be examined, not only whether the British nation was respected and revered by her neighbours, but whether her interests were thoroughly understood, and steadily prosecuted. We ought to know what measures were taken to protect, to improve, and to extend our commerce. We ought to be satisfied whether she retained that weight, as well as that rank, which she held before amongst the powers of Europe, and whether more respect was not had to the deference paid to the Government, than to the advantages yielded to the Nation. We should be particularly careful to learn whether a due attention was preserved to the balance of power, and whether the unquestionable rights of the English flag were maintained in as high and ample a manner as they might have been; and, in short, whether, without the bounds of our own dominions, the nation was the better or the worse for his directing her affairs [RR]. Lastly, as to his

(239) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(240) Dr. Parr's life of Archbishop Usher, p. 75, 76.

(241) Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 58.
(242) Flagellum, or the life of Cromwell, p. 273.

(243) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 606.

Mr. Emlyn's Preface to Hale's Hist. of the Pleas of the Crown.

(244) Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 673.

(245) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 697.

(246) Coke's Deception, vol. ii. p. 65.

The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(247) Coke's Deception, vol. ii. p. 67.

(248) Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, Lond. 1698, 8vo. p. 10.

(249) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 485.

(250) The Leviathan heretical, Oxford, 1683, 12mo. p. 137.

(251) Dr. Parr's life of Archbishop Usher, p. 78.

(252) Coke's Deception, vol. ii. p. 67.

Warwick's Memoirs, p. 385.

rect breach of the public faith, so much the more gross, as he valued himself upon obliging the Parliament to pass the Ordinance of Oblivion, and, when they came into power again, the Long Parliament declared their abhorrence of it (239). It is not easy to know what is meant by the face of religion; but this is certain, that religion never wore so many faces as in his time, nor was he pleased to discover which face he liked best. The Presbyterians he hated, the Church of England he persecuted, against the Papists he made laws, but the Sectaries he indulged; yet some of the Presbyterian Divines he courted, affected kindness to a few of the Ministers of the Church of England (240), and entered into some very deep intrigues with the Papists; which made Sir Kenelm Digby his favourite, Father White write in defence of his Government, and, which was more, of his conduct; and the Popish Primate of Ireland, Reily, who boasted that he hated King Charles II. the two Dukes his brothers, and the Duke of Ormond, sent precepts through all his province, under his seal, to pray for the health, establishment, and prosperity, of the Protector Cromwell and his Government (241). He is charged with exciting a great charitable collection for the distressed Protestants abroad, sending them a part, and making free with the rest (242). As for the Judges in Westminster-hall, he differed with St. John; he was sometimes out of humour with Hale; he set up High Courts of Justice, unknown to the law, and put Dr. Hewett to death for not pleading before one of them, though he offered to plead, if any one that sat there and was a Lawyer, would give it under his hand, that it was a legal jurisdiction (243); and Whitlocke himself owns, that though he was named in the Commission he would never sit, because he knew it was not (244). His Majors-General, while they acted, superseded all law; and the Protector himself derided *Magna Charta*, so much respected by our Kings (245). The discipline of his army was necessary to his own security, and he taxed this nation to maintain twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse; whereas the King that he brought to the block had not a Troop of Guards (246). Yet, after all, he had not much to boast in this respect, if we may credit Mr. Coke (247), whose words are these: 'he had nothing to trust to but a mercenary army, which he could not pay, and above half of those would have been content to have cut his throat.' He was kind to some learned men indeed: Milton and Marvell were his Secretaries, and though he banished Biddle the Socinian, he allowed him a pension (248); would have hired Meric Casaubon to have written his History (249); and would have entertained Thomas Hobbes in his service for writing the *Leviathan*, in which power is made the source of right and the basis of religion (250). He gave the body of Archbishop Usher a public funeral in Westminster-abbey; yet he paid but half the expence, and the other half proved a heavy burthen upon that Prelate's poor family (251). As to the reverence of the nation, a certain writer, speaking of the last days of his life, describes his situation thus (252): 'His means would not pay for the intelligence he was forced to buy at home and abroad, to discover the practices which were every day hatching against him; so as he had no security but in the general fear, which all the factions as well as he had, that their discords might give an occasion of restoring

the King, to the ruin of them all.' Bishop Burnet (253) also confirms this, as we have hinted in the text, and the reader will observe, that through this whole note there is nothing delivered but from authorities; and though it is a long one, much more is omitted than inserted. Those who would see things as they were, will trust to such accounts as are supported by facts, and not to florid characters, which are frequently but beautiful fictions.

[RR] For his directing her affairs.] All who are tolerably versed in the history of those times know, that such as labour to magnify the Protector's Government, insist principally upon the advantages he gained over foreign states, and the terror which he imprinted throughout all Europe, of the English fleets and forces. He is represented as the conqueror of the Dutch, as the great author of their submission to, and acquiescing in, an inferior character of maritime power. With respect to this nation, he is said to have achieved what Queen Elizabeth had left imperfect, and what the two last Kings had meditated indeed, but never could bring about. He is reported to have retrieved the honour of the nation with respect to the business of Amboyna; and, in short, to have given, or rather, to have prescribed, a peace to the Dutch upon his own terms (254). In reference to the Mediterranean, he is called the scourge of the pyratel states, whom he did not barely reduce to reason, but taught humility (255). The Portuguese not only sought his friendship of their own accord, but besought it upon such conditions as he should be pleased to grant (256). Spain too courted his alliance, and would have purchased it at a very high price, if his amity might have been set to sale: but his hatred to a power that durst not give up the Inquisition, his sense of the Merchants wrongs, and innate abhorrence of a bigotted Popish people, withheld him from closing with their propositions, and induced him to signalize his power by reducing them to the lowest distress, and that by entering into a treaty and alliance with France (257). This alliance was at the humble and earnest suit of that power, willing to make any concessions which might procure his good-will, and ready to subscribe such propositions as he judged reasonable for the grounds of their new friendship (258). By this means it is said he obtained a better treaty of commerce than had been settled with that nation in former times: by this he signalized his credit with the first power in Europe, and was treated with deference, not to say submission, by that Crown that to others was often wanting in respect (259). By this means he reached over to, and gained footing upon, the Continent, repaired to England the loss of Calais, and laid a foundation for designs wonderfully great in themselves, which he did not live to execute (260). But, as if bringing the Dutch to submit, giving law in the Mediterranean, and being courted by France, was not sufficient, he made himself also the umpire of the North, and secured, in the highest degree, the attachment of the Swedish Monarch, who owed to his friendship his making so formidable an appearance, as hardly yielded to that of his glorious predecessor Gustavus Adolphus, the support of the Protestant religion, and the scourge of the House of Austria (261). These, say they, were the great acts of Cromwell, by which he made himself, and the nation he ruled, awful in the eyes of their neighbours, secur-

(253) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, p. 70.

(254) Life of O. Cromwell, Lord Protector, p. 265.

(255) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 172.

(256) See the three panegyrics published by Peck.

(257) See Secretary Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(258) See the account before cited, as also Milton, Welwood, and Oldmixon.

(259) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 110.

(260) Sir William Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 356.

(261) Milton's Works, vol. ii. p. 211, 218, 226.

his private life, it certainly merits our notice in all its several branches and relations, since it is thence only that we can be instructed to decide, with probability, as to the principles even of his public actions; for men of different dispositions, act in the same manner, upon certain occasions, from very different motives; and of these there is no judging, but from an acquaintance with their tempers; which can be no other way so well known, as from the relation of their private and domestic behaviour. Besides, there is a natural curiosity to enter, as it were, into the privacies of extraordinary persons; which is a kind of slipping behind the scenes, and taking a more nice and certain view of their conduct, by getting on the wrong side of the theatre. Men, called into high spheres of life, naturally become actors, and wear the robe and buskin thence forward in public, so that we can judge but little of their real disposition from their actions, unless we obtain a kind of key from the knowledge of their private life; so that circumstances which, with respect to others, would be frivolous and impertinent in regard to them, are very useful

ed them the full enjoyment of all that they could justly claim, and gave them a great facility in acquiring whatever more they wished. Such, if we look into certain books, were the deeds, and such the honours due to the Protector. But, on the other hand, it is observable, that these high eulogies were very boldly questioned in his own times, and that too not by envious declaimers, who meant to shew their eloquence in satire, or their skill in cavilling, but by men of the first rank, who undertook to contradict the facts, and to shew that the whole scheme of his foreign politics was either false in its principles, or narrow in its foundation. They bid us remember it was the long Parliament, not he, that beat the Dutch; and though we should give no credit to what has been insinuated, that he was encouraged by them to revolt from and turn out his matters, yet most evident it is, that he relaxed in his demands, and made a peace upon lower terms, not that had been demanded only by, but had been submitted to in respect to, the Parliament. He remitted the three hundred thousand pounds, which the Dutch had offered that Assembly for the damages sustained during the war; he did not insist upon an annual revenue for the liberty of fishing in our seas; he insisted upon no other proof of our sovereignty at sea than the ceremony of the flag; and even in respect to the business of Amboyna, the satisfaction obtained was not substance but shew; for, though strongly worded in the treaty, yet being referred to Commissioners, it came to nothing, any more than the restitution of the Island of Poleron, which was stipulated indeed, but never complied with (262). Not that Cromwell wanted force sufficient to have compelled what he pleased; but the expulsion of the King out of the dominions of the State, and the exclusion of the Prince of Orange from the dignities due to his family; the consenting to which was a violation of the Dutch Constitution, were, though private advantages only, accepted as equivalents for the benefits that might have been obtained for the nation (263). What there was therefore of honour in the Dutch peace, belonged of right to the Parliament, under whose auspice all the victories, save one gained by Monk, were obtained that procured it; and most of those great points they insisted upon had been claimed by King Charles and King James, as one of their own advocates acknowledges, in a piece dedicated to themselves (264). With all the rest of Europe the English Commonwealth was at peace: the King of Portugal's addresses were in consequence of the Parliament's resenting his protection of Prince Rupert, and, besides, in the situation of that Crown, it was no wonder they made any advances to the first maritime power in Europe (265). The glory of the English flag in the Mediterranean has been justly ascribed to Blake, who was truly an honour to his country, but not mighty well satisfied with Cromwell's Government any more than Monk was with the Dutch Treaty, which he was not afraid to declare was a base piece of treachery (266). In his quarrel with Spain, he acted as imprudently as unjustly; for the Spaniards had courted the Commonwealth earlier than any other power in Europe, and, with respect to Cromwell, had declared their willingness to guaranty his own and his successors government, as professing an implacable aversion to the Royal Family, and a resolution to exclude that line from the

Throne, from motives of interest (267). They were willing to have carried on a war against France in conjunction with Cromwell, upon very easy terms, or would have closed with him without insisting upon his taking part in that war at all. The Protector entertained a treaty which he never designed should come to any thing, while he provided for a war, which, from a prospect of advantage, he had been bent upon from the beginning, and began without publishing any declaration (268); all this in the very teeth of the English interest, at that time in the sole possession of the whole Spanish trade, which was the great source of our riches (269). It was this that induced him to enter into a league with France; and the reason that led him to prefer the friendship of that power was, the excluding the Royal Family out of it's dominions, which, joined to the exclusion already obtained out of the territories of the States, and his project of getting the ports in the Spanish Low-Countries into his own hands, shews *what* was the ruling maxim in his politics; which is very ingeniously acknowledged, and all the particulars clearly set forth, in a paper of Thurloe's (270). As to his management in the North, it was of a piece with the rest; that is, he did all that lay in his power to destroy the balance (271), by making the King of Sweden master of Denmark and the North, which had been effected, if it had not been for the Dutch, who understood and pursued their own interests better. For, had his scheme been brought about, he must have laid himself at the mercy of Sweden and France, who, being old allies, would have had it in their power to give law to all Europe (272). This being so visibly the aim of France, it shews plainly why Cardinal Mazarine paid such excessive court to Cromwell, and perhaps it may give some light, why he stiled him "a fortunate madman;" *fortunate*, because, by the bravery of English seamen and soldiers, he obtained all he sought; and *madman*, because, to the temporary security of his own establishment (273), he sacrificed the interests of his country, the balance of power, and the tranquility of Europe, which former Kings had always maintained; and the very last King, Charles the First, had prevented the French and Dutch from dispossessing the Spaniards of the Low-Countries, and dividing them between them (274); which plan Cromwell not only accepted but executed. What influence these errors in policy had upon the state of this nation, at home and abroad, may be shewn from facts that admit of no dispute; such as the sinking of our coinage (275), the declension of the city of London in the number of its inhabitants (276), the loss of countries in America, where the Dutch were permitted to keep the New Netherlands, now stiled New York and the Jerseys, though our right to them was incontestible (277); from the decay of the navy, and from the loss of a great part of the Spanish trade; to which may be added, the laying the foundation of all the subsequent wars for reducing the exorbitant growth of France, which he assisted, and which without his assistance, and his weakening the Spanish monarchy as he did, could not have been attained (278). These are to be considered as brief heads for that examination, the necessity of which is suggested in the text, in order to the forming a true and impartial judgment of his administration as to foreign affairs.

(262) Coke's Detection, vol. ii. p. 36, 47.

(263) Warwick's Memoirs p. 372.

(264) See this dedication prefixed by Marchmont Needham to his translation of Selden's *Mare Clausum*.
(265) Milton's Works, vol. ii. p. 193.

(266) Dr. Gumbie's Life of Monk, p. 74.

(267) See Thurloe's account of the Protector's negotiations.

(268) Coke's Detection of the four last reigns, vol. ii. p. 51, 52, 53.

(269) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 615, 616.

(270) Inserted in the first vol. of his State Papers, p. 759.

(271) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 373.

(272) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

(273) Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xx. p. 793.

(274) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 53, 54.

(275) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

(276) See the Philosophical Transactions.
(277) British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 236-238.

(278) The World's Mistake in O. Cromwell.

as well as entertaining [SS]. The Protector Oliver Cromwell had many children, of whom six survived to be men and women, viz. two sons and four daughters. 1. Richard Cromwell,

(279) In the Perfect Politician all his private history takes up but three pages. (280) Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 193.

(281) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 1.

(282) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 77.

(283) This appears from reading the whole of Fairfax's short Memoirs.

(284) Bates's *Elenchus Motuum*, p. 82.

(285) Account of the engagements at Triploe-Heath and at Dunbar, p. 31.

[SS] *Are very useful as well as entertaining.*] It is really not a little strange, that, considering Cromwell was towards forty when he first distinguished himself in opposing the project for draining of fens, that we should know so little of his private life; and how little this is, the reader has already seen, most of the circumstances that deserve credit being mentioned either in the text or in the notes (279). Yet some few there were who knew and understood him thoroughly, before his extraordinary talents were made known to the world, and in particular his cousin Hampden, of which this was a remarkable instance (280). When things ran high in the House of Commons, Mr. Hampden and the Lord Digby were going down the Parliament stairs, and Cromwell just before them, who was known to the latter only by sight: *Pray*, said his Lordship to Mr. Hampden, *who is that man, for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly to-day? That sloven*, returned Mr. Hampden, *whom you see before us, who hath no ornament in his speech, that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, which God forbid! in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England.* This prophecy, which was so fully accomplished, rose chiefly from the sense that great man had of Cromwell's indefatigable diligence in pursuing whatever he undertook: and, in truth, he had this remarkable quality in a very high degree, for whatever he had in view, remained ever in his thoughts, and every thing he said or did was some way calculated to promote it; so that if steadiness, vigilance, and address, could attain any point, as indeed what point is there they will not attain, he was sure to accomplish whatever he thought worthy of undertaking (281). He had another quality, which was equally useful to him, and that was, discerning the temper of those he had to deal with, and dealing with them accordingly. Before he became Commander in Chief, he kept up a very high intimacy with the private men, taking great pains to learn their names, by which he was sure to call them, shaking them by the hand, clapping them on the shoulder, or, which was peculiar to him, giving them a slight box on the ear, which condescending familiarities, with the passion he expressed for their interests, gave him a power easier conceived than described (282). He tried to inveigle the Earl of Manchester; but finding his sentiments of another kind, he fell upon him in the House of Commons, and procured his removal. He carried himself with so much respect to Fairfax, that he knew not how to break with him, though he knew that he betrayed him (283). He not only deceived Harrison, Bradshaw, and Ludlow, but outwitted Oliver St. John, who had more parts than them all, and foiled Sir Henry Vane with his own weapons. In short, he knew men perfectly, worked them to his purposes, as if they had been cattle, and, which is still more wonderful, did that often while they conceived that they were making a tool of him (284). His strength of mind, or strength of head, call it which you will, enabled him to impose even upon the greatest bodies of men. He led the resentment of the House of Commons against the Army, till the latter were in a flame, and very angry with him: when he came to them, it was upon a flea-bitten nag, all of a foam, as if he had made his escape; and, in this trim, he signed the engagement at Triploe-Heath, throwing himself from his horse upon the grass, and writing his name as he lay upon his belly (285). He had yet another faculty beyond these, and that was, the art of concealing his arts. He dictated a paper once to Ireton, which was imposed upon the Agitators as if founded upon their instructions, who sent it express by two of their number, Sexby (who conspired against him when Protector) and Lavinby, to Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General, at his quarters at Colchester. He was in bed when they came, but they demanded and had admittance. When they told him their commission, he asked them, with the greatest rage and resentment in his looks, how they durst bring him papers from the Army? they said, That paper contained the sense of the Army, and they were directed to do it. Are

you sure of that? said he, with the same stern countenance, Let me see it. He spent a long time in reading it, and, as it seemed to them, in reflecting upon it: then, with a mild and devout look, he told them it was a most just thing, he hoped that God would prosper it, adding, *I will stand by the Army in these desires with my life and fortune* (286). In the course of his life he was temperate and sober, and despised those that were otherwise. He knew perfectly well the means of conciliating friendship, in which he was very constant to those who went all his lengths, as the Earl of Warwick, and some others, did (287): and could be very civil to such as disapproved his measures, provided they did not oppose them, which was the case of St. John, Whitlocke, and others (288): but if they differed with him, he forgot all former ties, as appeared by his imprisoning Sir Henry Vane, removing Major-General Harrison, and obliging the Lord Viscount Say and the Lord Grey of Groby to live in a kind of voluntary exile (289). In his family he shewed great kindness, but without any diminution of his authority. He was very respectful to his mother, and very tender towards his wife (290); yet neither had any influence over him: he expressed a deep sense of the concern which the former expressed for his danger, heard whatever she said to him patiently, but acted as he thought proper, and, in respect to her burial, directly against her dying request (291). The latter is said to have made a proposition, tending towards restoring the King, but he rejected it (292), as he had before shewn himself unmoved, when his son Richard threw himself at his feet, to dissuade him from taking King Charles's life (293). He did not seem to take amiss applications of the like kind from other persons, as from Whitlocke (294); but that Gentleman thought he lost his confidence by it; from the Marquis of Hertford, whom he treated very respectfully (295); and from Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, to whom he shewed more kindness than to any other man of his rank and profession, and of whom, with some earnestness, he asked advice (296): *My advice*, said the good Prelate, *must be in the words of the gospel; Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's:* to which he made no reply. All this shews a very great, a very unusual calmness of mind; yet he was naturally hasty and passionate, which those who were about him sometimes felt (297); but he knew how to compose matters again by a proper and an immediate condescension, of which he gave a strong instance to Lord Broghill, and another to Secretary Thurloe. He knew the force of family connections, and employed them very successfully. It was by this that he managed Ireton, and afterwards Fleetwood (298). The dealers in secret, or rather, scandalous history, say, he found another method of managing Lambert; which there is no need to believe, since it is visible that he cajoled him for a long time with the hopes of the succession (299). He married all his daughters well, and was kind to their husbands; but it is said he gave them no fortunes, which, if true, must have been because it was not in his power. Some have wondered that he did not court the alliance of some foreign house; and something of this kind was once spoken of for the Prince of Conde, for whom he had a particular kindness, and aimed at making him great in the same way as himself: he served in the Spanish army against his natural Prince; the Protector was for making him a Sovereign at the expence of the Spaniards he served, by giving him the best part of their Low-Countries; but the French would not agree to this, and so it came to nothing, as the business of the match had done long before. He is censured for keeping his eldest son at a distance from business, and for giving him no employments (300); but for this, perhaps, there is not any just ground. He married him to a Lady who brought him a good fortune: he suffered him to pursue the bent of his inclinations, and to lead the life of a plain, honest, country Gentleman; which, for a time, was highly suitable to his

(286) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 56.

(287) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 9.

(288) See Whitlocke's Memoirs throughout.

(289) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 530, 563, 577.

(290) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 14.

(291) Heath's Chronicle, p. 366.

(292) Echar's Hist. of England, p. 726.

(293) Lives of Illustrious Persons that died in 1712. p. 296.

(294) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 516.

(295) Hearne's Chronicon de Dunstable, vol. ii. p. 832.

(296) Memorials of Bishop Brownrigg, p. 186, 187.

(297) Mr. Maidstone's account of the Protector, to whom he was Steward, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 766.

(298) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 419, 425.

(299) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 183, 184.

(300) Oldmixon's Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 426.

(w) From the parish-register of St. John's Huntingdon.

Cromwell was born the 4th, and baptized the 19th of October, 1626, and died July 13th, 1712, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire (w). 2. Henry Cromwell, born January the 20th, 1627, christened the next day, died March 25th, 1674 (x). (1.) Bridget, who first married Commissary-General Ireton, and, after his decease, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood. As both her husbands were zealous Republicans, she had no small tincture of the same spirit, which was very displeasing to her father. In other respects she was a woman of very good sense, regular in her behaviour, and was highly instrumental in promoting the interests of her second husband, who was very much guided by her advice (y). (2.) Elizabeth, born *Anno Domini* 1630; she married John Claypole, Esq; a Northamptonshire Gentleman, whom the Protector made Master of the Horse, created him a Baronet July 16th, 1657, and appointed him one of his Lords (z). (3.) Mary, who was married, with great solemnity, to the Lord Viscount Fauconberg, November 18th, 1657, but the same day more privately, according to the office in the Common-Prayer Book. She was a Lady of great beauty, and of a very high spirit; one who, after her brother Richard was deposed, is thought to have promoted very successfully the restoration of King Charles. Her husband was sent to the Tower by the Committee of Safety, and was in very high favour with King Charles the Second. He was raised to the dignity of an Earl by King William, and died on the last day of the year 1700. His lady survived him to March 14th, 1712, and distinguished herself to her death, by the quickness of her wit and the solidity of her judgment (a). (4.) Frances, his youngest daughter, was twice married; first to Mr. Robert Rich, grandson to the Earl of Warwick, November 11th, 1657, who died the 16th of February following; and afterwards to Sir John Russell, of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, by whom she left several children, and lived to a great age (b). One, who pretends to a great acquaintance with the family, gives us an extraordinary story of this Lady in the earlier part of her life (c) [TT].

(x) From the same register.

(y) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts.

(z) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(a) Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, vol. iv. p. 2. 250.

(b) Lives of Illustrious Persons, who died in the year 1712, p. 285.

(c) See this at large in the note.

(301) See his speech to his first Parliament in Whitlocke.

(302) Lives of Illustrious Persons who died in 1712. p. 287.

(303) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 534.

(304) See his letter to Thurloe amongst the State Papers, which are a series of complaints. (305) Flagellum, or the life of O. Cromwell, p. 169.

(306) Bates's *Elencbus Motuum*, p. 233, 234.

(307) See a great number of these letters in Thurloe's and in Nicholls's Collections, as well as in Rushworth and Whitlocke. (308) Several of these are to be found in Whitlocke's Memoirs.

(309) True Character of O. Cromwell.

own interests, as it seemed to correspond with the terms of the *Instrument of Government*, and the dislike which the Protector, when first so called, expressed of hereditary right (301). When he had afterwards brought about a change in affairs, he altered, at the same time, his conduct towards his son, named him the first Lord in his other House, resigned to him the Chancellorship of Oxford (302), and went as far as he could go, for fear of disobliging Fleetwood. His second son, Henry, he sent over into Ireland, where he raised him gradually to the post of Lord Lieutenant (303). Though in this he seemed to give him the preference, yet in reality he used him more harshly than the other; for, though his abilities were good, his manners irreproachable, and his submission exemplary, yet he paid no great deference to his recommendations, and allowed him far less power than could well be imagined (304). His daughter Claypole was his favourite, and her husband had much of his confidence: he was master of his horse, and had the Court secret in the House of Commons (305). It is however to be observed, that as his government was distracted and disturbed, so he was unhappy also in his family. Neither of his sons thought his establishment secure or well founded. His daughter Fleetwood was a Republican, and so were many others of his nearest relations: all the rest of his daughters had a secret kindness for the Royal Family, of which however he was not ignorant (306). He shewed a great respect for learning and learned men, without affecting to be learned himself. His letters are however the best testimonies of his parts, for they are varied in their style in a very wonderful manner, exactly adapted to the purposes for which they were written, and the persons to whom they were addressed (307). His public speeches were long, dark, and perplexed; and though mixed with the language of the times, which was cant, yet have sentiments in them that shew very clearly the superiority of his understanding (308). In his conversation he was easy and pleasant, and could unbend himself without losing his dignity. He made an excellent choice in those he employed, but trusted none of them farther than was necessary (309). It may seem strange, that in drawing together his character, there should be nothing said of his principles as to government or religion; but the plain truth is, neither can be discovered with certainty. We know that he hated a Commonwealth and the Presbyterians, but what his sentiments were in other respects it is hardly possible to say. When he recollected himself, after the follies of his youth, there seems to be no doubt that he had serious impressions of religion; and there seem to be very strong proofs, that he was afterwards

tinctured with enthusiasm (310). In the time of his greatest elevation, to suppose him a Fanatick, seems injustice to his parts; to affirm, as some have done, that he lost all sense of religion, is more, than, at this distance of time, any authorities will warrant. Such as entertain the best opinion of him allow, that he fell into deep and dangerous errors, particularly in believing that success was a mark of the divine approbation (311). Those who speak worst of him, charge him with a contempt of all things sacred (312). But, in a matter of this obscurity, let us call in the assistance of one, who knew him well, and could judge of him in that respect much better than we (313). This is the famous Mr. Baxter, who speaks very sensibly and clearly to the point. 'His name standeth as a monitory monument, or pillar to posterity, to tell them the instability of man in strong temptations, if God leave him to himself: What great successes and victories can do, to lift up a mind that once seemed humble: What pride can do, to make men selfish, and corrupt the heart with ill designs: What selfishness and ill designs can do, to bribe the conscience, and corrupt the judgment, and make men justify the greatest errors and sins, and set against the clearest truth and duty: What bloodshed and great enormities of life an erring deluded judgment may draw men to and patronize; and that when God hath dreadful judgments, an erroneous sectary, or a proud self-seeker, is oftener his instrument, than an humble lamb-like innocent saint.' It is somewhat strange, that so great a man as the Earl of Clarendon (314), should mention the Protector's speaking kindly of Bishops, and as if there was something good in that order if the dross was scoured off; so as to shew he took him to be really in earnest. The whole course of Cromwell's life proves, that he was not at all steady to the form of religion, supposing that he retained any principles at the bottom; and there seems to be very little doubt, that the true meaning of these flattering expressions was, his desire to return to the old form of government; for, whatever he pretended, that was his great aim. He did not overturn the constitution to leave it in ruins, but to set it up again, and himself at the head of it (315); and though he compared his own government at first to that of a High-Constable, yet there is nothing clearer, than that all he laboured for afterwards was to get the chaos new moulded, and his own authority sanctified by the regal title, and the appearance of a legal Parliament (316).

(310) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249.

(311) Neale's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 203. (312) As Hollis, Ludlow, and Coke.

(313) In the account of his own life, p. i. p. 100.

(314) Clarendon's Hist. of rebellion, p. 697.

(315) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 70.

(316) True Character of O. Cromwell, p. 17.

[TT] Gives us an extraordinary story of this Lady in the earlier part of her life.] We have this story in several books; but the best account of it that I have met

(317) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 426.

met with is in the History of the Stuarts, written by Mr. Oldmixon, which therefore I shall give the reader in his own words (317): "One of his domestic Chaplains, Mr. Jeremy White, a sprightly man, and a top wit of his Court, was so ambitious as to make his addresses to Lady Frances, the Protector's youngest daughter. The young Lady did not discourage him, and this piece of innocent gallantry, in so religious a Court, could not be carried on without spies. Oliver was told of it, and he was much concerned at it; obliging the person who told him to be on the watch, and told him if he could give him any substantial proof he should be very well rewarded, and White severely punished. The spy followed the matter so close, that he hunted Jerry White, as he was generally termed, to the Lady's chamber, and ran immediately to the Protector with this news. Oliver, in a rage, hastened thither himself, and going in hastily, found Jerry on his knees, kissing the Lady's hand, or having just kissed it. Cromwell, in a fury, asked, What was the meaning of that posture before his daughter Frank? White, with a great deal of presence of mind, said, May it please your Highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my Lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her Ladyship to intercede for me. The Protector, turning to the young woman, cried, What's the meaning of this, huffy? Why do you refuse the honour Mr. White would do you? he is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such. My Lady's woman, who desired nothing more, with a very low curtesy, replied, If Mr. White intends me that honour, I shall not be against him. Sayst thou so, my lass? cried Cromwell, Call Godwyn. This business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room. Mr. White was gone too far to go back: the Parson came; Jerry and my Lady's woman were married in the presence of the Protector, who gave her five hundred pounds for her portion; and that, with the money she had saved before, made Mr. White easy in his circumstances, except in one thing, which was, that he never loved his wife nor she him, though they lived together near fifty years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard this story told when Mrs. White was present, who did not contradict it." This singular story I was induced to insert for several reasons, being well assured, that, independently of Mr. Oldmixon's credit, who, in matters of this nature, was however a person very well informed, the facts upon which it depends are absolutely true, and were often related by Mr. White himself; and, if I have not been misinformed, to his Majesty King Charles II. It is an admirable instance of the Protector's sagacity in keeping spies within doors and without, as well as a most pregnant proof of his presence of mind, and great dexterity in finding and applying the proper remedy at once, and upon the first discovery of the disease, however sudden or unexpected. That these notes have not been loaded with many particularities in relation to the wonderful nicety and amazing extent of Cromwell's intelligence, is owing to more causes than one. The relations themselves are common enough, and almost in every body's mouth: in the next place, they are not so wonderful as is commonly imagined; for all governments have their spies and secret intelligence, though they are not desirous of making this known to the world. Yet we must not imagine that it was ignorance in Cromwell, or in his Minister Thurloe, to publish so much upon this head: for whereas in other governments the great point is, to gain intelligence without its being known; in respect to his it was quite contrary, for his interest consisted in being thought to have better and quicker intelligence than he really had. Lastly, though this did infinite honour to his administration, yet in reality it shewed the weakness of his government; and therefore it is a right remark of Mr. Coke, that it kept him always necessitous, and was in reality that gaping gulph, through which all the money that he could amass slipped away; so that it might be truly said, that if he was preserved by it in one sense, he was undone by it in another; and therefore, when the public accounts came to be examined in Richard's Parliament, what was issued for secret service was not only thought extravagant but impossible: and indeed, how much soever it may

astonish vulgar Politicians, refined Statesmen will very hardly allow, that a government which cannot subsist but by the distribution of vast sums in this way, is to be either admired or applauded; because the excellence of government consists in managing public affairs well, and without exorbitant expence; so that the best government is that which is at the least charge. These reflections detract nothing from the Protector's skill or abilities. It is a misfortune to meet with continual storms in a voyage; but the Pilot nevertheless deserves praise, who secures his vessel from perishing in those storms, and still more praise, if the vessel itself be rotten and leaky. C.

* * [In the copious and candid account which our ingenious predecessor, Dr. Campbell, has given of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, there are but few things to which any just exceptions can be made. The Doctor is probably wrong in his assertion, p. 478, that Cromwell was so far from having any interest at Cambridge, that in reality he was not so much as known there, and that if he had been known he would never have been elected Member of Parliament for that town. Not to mention his having been educated at Sidney College in that University, it was not likely that a Gentleman who lived so near as Huntingdon, and who was of so active a spirit, should have been totally a stranger at Cambridge. Besides, it is certain, that his zeal in opposing the drainage of the Bedford Level, must have already acquired him some degree of popularity.]

There is another circumstance in which we cannot agree with our able Predecessor, or with Lord Clarendon, on whom the remark is founded. Speaking of the Remonstrance which was carried on the 14th of November, 1641, Dr. Campbell says, that "if Zeal for the Church, or Duty to the King, could have kept ten more of those, who made such strong professions of both, from their suppers and their beds for a few hours, all the consequences of that fatal night had been prevented." p. 479. But we can scarcely think that the whole future fate of the nation depended on the failure of so small a number of persons, on a single occasion. If the remonstrance had at that time chanced to have been lost by one or two votes, the spirit of the party in opposition to the measures of the Court was too high, and they were too strongly supported by a powerful body in the nation, to be easily discouraged. They would probably have seized every opportunity of renewing and urging the business, till it was crowned with success.

It is a mistake to assert, as is done in note [CC], that Barebone's Parliament had voted that the common law was a badge of slavery. No such resolution occurs in the proceedings of that Assembly, as stated in the Parliamentary History. They did, indeed, revive the consideration of a bill which had been proposed in the last Parliament, for correcting the grievances and inconveniences of legal proceedings, and a Committee was appointed for forming a new body or model of the law. But the design of this appointment was not to destroy the law or put it down, as was falsely reported, but to separate laws that were useless and out of date from the wholesome, just, and good ones, and to reduce the last into a desirable system. It is true that the same Parliament voted the abolishment of the Court of Chancery; but, even in this case, it was ordered that provision should be made for deciding matters of equity for the future, in a method that should be less tedious, expensive and troublesome to the suitors (318). By the way, Barebone's Parliament has been treated with unjust contempt by the greater part of our historians, and they have passed over its Proceedings in a very slight and superficial manner. Mrs. Macaulay stands exempted from this censure. It is a fact that this Parliament was not destitute of some able men, who formed several important designs for the public welfare. The transactions of that Assembly are fully related in the Parliamentary History, the narrative of which is concluded with the following observations. "We are very far from entering into a vindication of this unconstitutional Assembly. It is certain that the manner of their being convened, in obedience to Cromwell's Warrant of Nomination, was the most flagrant

(318) Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 189. 193. 234.

"flagrant instance of invasion upon the rights and liberties of all the Electors of the three nations, our whole history affords, and was absolutely subversive of the very being of Parliament. But whether they deserve all the ignominy which has been cast upon them by the contemporary historians we have cited in our account of their transactions, and some modern writers who have implicitly copied them, will best appear by the laws they made, and the bills they were employed about at the time of their dissolution (319)."

(319) *Parl. Hist.*
vol. xx. p. 179,
180.

Vowell, the Schoolmaster, mentioned p. 501, as having been executed at Charing-Cross, summoned Cromwell and his Judges to appear at the Tribunal of God, for the unjust sentence pronounced upon him (320).

(320) From a
Correspondent.

At first sight, it may seem very strange that Cromwell should amuse himself with such an exercise as that of driving a coach; but Bate, in his *Elenchus*, has explained this circumstance. "*Qui nephriticus erat, ac Arenulis multoties vexatus, varia nonnunquam ingurgitabat potulenta; deinde vehementiori aliquo ac multiplici Motu Corpus agitabat; puta Equitatione aut in Carruca, ut impetu facto Vesicam exoneraret* (321)." Thus it is probable that he had recourse to the extraordinary exercise described in the text for the purpose of obtaining some relief under the complaint of the gravel.

(321) *Ibid.*

The points in which our predecessor is most deficient, are with regard to the family and early life of Oliver Cromwell, though the information is as full as could at that time have reasonably been expected. These circumstances have lately been the result of very minute and anxious enquiry, and hence great light has been thrown upon them. The Gentleman to whom the public has been the most obliged in this respect, is the Rev. Mr. Mark Noble, who in his curious and entertaining work, entitled, "*Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*," hath deduced the genealogy of the Cromwells from an early period, and given a particular account of every branch of the family. Mr. Noble, at the same time, has taken great pains to correct the errors of preceding writers upon the subject; and among other circumstances, hath shewn that our Predecessor was probably wrong in rejecting the idea that there was an affinity between Oliver Cromwell's Ancestors and John Lord Williams, who, after filling some of the most important offices under our Sovereigns, died in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, without leaving male issue surviving. In opposition to what is asserted in note [A], Mr. Noble appears to have clearly proved, that the Cromwells had originally the Surname of Williams; and that there is not any foundation for the hearsay report of Fuller, that there was no relation between the Putney Cromwells and the family of the Protector Oliver (322).

(322) *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 235—242.

For the history of the various branches of the Cromwells, preceding Oliver, we shall content ourselves with referring to Mr. Noble's work, with the exception of taking some notice of what is said concerning the Protector's father and mother.

Mr. Robert Cromwell had, by the will of his father, an estate in and near the town of Huntingdon, consisting chiefly, if not entirely, of possessions that formerly belonged to the Monastery of St. Mary for Augustine Friars, and amounting, with the great tythes of Hartford, to about three hundred pounds a year. His principal residence was in Huntingdon; and though he was a Gentleman of good sense, and of competent learning, he was so fond of private life, that he is supposed never to have wished for any employment in the state. His ambition was sufficiently gratified by a Seat for his own Borough, in the Parliament which was held in the thirty-fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and by a place upon the Bench as a Justice of the Peace. In 1600, he appears to have been one of the Bailiffs of Huntingdon; and in 1605, he joined with his brother Sir Oliver, and sixteen others, in subscribing a certificate to the Privy Council, that the work of draining the Fens in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, was feasible, and might be performed without peril to any haven or county. With regard to a life like his, which furnishes little matter to a

VOL. IV.

Biographer, Mr. Noble observes, that the Philosopher can scarcely avoid reflecting upon the strange contrariety of men's minds, even among those of the nearest affinity in blood; since no character could be more opposite to this Gentleman's, than that of his son. From the happy and serene pleasures of domestic life, Mr. Robert Cromwell was prematurely taken, to the great grief of a beloved wife, and several children; the latter of whom were just of sufficient age to lament the loss. His remains were deposited at All Saints, in Huntingdon, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1617. By his will he bequeathed to Mrs. Cromwell two thirds of his property (exclusively of her jointure) for the term of twenty-one years, towards maintaining his daughters; and to his daughters he gave six hundred pounds, which were owing to him by his brother Whalley. Mrs. Cromwell's fortune is supposed to have consisted chiefly of the jointure she possessed from her first husband, who was William Lynne, Gentleman, son and heir-apparent of John Lynne of Basingbourne, Esq. It was to ease the expences incident to a numerous progeny, and which are so much felt where the estate is small, and the descent ancient, that Mr. Cromwell was obliged to carry on a large brewing business. This, however, was principally conducted by servants, whose accounts were entirely inspected by Mrs. Cromwell herself. It may hence be collected that her husband was rather of an indolent disposition.

Mrs. Cromwell was a careful, prudent mother, and brought up her family, after she became a widow, in a very handsome, though frugal manner. This she was chiefly enabled to do from the profits arising from the brewhouse, which she carried on upon her own account, and with so much success, that she gave each of her daughters a fortune sufficient to marry them to persons of genteel families. The respective Gentlemen to whom they were married are mentioned in note [C]. The greatest fondness of Mrs. Cromwell was lavished upon her only son; and his conduct to her was every way deserving of her affection. He always behaved to her in the most filial and tender manner; and when he had exalted himself to sovereign greatness, he assigned her apartments in the Palace at Whitehall, where she continued until her decease, which happened on the eighteenth of November, 1654. It was with reluctance that she partook of the pageantry of Sovereignty, and she remained undazzled with its splendour. Her regard for Oliver, and the apprehension she entertained of his danger, kept her in such constant alarm, that she was discontented if she did not see him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, "my son is shot." Though she was averse to Oliver's Protectorate, she seldom troubled him with advice: but when she assumed that liberty, he always heard her with attention, while, at the same time, he pursued his own measures. It was her dying request that her funeral might be a private one, and that her body might not be deposited in Westminster Abbey. In this respect, however, he acted directly contrary to her injunctions; for he conveyed her remains, with great solemnity, and attended with many hundred torches, though it was day-light, to the dormitory of our English Monarchs. This vanity, in burying his mother with the pomp of royalty, and the expence with which it was accompanied, gave much offence to the republicans. After the restoration, her body was taken up, and, together with others, was indecently thrown into a hole made before the back door of the apartments belonging to one of the Prebendaries of Westminster. Mrs. Cromwell was an amiable woman, and much beloved, not only by her own relations, but by those of her husband. Sir Oliver Cromwell is understood to have had a particular esteem and regard for her. There is an original picture of her in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich at Hinchinbrooke, with an engraving of which Mr. Noble has favoured the public. Another portrait of her, taken when she was only twenty-one years of age, belongs to the Miss Cromwells. There is also, at Hinchinbrooke, a picture of Mr. Robert Cromwell, in which there is a languor of countenance, that indicates him to have been a sickly man (323).

(323) Noble's
Memoirs, ubi
supra, p. 82—
87.

6 Q

Mr.

Mr. Noble has related some circumstances concerning the early life of Oliver, which should not be omitted. His infancy is said to have been marked by a peculiar accident which seemed to threaten the life of the future Protector. His grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having sent for him to Hinchinbrooke, when he was an infant in arms, a monkey took him from the cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house. Alarmed at the danger of the child, the family spread beds to catch him upon, fearing lest the creature should drop him: but the sagacious animal brought the fortune of England down in safety. Thus narrow was the escape which he, who was doomed to be the Conqueror, and the Sovereign Magistrate of three kingdoms, had from the jaws of a monkey.

Whilst Oliver Cromwell was at the Grammar-School in Huntingdon, he is generally represented as having manifested an aspiring, stubborn, and obstinate temper, by which he incurred the severe correction of his father, and the flagellation of his master, Dr. Beard, who, in his treatment of him, was obliged to exceed the discipline usual to youths of his birth and expectations. According to the account of his enemies, he was at this time the terror of the neighbourhood, by his depredations upon orchards and dove-houses. These circumstances have been magnified, by prejudiced writers, into enormous offences: but the only real inference from them is, that, like other active and spirited boys, he had a disposition that led him to playfulness and mischief. It is probable that his bold and daring turn of mind might often bring him into danger. When a youth, he was near drowning, but was saved by Mr. Johnson, a Clergyman. Many years after, as Oliver was marching at the head of his soldiers through Huntingdon, he recognized this Gentleman, and asked him if he did not remember saving his life. "Yes," answered the aged and loyal Curate of Cunington, "I do, but I with I had put you in, rather than see you in arms against the king (324)."

(324) Noble's
Memoirs, *ubi*
supra, p. 92—
94.

As is usual with regard to extraordinary persons and characters, several circumstances are given relating to Oliver, which were supposed to have been prognostications of future greatness. There is a tradition at Huntingdon, that when King Charles the first, then Duke of York, in his journey from Scotland to London, in the year 1604, called at Hinchinbrooke, the seat of Sir Oliver Cromwell; that Knight, to divert the young Prince, sent for his nephew Oliver, that he, together with his own sons, might play with his Royal Highness. They had not, however, been long together, before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and, as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, the Royal Visitant was worsted. So little was dignity regarded by Oliver, even at that early age, that he made the blood flow in copious streams from the Prince's nose: and agreeably to the superstition of the times, it is said that this event was looked upon as a bad presage for the King, at the commencement of the civil wars. It is acknowledged by Mr. Noble, that he gives the story as only the report of the Town; but he observes, that thus far is certain, that Hinchinbrooke, as being near to Huntingdon, was generally one of the resting places of any of the Royal Family when going to, or returning from the North of England, either into, or from Scotland. It is more certain, adds Mr. Noble, that Oliver averred, that he saw a gigantic figure which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should be the greatest person in the kingdom. If it be true that Oliver often mentioned this vision when he was in the height of his glory, it is undoubtedly a proof of the warmth of his imagination, and of his early ambition (325).

(325) *Ibid.* p. 94,
95.

Very different accounts are given of the improvements which were made by Cromwell during the course of his education. According to Hume, when he was at College, his genius was little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and consequently he made small proficiency in his studies; and Sir William Dugdale's character of him, during his residence at the University, is still more unfavourable. But the assertions of partial writers are to be admitted with caution. Though it is far from being impro-

bable that he was fonder of active amusements, than of literature, it is, nevertheless, certain, that, instead of totally neglecting his studies, his Tutor, by discovering the bent of his disposition, had address sufficient to persuade him to become a proficient in the Latin language. Mr. Waller assures us, that he had a good knowledge of the Greek and Roman histories: nor must it be forgotten, that he patronized men of science and learning. Dr. Manton says, that he had a very valuable and well-chosen library. From all these circumstances it may be collected, that he was not averse to literature, or without a competent share of it himself, if allowance be made for the short time he remained at College; his mother having found it expedient, upon his father's decease, to remove him from the University. Perhaps his extravagant turn might lead her to such a resolution. Be that as it may, it is a real fact that he always retained a regard for the University of Cambridge (326).

(326) *Ibid.* p. 95,
96.

During Cromwell's residence at Lincoln's Inn, and after his return home, very unfavourable accounts are given, by various writers, of his character and conduct. In London, instead of attending to Coke upon Littleton, and to law reports, his mind was engrossed by dissolute pleasures, and he was particularly addicted to gaming. When he came back to Huntingdon, he pursued his vicious courses, and, if his enemies are to be credited, in a manner that was extremely gross and illiberal. His rude and boisterous behaviour prevented his equals from conforing with him; and, therefore, he was obliged to take up with less creditable companions; who, if they did not adopt his sentiments, were sure to feel the weight of his arm, and to receive a severe discipline from his usual weapon, a quarter staff. This conduct, together with his forgetting to pay his reckoning, rendered him an unwelcome visitor, even to the publicans; by whom he was so dreaded, that when they saw him coming, they would say, "here comes young Cromwell, shut up your doors." If at any time they complained of hard usage, because their accounts were not settled, the satisfaction they received was that of having their windows broken (327).

(327) *Ibid.* p. 97,
98.

That there is some exaggeration in these narratives, can scarcely be doubted. But whatever may have been the case in this respect, it is certain that Oliver's career of extravagance did not continue long. Before he became of age, he began to feel a compunction for the crimes he had committed, and determined to correct his manners; nor was any doubt entertained of the reality of his reformation. When his marriage took place, he had but just completed his twenty-first year; and, if ever he had forfeited the esteem of his own townsmen, he recovered it so entirely, that, in 1625, he was returned one of the Members for the Borough of Huntingdon. This was in the first Parliament of Charles the First's reign. However, about this time, Cromwell took a step, which indicated, in a striking manner, the boldness of his disposition. His fortune being small, he endeavoured to repair it by procuring that the estate of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Stuart, should be annexed to his own, in the life-time of Sir Thomas. For this purpose, he represented him as a person not able to govern it, and by petition to his Majesty, applied for a Commission of Lunacy. The petition, upon being heard, was dismissed by the King as groundless. Sir Thomas Stuart, as might naturally be expected, was extremely offended with this transaction: nevertheless, in consequence of the intreaties of Oliver's mother, and Sir Oliver Cromwell, and through the good offices of some of the neighbouring clergy, he was induced to forgive the injury, and, in the end, as hath appeared in the article, left his estate to his nephew (328). It is highly probable, that, on such an occasion, Cromwell would exert all his arts of duplicity, tears, and the most solemn protestations of repentance.

(328) *Ibid.* p.
100.

One of the effects proceeding from the reformation of his manners, was his willingness to return such sums of money as he had won by gaming. Having accidentally met a Mr. Calton, who had formerly lost to him thirty pounds, he immediately repaid it, saying that he had obtained it in an unlawful way, and therefore could not, without sinning, detain it any longer.

longer. It is related, that when he resided in London, he had won some money from Mr. Robert Compton, a genteel youth, the son of a tradesman in the city. This having been procured by unfair play, Oliver determined to make restitution, which happened to be done at a very convenient season: for the messenger sent by him found Mr. Compton at an ordinary, surrounded by Bailiffs, who wanted to arrest him for a debt of twenty pounds. But, by this happy supply, he was not only enabled to discharge the debt, but carried away with him a hundred pounds more. How far this story is founded in fact, cannot now, perhaps, be absolutely ascertained. It occurs in a manuscript book that was written by a Dr. Hutton (328).

(328) Noble's
Memoirs, ubi
supra, p. 105,
106.

The subsequent conduct of Cromwell is related, at large, in the article of our predecessor; and, therefore, it is not necessary for us to expatiate on that subject. Indeed the public acts of Oliver form a most distinguished part of the general history of the times; and on this head we might refer to a great number of writers whose works have appeared since the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica*. Not to mention authors of smaller note; Guthrie, Carte, Hume, Smollett, and Mrs. Macaulay, may now be added to the Catalogue of Historians by whom the transactions of Cromwell are amply displayed. The facts, however, must always be the same, though diversified by the different sentiments and reflections of the writers. Amongst other publications, the *Parliamentary History* is, perhaps, the work of the greatest consequence. It excels, as from its title and design might be expected, in giving a full relation of every thing that was transacted by Oliver's Parliaments, and in stating his whole conduct with regard to those assemblies. Very considerable light is also thrown on other parts of his political life. To enter into a detail of whatever occurs with respect to him in the *Parliamentary History*, would evidently carry us beyond all the bounds of this note; and, therefore, we shall content ourselves with transcribing only one important passage, originally taken from Whitlocke, because it tends to discriminate Cromwell's character in a point that has often been misunderstood. It is well known that his speeches were frequently so obscure, confused, and embarrassed, that the meaning of them could with difficulty, if at all, be comprehended. But it is probable that, in these cases, he acted from the design of concealing his real purposes from the persons with whom he conversed. When it suited his views, he could express himself as clearly as any man. Of this we have a remarkable instance, in the dialogue which, in 1652, passed between him and Whitlocke, upon the grand question, whether any measures could be discovered for settling the distractions of the nation, but by the dissolution of Parliament and the restoration of the Monarchy; and how far it would be safe for Cromwell, in such a case, to take the Crown upon himself. This dialogue so fully illustrates the perspicuity of language he was capable of adopting, and is otherwise so important by the display of his character, that our readers, we are persuaded, will not object to its length. It shall be given, therefore, at large, in Whitlocke's own words.

"Cromwell. My Lord Whitlocke, I know your faithfulness and engagement in the same good cause with myself and the rest of our friends, and I know your ability in judgment, and your particular friendship and affection for me: indeed I am sufficiently satisfied in these things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important affairs relating to our present condition.

"Whitlocke. Your Excellency hath known me long, and I think will say that you never knew any unfaithfulness or breach of trust by me; and for my particular affection to your person, your favours to me, and your public services, have deserved more than I can manifest: only there is, with your favour, a mistake in this one thing, touching my weak judgment, which is incapable to do any considerable service for yourself or this Commonwealth: yet, to the utmost of my power, I shall be ready to serve you, and that with all diligence and faithfulness.

"Cromwell. I have cause to be, and am, without

the least scruple of your faithfulness, and I know your kindness to me your old friend, and your abilities to serve the Commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it: and I believe our engagements for this Commonwealth have been, and are, as deep as most men's; and there never was more need of advice, and solid hearty counsel, than the present state of our affairs doth require.

"Whitlocke. I suppose no man will mention his particular engagement in this cause, at the same time when your Excellency's engagement is remembered: yet to my capacity, and in my station, few men have engaged further than I have done; and that (besides the goodness of your own nature and personal knowledge of me) will keep you from any jealousy of my faithfulness.

"Cromwell. I wish there were no more ground of suspicion of others, than of you. I can trust you with my life, and the most secret matters relating to our business; and to that end I have now desired a little private discourse with you; and really, my Lord, there is very great cause for us to consider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our station, to improve the mercies and successes which God hath given us; and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in pieces, by our particular jarrings and animosities one against another; but to unite our counsels, and hands and hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought, with so much hazard, blood, and Treasure; and that, the Lord having given us an intire conquest over our enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring those mischiefs upon ourselves, which our enemies could never do.

"Whitlocke. My Lord, I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field, and (as your Excellency truly observes) our proneness to destroy ourselves, when our enemies could not do it. It is no strange thing for a gallant army, as yours is, after full conquest of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious designs; and it is a wonder to me that they are not in high mutinies, their spirits being active, and few thinking their services to be duly rewarded; and the emulation of the officers breaking out daily more and more, in this time of their vacancy from their employment. Besides, the private soldiers, it may be feared, will, in this time of their idleness, grow into disorder; and it is your excellent conduct which, under God, hath kept them so long in discipline, and free from mutinies.

"Cromwell. I have used, and shall use, the utmost of my poor endeavours to keep them all in order and obedience.

"Whitlocke. Your Excellency hath done it hitherto even to admiration.

"Cromwell. Truly God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your Lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their deserts; that others, who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither profit, nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth: yet their insolency is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings.

Then as for the Members of Parliament, the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it: and really their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them; these things, my Lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, law, or reason; they themselves being the supreme

supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: so that, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human reason, to prevent our ruin.

" *Whitlocke*. I confess the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended: yet as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your wisdom, you will be able still to do it.

" As to the Members of Parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there; your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them: yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved. Too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.

" *Cromwell*. My Lord, there is little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways. Some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

" *Whitlocke*. We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concerns from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.

" *Cromwell*. What if a man should take upon him to be King?

" *Whitlocke*. I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

" *Cromwell*. Why do you think so?

" *Whitlocke*. As to your own person the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only: so that I apprehend, indeed, less envy and danger, and pomp, but not less power, and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King.

" *Cromwell*. I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually King, whether by election or by descent, yet being once King, all acts done by him as King are as lawful and justifiable as by any King who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers: and that by an act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And surely the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and revered by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolences of those whom the present powers cannot controul, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent.

" *Whitlocke*. I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King: but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and

advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithstanding that act of Parliament, 11 Henry VII. which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us.

" *Cromwell*. What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

" *Whitlocke*. The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the Government of this nation shall be established in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the Government settled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concerns, than they shall under Monarchy; the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings.

" Now if your Excellency should take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more whether our Government shall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and Monarch.

" And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, what kind of government we should have: now it will become particular, who shall be our Governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells?

" Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

" *Cromwell*. I confess you speak reason in this: but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

" *Whitlocke*. It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate.

" *Cromwell*. I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

" *Whitlocke*. I make no scruple to put my life and fortune into your Excellency's hand; and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore my best way will be to smother them.

" *Cromwell*. Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitlocke, let me know them. Be they what they will they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: therefore, I pray, do not conceal those thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

" *Whitlocke*. Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you.

" *Cromwell*. Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

" *Whitlocke*. Give me leave then, first, to consider your Excellency's condition. You are invironed with secret enemies: upon your subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you.

" The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy and

and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

"They want not counsel and encouragement herein; it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

"*Cromwell*. I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

"*Whitlocke*. Pardon me, Sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots.

"This Prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their fortunes and native country.

"By a private Treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to Monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

"I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion. It is out of my affection and service to your Excellency, and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

"*Cromwell*. I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us: we shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it (329)."

Another work, of some consideration, which has appeared since our Predecessor's article was written, is Dr. William Harris's "Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell." This work, which is drawn up with great industry, besides comprehending a variety of extracts from a number of authors, is enriched with an appendix of original papers. Among other things, it contains a number of Cromwell's Letters never before published, and which are produced as proofs of the sincerity of his religious dispositions and professions, at least, in the early part of his life. Dr. Harris, however, though more prejudiced in favour of Oliver than became such a zealous Advocate for Liberty, is obliged to record several instances of his shameful hypocrisy and dissimulation. One anecdote of this kind, related by Bishop Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimston, is so striking, that it deserves to be transcribed.

"When the House of Commons and the Army were quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers, it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that said, he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do

VOL. IV.

that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot: but Grimston diverted it, and said, he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the house. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the House: he had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined: they were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the House: he submitted himself to the Providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to him: this he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved, Grimston thought that both he and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: and there was no strength on the other side to carry it farther. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House (330)."

Additions to the stock of letters written by Cromwell, have since been made in other publications. Particularly to recite them is needless. They will be found in Noble's Memoirs; in the letters that passed between Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby-House; and the fourth volume of the Annual Register. All of them concur in giving some insight into the character and views of Oliver, with regard to the particular objects to which they relate. In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1781, is a transcript of a valuable record, containing Cromwell's protection to divers English ships to trade to India and Persia. The original, which is on parchment, is beautifully illuminated, with the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the top. On one side is an excellent portrait of Oliver within the O; under which is a large ship, finely drawn, with the arms of England on the main-mast. This curious deed, which is dated on the twenty-ninth day of March, 1655, and displays Cromwell's attention to the promotion of Commerce, is in the collection of John Thorpe, Esq; of Bexley in Kent, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (331).

"I have sometimes thought," says an ingenious correspondent, "that an agreeable history enough might be made of Cromwell without one word of truth in it, excepting a few public transactions, and all taken from historians." The truth of this remark has already been illustrated in note [B], with regard to the work of Gregorio Leti; and it might farther be confirmed with respect to Voltaire, who has fallen into many errors, in what he relates concerning Oliver. Indeed, this celebrated writer was far from being well informed in the affairs of England.

In the Richardsoniana, are two anecdotes concerning Cromwell, for the authenticity of which we have no other evidence than the book whence they are taken. The first is produced, by Mr. Richardson, as a proof of Oliver's greatness of mind, and justness of thinking; though expressed in a rude manner, suitable to the subject and to himself. On account of the vulgarity of the story, we have hesitated concerning the propriety of inserting it: but if it should be thought to reflect some honour on the character of the Protector, we shall obtain the pardon of, at least, a part of our readers. The story is as follows: "A zealous officer of his came to him, and told him he

6 R

had

(330) Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 61, 62. 3d edit.
Harris's Life of O. Cromwell, p. 97, 98.

(331) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. li. p. 363.

(329) Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 104—112.

supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: so that, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human reason, to prevent our ruin.

"*Whitlocke*. I confess the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended: yet as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your wisdom, you will be able still to do it.

"As to the Members of Parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there; your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them: yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved. Too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.

"*Cromwell*. My Lord, there is little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways. Some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

"*Whitlocke*. We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concerns from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.

"*Cromwell*. What if a man should take upon him to be King?

"*Whitlocke*. I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

"*Cromwell*. Why do you think so?

"*Whitlocke*. As to your own person the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only: so that I apprehend, indeed, less envy and danger, and pomp, but not less power, and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King.

"*Cromwell*. I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually King, whether by election or by descent, yet being once King, all acts done by him as King are as lawful and justifiable as by any King who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers: and that by an act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And surely the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and revered by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot controul, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent.

"*Whitlocke*. I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King: but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and

advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithstanding that act of Parliament, 11 Henry VII. which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us.

"*Cromwell*. What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

"*Whitlocke*. The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the Government of this nation shall be established in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the Government settled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concerns, than they shall under Monarchy; the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings.

"Now if your Excellency should take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more whether our Government shall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and Monarch.

"And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, what kind of government we should have: now it will become particular, who shall be our Governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells?

"Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

"*Cromwell*. I confess you speak reason in this: but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

"*Whitlocke*. It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate.

"*Cromwell*. I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

"*Whitlocke*. I make no scruple to put my life and fortune into your Excellency's hand; and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore my best way will be to smother them.

"*Cromwell*. Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitlocke, let me know them. Be they what they will they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: therefore, I pray, do not conceal those thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

"*Whitlocke*. Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you.

"*Cromwell*. Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

"*Whitlocke*. Give me leave then, first, to consider your Excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies: upon your subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you.

"The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy and

and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

"They want not counsel and encouragement herein; it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

"*Cromwell*. I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

"*Whitlocke*. Pardon me, Sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots.

"This Prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their fortunes and native country.

"By a private Treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to Monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

"I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion. It is out of my affection and service to your Excellency, and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

"*Cromwell*. I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us: we shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it (329)."

Another work, of some consideration, which has appeared since our Predecessor's article was written, is Dr. William Harris's "Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell." This work, which is drawn up with great industry, besides comprehending a variety of extracts from a number of authors, is enriched with an appendix of original papers. Among other things, it contains a number of Cromwell's Letters never before published, and which are produced as proofs of the sincerity of his religious dispositions and professions, at least, in the early part of his life. Dr. Harris, however, though more prejudiced in favour of Oliver than became such a zealous Advocate for Liberty, is obliged to record several instances of his shameful hypocrisy and dissimulation. One anecdote of this kind, related by Bishop Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimston, is so striking, that it deserves to be transcribed.

"When the House of Commons and the Army were quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers, it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that said, he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do

VOL. IV.

that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot: but Grimston diverted it, and said, he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the house. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the House: he had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined: they were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the House: he submitted himself to the Providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to him: this he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved, Grimston thought that both he and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: and there was no strength on the other side to carry it farther. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House (330)."

Additions to the stock of letters written by Cromwell, have since been made in other publications. Particularly to recite them is needless. They will be found in Noble's Memoirs; in the letters that passed between Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby-House; and the fourth volume of the Annual Register. All of them concur in giving some insight into the character and views of Oliver, with regard to the particular objects to which they relate. In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1781, is a transcript of a valuable record, containing Cromwell's protection to divers English ships to trade to India and Persia. The original, which is on parchment, is beautifully illuminated, with the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the top. On one side is an excellent portrait of Oliver within the O; under which is a large ship, finely drawn, with the arms of England on the main-mast. This curious deed, which is dated on the twenty-ninth day of March, 1655, and displays Cromwell's attention to the promotion of Commerce, is in the collection of John Thorpe, Esq; of Bexley in Kent, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (331).

"I have sometimes thought," says an ingenious correspondent, "that an agreeable history enough might be made of Cromwell without one word of truth in it, excepting a few public transactions, and all taken from historians." The truth of this remark has already been illustrated in note [B], with regard to the work of Gregorio Leti; and it might farther be confirmed with respect to Voltaire, who has fallen into many errors, in what he relates concerning Oliver. Indeed, this celebrated writer was far from being well informed in the affairs of England.

In the Richardsoniana, are two anecdotes concerning Cromwell, for the authenticity of which we have no other evidence than the book whence they are taken. The first is produced, by Mr. Richardson, as a proof of Oliver's greatness of mind, and justness of thinking; though expressed in a rude manner, suitable to the subject and to himself. On account of the vulgarity of the story, we have hesitated concerning the propriety of inserting it: but if it should be thought to reflect some honour on the character of the Protector, we shall obtain the pardon of, at least, a part of our readers. The story is as follows: "A zealous officer of his came to him, and told him he

6 R

(330) Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 61, 62. 3d edit.

Harris's Life of O. Cromwell, p. 97, 98.

(331) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. li. p. 363.

(329) Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 104—112.

supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: so that, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human reason, to prevent our ruin.

" *Whitlocke*. I confess the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended: yet as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your wisdom, you will be able still to do it.

" As to the Members of Parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there; your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them: yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved. Too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.

" *Cromwell*. My Lord, there is little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways. Some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

" *Whitlocke*. We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.

" *Cromwell*. What if a man should take upon him to be King?

" *Whitlocke*. I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

" *Cromwell*. Why do you think so?

" *Whitlocke*. As to your own person the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only: so that I apprehend, indeed, less envy and danger, and pomp, but not less power, and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King.

" *Cromwell*. I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually King, whether by election or by descent, yet being once King, all acts done by him as King are as lawful and justifiable as by any King who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers: and that by an act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And surely the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and revered by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolences of those whom the present powers cannot controul, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent.

" *Whitlocke*. I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King: but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and

advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithstanding that act of Parliament, 11 Henry VII. which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us.

" *Cromwell*. What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

" *Whitlocke*. The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the Government of this nation shall be established in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the Government settled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under Monarchy; the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings.

" Now if your Excellency should take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more whether our Government shall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and Monarch.

" And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, what kind of government we should have: now it will become particular, who shall be our Governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells?

" Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

" *Cromwell*. I confess you speak reason in this: but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

" *Whitlocke*. It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate.

" *Cromwell*. I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

" *Whitlocke*. I make no scruple to put my life and fortune into your Excellency's hand; and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore my best way will be to smother them.

" *Cromwell*. Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitlocke, let me know them. Be they what they will they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: therefore, I pray, do not conceal those thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

" *Whitlocke*. Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you.

" *Cromwell*. Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

" *Whitlocke*. Give me leave then, first, to consider your Excellency's condition. You are invironed with secret enemies: upon your subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you.

" The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy and

and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

"They want not counsel and encouragement herein; it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

"*Cromwell*. I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

"*Whitlocke*. Pardon me, Sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots.

"This Prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclineable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their fortunes and native country.

"By a private Treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to Monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

"I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion. It is out of my affection and service to your Excellency, and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

"*Cromwell*. I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us: we shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it (329)."

Another work, of some consideration, which has appeared since our Predecessor's article was written, is Dr. William Harris's "Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell." This work, which is drawn up with great industry, besides comprehending a variety of extracts from a number of authors, is enriched with an appendix of original papers. Among other things, it contains a number of Cromwell's Letters never before published, and which are produced as proofs of the sincerity of his religious dispositions and professions, at least, in the early part of his life. Dr. Harris, however, though more prejudiced in favour of Oliver than became such a zealous Advocate for Liberty, is obliged to record several instances of his shameful hypocrisy and dissimulation. One anecdote of this kind, related by Bishop Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimston, is so striking, that it deserves to be transcribed.

"When the House of Commons and the Army were quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers, it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that said, he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do

VOL. IV.

that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot: but Grimston diverted it, and said, he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the house. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the House: he had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined: they were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the House: he submitted himself to the Providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to him: this he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved, Grimston thought that both he and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: and there was no strength on the other side to carry it farther. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House (330)."

Additions to the stock of letters written by Cromwell, have since been made in other publications. Particularly to recite them is needless. They will be found in Noble's Memoirs; in the letters that passed between Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby-House; and the fourth volume of the Annual Register. All of them concur in giving some insight into the character and views of Oliver, with regard to the particular objects to which they relate. In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1781, is a transcript of a valuable record, containing Cromwell's protection to divers English ships to trade to India and Persia. The original, which is on parchment, is beautifully illuminated, with the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the top. On one side is an excellent portrait of Oliver within the O; under which is a large ship, finely drawn, with the arms of England on the main-mast. This curious deed, which is dated on the twenty-ninth day of March, 1655, and displays Cromwell's attention to the promotion of Commerce, is in the collection of John Thorpe, Esq; of Bexley in Kent, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (331).

"I have sometimes thought," says an ingenious correspondent, "that an agreeable history enough might be made of Cromwell without one word of truth in it, excepting a few public transactions, and all taken from historians." The truth of this remark has already been illustrated in note [B], with regard to the work of Gregorio Leti; and it might farther be confirmed with respect to Voltaire, who has fallen into many errors, in what he relates concerning Oliver. Indeed, this celebrated writer was far from being well informed in the affairs of England.

In the Richardsoniana, are two anecdotes concerning Cromwell, for the authenticity of which we have no other evidence than the book whence they are taken. The first is produced, by Mr. Richardson, as a proof of Oliver's greatness of mind, and justness of thinking; though expressed in a rude manner, suitable to the subject and to himself. On account of the vulgarity of the story, we have hesitated concerning the propriety of inserting it: but if it should be thought to reflect some honour on the character of the Protector, we shall obtain the pardon of, at least, a part of our readers. The story is as follows: "A zealous officer of his came to him, and told him he

6 R

(330) Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 61, 62. 3d edit.

Harris's Life of O. Cromwell, p. 97, 98.

(331) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. ii. p. 363.

(329) Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 104—112.

supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: so that, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human reason, to prevent our ruin.

" *Whitlocke*. I confess the danger we are in by these extravagancies and inordinate powers is more than I doubt is generally apprehended: yet as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission is sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but, by your wisdom, you will be able still to do it.

" As to the Members of Parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there; your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them: yet I am sure your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved. Too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.

" *Cromwell*. My Lord, there is little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways. Some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.

" *Whitlocke*. We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it.

" *Cromwell*. What if a man should take upon him to be King?

" *Whitlocke*. I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.

" *Cromwell*. Why do you think so?

" *Whitlocke*. As to your own person the title of King would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are General. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only: so that I apprehend, indeed, less envy and danger, and pomp, but not less power, and real opportunities of doing good in your being General, than would be if you had assumed the title of King.

" *Cromwell*. I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually King, whether by election or by descent, yet being once King, all acts done by him as King are as lawful and justifiable as by any King who hath the crown by inheritance from his forefathers: and that by an act of Parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a King, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power. And surely the power of a King is so great and high, and so universally understood and revered by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolences of those whom the present powers cannot controul, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent.

" *Whitlocke*. I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of King: but whether for your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and

advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the Commonwealth, I do very much doubt; notwithstanding that act of Parliament, 11 Henry VII. which will be little regarded, or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us.

" *Cromwell*. What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?

" *Whitlocke*. The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the Government of this nation shall be established in Monarchy, or in a Free State or Commonwealth; and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the Government settled in a Free State, and to effect that have undergone all their hazards and difficulties, they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a Commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under Monarchy; the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings.

" Now if your Excellency should take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more whether our Government shall be by a Monarch, or by a Free State, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our King and Monarch.

" And that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, what kind of government we should have: now it will become particular, who shall be our Governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells?

" Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a Commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined.

" *Cromwell*. I confess you speak reason in this: but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?

" *Whitlocke*. It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient. I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit, or safe, for me to communicate.

" *Cromwell*. I pray, my Lord, what are they? You may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it.

" *Whitlocke*. I make no scruple to put my life and fortune into your Excellency's hand; and so I shall, if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to your Excellency; therefore my best way will be to smother them.

" *Cromwell*. Nay, I prithee, my Lord Whitlocke, let me know them. Be they what they will they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you: therefore, I pray, do not conceal those thoughts of yours from your faithful friend.

" *Whitlocke*. Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein; and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you.

" *Cromwell*. Indeed I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you.

" *Whitlocke*. Give me leave then, first, to consider your Excellency's condition. You are invironed with secret enemies: upon your subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you.

" The success which God hath given us hath not a little elated their minds; and many of them are busy

and

and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

"They want not counsel and encouragement herein; it may be from some Members of the Parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings.

"*Cromwell*. I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?

"*Whitlocke*. Pardon me, Sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots.

"This Prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the Army under your Command, reduced to a very low condition; both he and all about him cannot but be very inclineable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their fortunes and native country.

"By a private Treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to Monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.

"I propound, therefore, for your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion. It is out of my affection and service to your Excellency, and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your Excellency and to this Commonwealth.

"*Cromwell*. I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us: we shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it (329)."

Another work, of some consideration, which has appeared since our Predecessor's article was written, is Dr. William Harris's "Historical and Critical Account of the Life of Oliver Cromwell." This work, which is drawn up with great industry, besides comprehending a variety of extracts from a number of authors, is enriched with an appendix of original papers. Among other things, it contains a number of Cromwell's Letters never before published, and which are produced as proofs of the sincerity of his religious dispositions and professions, at least, in the early part of his life. Dr. Harris, however, though more prejudiced in favour of Oliver than became such a zealous Advocate for Liberty, is obliged to record several instances of his shameful hypocrisy and dissimulation. One anecdote of this kind, related by Bishop Burnet, on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimston, is so striking, that it deserves to be transcribed.

"When the House of Commons and the Army were quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers, it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that said, he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do

VOL. IV.

that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot: but Grimston diverted it, and said, he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the house. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the House: he had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined: they were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the House: he submitted himself to the Providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to him: this he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved, Grimston thought that both he and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: and there was no strength on the other side to carry it farther. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House (330)."

Additions to the stock of letters written by Cromwell, have since been made in other publications. Particularly to recite them is needless. They will be found in Noble's Memoirs; in the letters that passed between Colonel Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby-House; and the fourth volume of the Annual Register. All of them concur in giving some insight into the character and views of Oliver, with regard to the particular objects to which they relate. In the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1781, is a transcript of a valuable record, containing Cromwell's protection to divers English ships to trade to India and Persia. The original, which is on parchment, is beautifully illuminated, with the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at the top. On one side is an excellent portrait of Oliver within the O; under which is a large ship, finely drawn, with the arms of England on the main-mast. This curious deed, which is dated on the twenty-ninth day of March, 1655, and displays Cromwell's attention to the promotion of Commerce, is in the collection of John Thorpe, Esq; of Bexley in Kent, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (331).

"I have sometimes thought," says an ingenious correspondent, "that an agreeable history enough might be made of Cromwell without one word of truth in it, excepting a few public transactions, and all taken from historians." The truth of this remark has already been illustrated in note [B], with regard to the work of Gregorio Leti; and it might farther be confirmed with respect to Voltaire, who has fallen into many errors, in what he relates concerning Oliver. Indeed, this celebrated writer was far from being well informed in the affairs of England.

In the Richardsoniana, are two anecdotes concerning Cromwell, for the authenticity of which we have no other evidence than the book whence they are taken. The first is produced, by Mr. Richardson, as a proof of Oliver's greatness of mind, and justness of thinking; though expressed in a rude manner, suitable to the subject and to himself. On account of the vulgarity of the story, we have hesitated concerning the propriety of inserting it: but if it should be thought to reflect some honour on the character of the Protector, we shall obtain the pardon of, at least, a part of our readers. The story is as follows: "A zealous officer of his came to him, and told him he

6 R

had

(330) Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 61, 62. 3d edit.

Harris's Life of O. Cromwell, p. 97, 98.

(331) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. ii. p. 363.

(329) Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 104—112.

had fallen into bad company, where he had had the mortification to hear his Highness spoken of in a very scandalous manner. "Ay, says he, man, what did they say?" "I am ashamed, an't please your Highness, to repeat it." "Tell, tell," says Oliver. "Why, an't please your Highness, a rascal had the impudence to say, your Highness might kiss his a—." "How, how! what was he for a man?" "Oh! says the officer, he was but a poor beggarly fellow." "Oho! says the Protector, when you see him again, tell him, *he may kiss mine.*"

The other anecdote, though very awkwardly related, we shall give in Mr. Richardson's own words. "Lord Bolingbroke told us (June 12, 1742) that Lord Oxford had often told him, that he had seen, and had in his hand, a letter that King Charles the First wrote to the Queen in answer to one of hers that had been intercepted, and then forwarded to him; wherein she reproached him for "having made those villains too great concessions" (viz. that Cromwell should be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for life, without account; that that kingdom should be in the hands of the party with an army there kept, which should know no head but the Lieutenant; that Cromwell should have a Garter, &c.) that in this letter of the King's, it was said, that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be; but that she might be entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them; for that he should know in due time, how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a filken Garter, should be fitted with an hempen cord." So the letter ended; which answer, as they waited for, so they intercepted accordingly, and it determined his fate. This letter Lord Oxford said he had offered 500l. for. Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Marchmont, and Mr. P——e, all believed that a story I had heard or read to this purpose (and which occasioned Lord Bolingbroke's telling the above) had its origin no higher than this story of Lord Oxford (332)."

(332) Richardsoniana, p. 129*. 132*, 133*.

Mr. Gilpin, in his elegant and entertaining observations on picturesque beauty, has given a story which, in point of cruelty, reflects a deep disgrace on Oliver's conduct. "In the time of the civil wars, the owner of this Mansion [Norton Conyers, near Rippon in Yorkshire] "was Sir Richard Graham, of whom we "heard an anecdote in the family, which is worth "relating; as it is not only curious in itself, but "throws a very strong, but dark shade on the character of Cromwell. When the affairs of Charles the First were in the wane in all the southern counties, the Marquis of Newcastle's prudence gave them some credit in the North. His residence was at York, where he engaged two of the "Gentlemen of the country to act under him as "Lieutenants. Sir Richard Graham was one; whose commission under the Marquis is still in the hands of the family. As Sir Richard was both an active man, and much attached to the Royal cause, he entered into it with all that vigour, which ability, inspired by inclination, could exert; and did the King more effectual service, than perhaps any private Gentleman in those parts. On that fatal day, when the precipitancy of Prince Rupert, in opposition to the sage advice of the Marquis, led the King's forces out of York against Cromwell, who waited for them on Marsden Moor, Sir Richard Graham had a principal command, and no man did more than he, to end an action with success, which had been undertaken with temerity. When the day was irretrievably lost, and nothing remained, but for every man to seek the best means of security that offered, Sir Richard fled, with twenty-six bleeding wounds upon him, to his house at Norton Conyers, about fifteen miles from the field. Here he arrived in the evening, and being spent with loss of blood, and fatigue, he was carried into his chamber; where, taking the last farewell of his disconsolate Lady, he expired. Cromwell, who had ever expressed a peculiar inveteracy against this Gentleman, and thought a victory only half obtained, if he escaped, pursued his flight in person, with a troop of horse. When he arrived at Norton, his gallant enemy was dead; having scarce lived an hour after he was carried into

his chamber: and Cromwell found his wretched "Lady weeping over the mangled corpse of her husband, yet scarce cold. Such a sight, one "would have imagined, might have given him—not indeed an emotion of pity—but a satiety of revenge. The inhuman miscreant still feeling the vengeance of his soul unsatisfied; and turning "round to his troopers, who had stalked with him "into the sacred recesses of sorrow, he gave the sign of havoc; and in a few moments the whole house "was torn in pieces. Not even the bed was spared, "on which the mangled body was extended; and "every thing was destroyed, which the hand of rapine could not carry off (333)."

Were scepticism to put its finger on this narrative, perhaps it would suggest, that traditional stories gather strength and circumstance from time; that history is silent with regard to Sir Richard Graham's having had a principal command at the battle of Marston Moor; that he could not arrive at Norton-Conyers in the evening, since it was not till seven o'clock in the evening that the battle commenced, which lasted three hours; that the account of his having twenty-six bleeding wounds upon him has a romantic aspect; that it is difficult to know why Cromwell should have always expressed a peculiar inveteracy to Sir Richard, because from their remoteness of situation, there could not well have been an ancient enmity between them; and that it is somewhat extraordinary that Oliver, who had been at the head of the left wing of the Parliamentary army, should quit all other duties, and engage in a pursuit of fifteen miles, for the sake of gratifying his revenge on a single Gentleman.

Among the instances which the Protector's Biographers have recorded of the encouragement given by him to the cause of literature, what he did with regard to Durham has been but slightly mentioned. In 1650, a Petition to Parliament, from several persons of fortune in that county, was delivered by the Grand Jury to the High Sheriff, praying, that the College and Houses of the Dean and Chapter, then empty and going to decay, might be employed for erecting a College, School, or Academy, for the benefit of the Northern counties, which were so far distant from the Universities; and that part of the lands of the said Dean and Chapter, near the city, might be applied by Trustees to pious uses. This Petition having been strongly recommended by Oliver, in a letter dated from Edinburgh, to William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, another application to the same purpose was made in 1651. These applications being referred to a Committee, to state the business, and to report their opinion concerning the desires of the county, the Committee accordingly reported, that they were of opinion, that the said houses were a fit place to erect a College or School for all the Sciences and Literature; and that it would be a pious and laudable work, and of great use to the Northern parts. There being now a prospect of success in the design, a warm and affectionate address upon the occasion, was presented, in 1653, from the principal Gentlemen of the county, to his Excellency the Lord General, and the rest of his Council of Officers. The business, however, was not effectually prosecuted till 1656. In that year, Cromwell and his Council issued an order for founding and endowing a College at Durham, out of the Church lands; and on the fifteenth of May, 1657, Letters Patent were granted for that purpose. By these letters it was ordained, that the College should consist of one Provost or Master, two Preachers or Senior Fellows, and twelve other Fellows; four of the said twelve Fellows to be Professors, four others to be Tutors, and other four of them to be Schoolmasters. There were also to be in the said College twenty-four Scholars and twelve Exhibitioners, and in the Free School belonging to it eighteen Scholars. Philip Hutton, M. A. was appointed to be the first Provost or Master; William Spinedge, and Joseph Hill, M. A. the two first Preachers, or Senior Fellows; and Thomas Vaughan, M. A. John Kisser, M. D. Robert Wood, M. A. Ezeriel Long, D. D. John Peachill, M. A. Leonard Waitel, Richard Russell, M. A. John Richel, Nathaniel Vincent, M. A. William Corker, John Doughty, M. A.

(333) Observations chiefly relative to picturesque Beauty, made in the Year 1772, on several Parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, p. 199—201.

and William Sprigg, the first twelve other Fellows. Of these, Vaughan, Kisser, Wood and Peachil were constituted the four Professors; Tong, Russell, Richel and Doughty the four Tutors; and Vincent, Corker, Sprigge and Wastel the four Schoolmasters. It was farther ordained that these persons and their successors should stand and be incorporated and founded one body politic and corporate, to all intents and purposes; and that they should for ever hereafter be called by the name of the Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the College of Durham, of the Foundation of Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging. Large grants were made to the institution; a Common Seal was allowed to it; and the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars were empowered to purchase, have, hold and enjoy by them and their successors, any lands, tenements and hereditaments, rents or revenues, not exceeding the yearly value of six thousand pounds. On the death of Oliver, the Provost and Fellows of the College presented an humble address to the Protector Richard, in which they compared his renowned Father to Augustus; and asserted, that there were happily conjoined in him the warlike Prowess of our fifth Henry, the Prudence of our seventh Henry, and the Piety of our sixth Edward. In him, they add, was fulfilled the ancient wish of the Romans at the Inauguration of their Emperors; *Sis Augusto felicior, sis Trajano melior*. At the same time, they recommend to Richard the new erection, which was left an Orphan scarcely bound up in its swaddling cloaths; and pray, that by the vital beams of his piteous aspect, it may be cherished and grow, till it bear much fruit, for the good and happiness of those parts of the land, in which it was planted by a hand which never miscarried in any of its humane and magnanimous achievements. This Orphan College, it is said, thrived apace. It endeavoured to confer degrees, and to mimic its grown upon sisters of Oxford and Cambridge. But these great and long established bodies checked so presumptuous a spirit, by Petitions to the young Protector, in which they assigned their reasons against a third University, and especially against any degrees being conferred there. In less than two years, the disjointed frame of Government, which had harassed the kingdom, was dissolved, and with it fell the new seminary of knowledge at Durham (334).

(334) Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. i. p. 514—530. Pennant's Tour in Scotland, 1772. Part 2d p. 324, 335.

(335) Lord Egmont's, M. S. Biographical Collections.

Numerous are the characters of Oliver Cromwell, which have been given both by foreigners and natives. "There met in him, says the Bishop of Meaux, an incredible depth of judgment, a refined hypocrisy, an able policy, a capacity to venture yet conceal all things, a resolution to leave nothing to chance which he could prevent by counsel or force. On the contrary, he was so vigilant and ready in all things, that he never lost the opportunities which presented themselves. In a word, he was one of those restless and bold spirits who seem born to overturn the world (335)."

The celebrated Abbé Raynal in his History of the Parliament of England, has drawn the character of Oliver, and has added to it a parallel between him and Montrose. "Cromwell," the Abbé says, "was not one of those men who have appeared unworthy of Empire as soon as he arrived at it. He had a genius adapted to all places, all seasons, all business, all parties, all governments. He was always what he ought to be: at the head of an army, the bravest; in council, the wisest; in business, the most diligent; in debates, the most eloquent; in enterprizes, the most active; in devotion, the most fanatic; in misfortunes, the most firm; in an assembly of Divines, the most learned; in a conspiracy, the most factious. He never made any mistake, never let slip an opportunity, never left an advantage incomplete, never contented himself with being great, when he had it in his power to be very great. Chance and natural temper, which determine the conduct of other men, did not influence the most inconsiderable of his actions. Born with an absolute indifference to all that is praise-worthy or blameable, honest or dishonest; he never considered virtue as virtue, crimes

as crimes; he regarded only the relation which one or the other might have to his elevation. This was his idol: he sacrificed to it his King, his country, his religion; which he would have defended with the same zeal, had he had the same interest in protecting, as in destroying them. The system of his ambition was conducted with an art, an order, a boldness, a subtlety, and a firmness, of which I believe history can shew no example. All sects, all ranks, all nations; peace, war, negotiations, revolutions, miracles, prophecies; all advanced the fortune of this hypocritical Usurper. He was a man born to decide the fate of nations, empires, and ages. The splendour of his talents hath almost made the horror of his outrages to be forgotten: posterity at least will question, whether Oliver Cromwell deserved execration or admiration." This is a highly finished picture, rather than an exact likeness. The great qualities of Cromwell are exaggerated; and an Englishman will smile at Oliver's being represented as in debates the most eloquent, and in an assembly of Divines the most learned. Neither is it true that he sacrificed his religion to his elevation; for what religion he had was hostile to the episcopal form of Church Government.

The Abbé Raynal's comparison between Montrose and Cromwell is as follows: "These celebrated men fixed the eyes of all Europe upon them. Montrose had an integrity of heart, which always fixed him in the interest of his king and country; Cromwell a superiority of genius, which gave an air of equity to the most criminal actions. Vanity properly made the character of the first; ambition was the only ruling passion of the second. With the first, one had great hopes of conquering; with the second, one was sure not to be beaten. If the Crown could have been kept on Charles's head, it was by Montrose: if it must fall from it, it must be by Cromwell. The Republican was as much superior to the Royalist in depth of judgment, as he was inferior to him in goodness of heart. In a word, Cromwell was an illustrious villain, who cannot be praised without horror, nor despised without injustice; whom we are at once forced to admire and to detest (336)."

Several of our later English authors do not entertain so high an opinion of the Protector's abilities as has been done by some foreigners. "With respect to Cromwell, says the Monthly Reviewer, he was undoubtedly subtle, a perfect master of dissimulation, active, vigilant, and intrepid. But we cannot discover in him those refined marks, or that deep system of policy, which some writers attribute to his character. He seems rather to have been led by a train of accidents to the power he usurped, than guided to it by a series of design. His chief merit was the artifice he employed to raise himself to the sole command of the army. When he had gained that point, in a state quite unsettled, and where the Government was upon no legal foundation whatever, it was easy for a victorious Commander to change the sword for the sceptre. Nay, to an ambitious mind the transition was almost involuntary. But we are not persuaded that he planned his schemes from a foresight of events: we rather think that he was taught by the occasion as it offered. Thus much is certain, that his system of foreign politics was, in many respects, erroneous in its principles, and narrow in its foundation; and that he consulted how to gratify his own pride, by raising what he called the *honour* of the nation, while he neglected its interest (337)."

Mr. Hume, likewise, while he does justice to Oliver's talents, is far from viewing them in that transcendent point of light in which they have frequently been represented. His character of the Protector is as follows.

"It seems to me, that the occurrence of Cromwell's life, where his abilities are principally discovered, is his rising from a private station, in opposition to so many rivals, so much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his signal military talents, his eminent dexterity and address, were all requisite for this important acquisition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of supernatural abilities, when we consider, that

Fairfax,

(336) Annual Register, vol. ix. p. 88, 89. Monthly Review, vol. v. p. 449, 450.

(337) Monthly Review, vol. xix. p. 274.

Fairfax, himself a private Gentleman, who had not the advantage of a seat in Parliament, had, through the same steps, attained even a superiour rank, and if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite such an army to rebellion against the Parliament, required no uncommon art or industry: to have kept them in obedience, had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was once formed betwixt the military and civil powers, a supreme and absolute authority, from that moment, is devolved upon the General; and if he is afterwards pleased to employ artifice, or policy, it may be regarded, on most occasions, as great condescension, if not as a superfluous caution. That Cromwell was ever able really to blind, or over-reach, either the King or the Republicans, does not appear. As they possessed no means of resisting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by seeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themselves from his dominion. If he seduced the military Fanatics, it is to be considered, that their interest and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance, and low education, exposed them to the grossest imposition, and that he himself was at bottom as frantic an Enthusiast as the worst of them; and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but display those vulgar, and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he set so high a value. An army is so forcible, and, at the same time, so coarse a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant, in human society.

"The domestic administration of Cromwell, though it discovers great ability, was conducted without any plan of liberty or arbitrary power; perhaps, his difficult situation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprizes, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national interest, and seem more the result of impetuous fury, or narrow prejudices, than of cool foresight and deliberation. An eminent personage, however, he was in many respects, and even a superior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were most admirable, and which most contributed to his marvellous success, were the magnanimous resolution of his enterprizes, and his peculiar dexterity in discovering the characters, and practising on the weaknesses of mankind.

"If we survey the moral character of Cromwell, with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches, as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. Amidst the passion and prejudices of that time, that he should prefer the parliamentary to the royal cause, will not appear very extraordinary; since, even at present, many men of sense and knowledge, are disposed to think, that the question, with regard to the justice of the quarrel, may be regarded as very doubtful and ambiguous. The murder of the King, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible, that he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action which he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see, how the various factions could at that time have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual, by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity (338)."

(338) Hume's
Hist. of Eng.
vol. vii. p. 296.
—298. edit. of
1763.

Dr. Smollett's character of Cromwell, though short, is drawn up with ability and discernment.

"Oliver, says the Doctor, was of a robust make and constitution, and his aspect was manly, though clownish. His education extended no farther than a superficial knowledge of the Latin tongue, but he inherited

great talents from nature; though they were such as he could not have exerted to advantage at any other juncture than that of a civil war, inflamed by religious contests. His character was formed from an amazing conjunction of enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and ambition. He was possessed of courage and resolution that overlooked all danger, and saw no difficulty. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful sagacity; while he concealed his own purposes under the impenetrable shield of dissimulation. He reconciled the most atrocious crimes to the most rigid notions of religious obligation. From the severest exercise of devotion, he relaxed into the most ludicrous and idle buffoonery. He preserved the dignity and distance of his character, in the midst of the coarsest familiarity. He was cruel and tyrannical from policy, just and temperate from inclination: perplexed and despicable in his discourse; clear and consummate in his designs; ridiculous in his reveries; respectable in his conduct: in a word, the strangest compound of villainy and virtue, baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good sense, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind (339)."

Mrs. Macaulay has exposed the views and conduct of Cromwell with all the severity and sagacity of a zealous, an impartial, and an enlightened Republican. She has entered deeply into his character, and is of opinion that to his fortune and success, more than to his ability, he is indebted for the eulogiums with which he has been loaded by the English Historians. Her review of his administration is clear and spirited, and the portrait she has drawn of him is executed with great energy of expression. We shall present it to our readers.

"The hyperbolical praises, she observes, bestowed by his partizans on the unhappy Charles, have been fully refuted by several pens; but the yet more exalted commendations lavished on his fortunate successor Cromwell, have, from an odd concurrence of circumstances, met with little contradiction. Did facts allow us to give credit to the exaggerations of panegyrists, the power and reputation which England acquired by the magnanimous government of the republican Parliament, entirely flowed from the unparalleled genius and virtue of the hero Cromwell: Cromwell imprinted throughout all Europe a terror of the English name: Cromwell was the conqueror of the Dutch: he retrieved the honour of his country in the business of Amboyna, and prescribed a peace to that insolent republic on his own terms: Cromwell was the scourge of the piratical States: the scourge of the House of Austria; every Court in Europe trembled at his nod; he was the Umpire of the North, the support of the Reformed Religion, and the friend and patron of that warlike Protestant Monarch the King of Sweden. In regard to his domestic government, Cromwell was ever ready to attend to complaints and redress grievances; Cromwell administered the public affairs with frugality; filled Westminster-hall with judges of learning and integrity; observed the strictest discipline in his army; was the support of religious liberty, and a benefactor to the learned: under the administration of Cromwell every branch of trade flourished: in his Court a face of religion was preserved, without the appearance of pomp, or needless magnificence: he was simple in his way of living, and easy and modest in his deportment.

"False as is this representation to the true character of the Usurper, it has been adopted by that party among us who call themselves Whigs, as a mortifying contrast to the principles, administration, and conduct of the Stewart line; and the Royalists of all denominations are well pleased to give to the government of an individual a reputation, which was alone due to the republic, and to conceal from the multitude the truth of facts, which must discover to vulgar observation that eternal opposition to the general good of society which exists in the one, with the contrary spirit which so evidently shone forth in the other. Historians, either from prejudice or want of attention, have in general given into these ill-founded encomiums so prodigally bestowed on the Usurper: but a just narration of the transactions of those times shews, that it was under the government of the Parliament the nation gained all its real advantages, and that the maritime

(339) Smollett's
Hist. of Eng.
vol. v. p. 327—
329. 3d edit.

maritime power they had raised and supported, with the skill and bravery of the Commanders they had placed over the naval force, was the sole means by which Cromwell supported the reputation of his Government.

“ Excepting the Dutch, whom the Parliament had totally subdued, with the Danes and Portuguese, whom they had brought to a state of humiliation, the Usurper found the English Commonwealth at peace with all the powers of Europe, and in the sole possession of the Spanish trade, a great source of national wealth. The Spaniards, who had paid great court to the Parliament, were equally warm in their professions to Cromwell, and would have entered into a close union with him on the easy terms of his remaining neuter during their contention with France. This was the plan pursued by the Parliament, and the obvious interest of England; but the Usurper sacrificing both the glory and the welfare of his country to the security of his own establishment, after having made a shameful peace with the Dutch, on terms lower than they had offered and the Parliament had refused, he, for the sake of procuring money to support his despotism, made war with Spain without previous declaration, whilst he was amusing them with the hopes of a treaty; entered into a league offensive and defensive with the French Court, on the reason of removing his rivals the Stewart family from so near a neighbourhood, and to please the English fanatics, his only fast friends, and pamper a vain-glorious appetite by the reputation of being the protector of the Protestant interest. Could he have brought the Dutch into his destructive measures, he would have assisted the Swedish monarch in acquiring a power which would have laid all Europe at the mercy of Sweden and France.

“ The domestic administration of the Usurper was a greater opposition to the liberty of his country, than his foreign transactions to her security and interest as a state. The models or rules of his government were of his own making; and though he changed them according to his pleasure or conveniency, he never abided by the directions of any. He ruled entirely by the sword, burthened the people with the maintenance of an army of thirty-thousand men, and more grossly violated their right to legislation by their representatives than had any other tyrant who had gone before him. The power he delegated to his Major-generals superseded the established laws of the country. He threatened the Judges, and dismissed them from their office when they refused to become the instruments of his arbitrary will; imprisoned Lawyers for pleading in a legal manner the cause of their clients; packed Juries; eluded the redress of Habeas Corpus; and kept John Lilbourn in confinement after an acquittance by the verdict of a Jury. In the point of religious liberty, the usurper, as it served his purposes, encouraged and oppressed all the different sectaries, not excepting the Papists; and if he was liberal to men of learning, it was with a view to make use of their talents for his own peculiar advantage. Some face of decency in his Court, and continuance of that familiarity to his inferiours by which he had effected his ambitious purposes, were absolutely necessary to the preservation of his power; but so far was he from preserving, or even affecting, that simplicity of appearance particularly useful in a supreme governor, that, when only in the character of General of the Army of the Commonwealth, he lived in a kind of regal state at Whitehall. By his parliamentary interest, he prevented the sale of the Royal Palaces, with a view to possess them when he had compassed his intended usurpation; and that he never appeared in public without an ostentatious parade and pomp, and lived in high state and magnificence, is confirmed by authentic records, with the testimony of all parties. On the dissolution of the Republican Government, there were five hundred thousand pounds in the public Treasury; the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in the magazines; the army was three or four months pay in advance; the maritime power was sufficiently strong to enable England to give law to all nations; and the trade of the country in so flourishing a condition that nine hundred thousand a year had been refused for the Customs and Ex-

VOL. IV.

cise. On the death of the Usurper, notwithstanding the money he had arbitrarily levied on the people, the aid afforded him by a convention of his own nomination which he termed a Parliament, the vast sums he had raised by decimating the cavaliers, the sums paid by the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the Duke of Tuscany, with the treasure he at different times had taken from the Spaniards, the state was left in debt, the army in arrears, and the fleet in decay! To these national evils was added the loss of a great part of the Spanish trade, with the foundation of that greatness in the French monarchy, which is to this day formidable to the liberty of England.

“ Such were the fruits of a Government carried on upon the principles of public good, and of that economy preserved by the Parliament; and such the mischief to society, when the lusts of an individual are to be supplied from the public stock, and the general good of the community sacrificed to particular interest. The aggrandizement of the French monarchy, to which Cromwell so essentially contributed, was no less fatal to the interest of the reformed; which he affected to protect, than opposite to the welfare and security of England. To sum up the villany of his conduct in a few lines—He deprived his country of a full and equal system of liberty, at the very instant of fruition; stopped the course of her power, in the midst of her victories; impeded the progress of reformation, by destroying her government and limiting the bounds of her empire; and, by a fatal concurrence of circumstances, was enabled to obstruct more good, and occasion more evil, than has been the lot of any other individual.

“ It is said that Cromwell was exemplary in the relative duties of a son, a husband, and a father; and the whole of his private conduct has been allowed by all parties to have been decent, though his mirth often degenerated into buffoonery, and the pleasures of his table bordered on licentiousness. If, as a citizen and magistrate, his character has been attacked by a few of the judicious, there are none who doubt the almost supernatural abilities of a man, who, from a private station, could attain to the summit of splendour and power. The accidental occurrences of life, so frequently favourable to fools and madmen, are never taken into the account of great fortune. Fairfax, though his understanding is allowed by all parties to have been weak, had he possessed a heart as corrupt as Cromwell's, might have taken the advantage his military command gave him, to tyrannize over a people unsettled in their government, ignorant of their true happiness, and divided both in their political and religious opinions. Fairfax, without abilities to be of eminent service to his country, was too honest to do it a real injury. The selfish Cromwell let no opportunity slip to turn to his particular advantage the victories gained on the side of liberty, and establish a personal interest on the ruins of the public cause. That he was active, eager, and acute; that he was a master in all the powers of grimace and the arts of hypocrisy, is obvious in every part of his conduct: but these qualities are no proof of extraordinary abilities: they are to be met with daily in common life, and never fail of success equal to their opportunities. The sagacity and judgment of Cromwell, in that point where his peculiar interest was immediately concerned, will appear very deficient, if we consider the sacrifice he made of those durable blessings which must have attended his person and posterity, from acting an honest part, in the establishing the Commonwealth on a just and permanent basis, and the obvious danger of those evils he incurred for the temporary gratification of reigning a few years at the expence of honour, conscience, and repose.

“ Cromwell, both by the male and the female line, was descended from families of good antiquity; and though it does not appear he was a proficient in any of the learned sciences, yet his father, notwithstanding his circumstances were narrow, was not sparing in the article of education. An elevated sense of religion, which took place in his mind after a licentious and prodigal course, recommended him to the reformers of the age, and was the cause of his promotion to a seat in Parliament; and the grimace of godliness, when the reality was extinguished by the

fumes of ambition, with his signal military talents, at length lifted him to the throne of empire. Notwithstanding that perfection in the science of war to which he attained, he was upwards of forty when he commenced soldier; a circumstance not to be forgotten, as it is the only splendid part of his character (340)."

(340) Macaulay's Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 191—208. Octavo edit.

Without stopping to enquire, whether Mrs. Macaulay's zeal for liberty, and admiration of the Republican Parliament, may not sometimes have led her to fix Cromwell's talents on too low a scale, we cannot but express our full conviction, that no rational and consistent friend to civil freedom can ever be an applauder of his conduct. The man, who, setting out in the cause of the people, could at length trample upon their rights, and erect himself into a tyrant, must justly be regarded with indignation and abhorrence. It is not in the power of some wise, splendid, and even laudable actions to wipe away the stains that adhere to such a character, and to prevent their being transmitted, in their true colours, to posterity. Tyranny is tyranny still, with whatever prudence it may occasionally be tempered, with whatever good qualities it may sometimes be accompanied.

We shall add two sketches of Cromwell drawn by Mr. Granger. "Oliver Cromwell united, in a very high degree, the characters of the Politician and the General; and occasionally assumed those of the Buffoon, and the Preacher. He broke forth from his obscurity, at an age when others think themselves doomed to it for ever; and when many begin to entertain thoughts of retiring from the world, he began to make the most conspicuous figure in it. He availed himself of the virtues and the vices, the talents and the weaknesses of mankind; and such obstacles as would have been insurmountable to an inferior genius, helped greatly to carry him on in his career (341)."

(341) Biographical Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 251. 2d edit.

"This great man, says Mr. Granger in another part of his work, whose genius was awakened by the distractions of his country, was looked upon as one of the people, till he was upwards of forty years of age. He is an amazing instance of what ambition, heated by enthusiasm, restrained by judgment, disguised by hypocrisy, and aided by natural vigour of mind can do. He was never oppressed with the weight, or perplexed with the intricacy of affairs; but his deep penetration, indefatigable activity, and invincible resolution, seemed to render him a master of all events. He persuaded without eloquence; and exacted obedience, more from the terror of his name, than the rigour of his administration. He appeared as a powerful instrument in the hand of Providence, and dared to appeal to the decisions of Heaven for the justice of his cause. He knew every man in the three kingdoms, and endeavoured to avail himself of their respective talents. He has always been regarded by foreigners, and of late years by the generality of his countrymen, as the greatest man this nation ever produced. It has been disputed which he deserved most, a halberd or a crown; and there is no less disparity betwixt the characters drawn of him, and the reports propagated by his enemies and his friends. Colonel Lindsey affirmed, that he saw him enter into a formal contract with the devil; and Dawbeny has drawn a parallel betwixt Moses the man of God, and Oliver the Protector. The French Court went into mourning for him; but the famous Mademoiselle de Montpensier disdain- ed to pay that respect to the memory of an Usurper (342)."

(342) *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 11, 12.

Mr. Granger has mentioned a slight circumstance with regard to Cromwell's person, which has escaped the notice of most of his Biographers. It is, that his nose was remarkably red and shining, on which account it was the subject of much ridicule. Cleveland in his character of a London Diurnal, humorously says, "This Cromwell should be a bird of prey by his bloody beak: his nose is able to try a young eagle, whether she be lawfully begotten; but all is not gold that glitters. Again, Cromwell's nose wears the dominical letter." The same Biographer has given the following anecdote from Dr. Hickes's Discourses on Dr. Burnet and Dr.

Tillotson. A Gentleman came to Oliver, to beg a lock of Charles's hair for an honourable Lady. "Ah! no Sir, said Cromwell bursting into tears, that must not be; for I swore to him when he was living, that not a hair of his head should perish (343)." The incongruity of this story might possibly not be too hard for the digestion of Dr. Hickes. On the subject of Oliver's being sometimes a preacher, Mr. Granger informs us, that there is a Sermon said to have been preached by him, on Rom. xiii. 1. the last Lord's day in April, 1649, at Sir P. T.'s house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. It was printed in 1680. There is no internal evidence of its being genuine; and as it abounds with low ribaldry and egregious nonsense, it was probably a fabrication to serve party purposes. Fictions of this kind have not been so uncommon as to be a matter of surprize.

(343) *Ibid.* p. 5; 9. 61.

Cromwell may not only be mentioned as having been, in some degree, an encourager of learning, but as having, likewise, been in some degree a patron of the arts. There are more original paintings of him than has generally been imagined; and they were done by the first Artists of the time, Cooper, Walker, Vandyke, and Sir Peter Lely. The engraved portraits of him are very numerous. A large Catalogue of them is given by Mr. Granger, and Mr. Noble has exhausted the subject, with regard both to the pictures and prints of Oliver (344). We shall select one or two circumstances, that are particularly curious. Ferdinand the Second, grand Duke of Florence, who, having felt the weight of the Protector's vengeance, not only courted his friendship, whilst living, but respected his memory when dead, ordered his Resident in London, to procure him the best original picture of Cromwell that could be obtained. Accordingly, the Resident applied to a Lady, a relation of the Protector's, who was possessed of a fine painting of him, by Walker. The Lady was unwilling to part with the picture; but, at the same time, not choosing to displease a sovereign Prince, she asked five hundred pounds for it, believing that such a sum would not be given. However, to her great surprize, the money was immediately paid; and the piece was sent to Florence, where it hangs in the old Palace, amongst the illustrious Generals. The present Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliffe) has acquainted Mr. Noble, that he thinks it to be an half-length, and in armour.

(344) Granger, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 216. 251. vol. iii. p. 5—12. 72. Noble's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 123. 300—311.

Before the Resident had made this purchase, being sensible of the value his Master had for Oliver's character, and consequently how acceptable a good likeness of him would be, he is said to have bribed a person in the Palace, that had access to the Protector's corpse, to permit a model to be taken off, in Plaster of Paris, and that only a few minutes after his Highness's dissolution. A cast, wrought from this mould, and which is either of bronze, with a brass hue, or stained to give it that appearance, is now in the Florentine Gallery. Breval observes of it, that there is something more remarkably strong and expressive in it, than in any picture or bust of the Usurper which he had ever seen. Lord Corke, in his description of it, remarks, that it bears the strongest characteristics of boldness, steadiness, sense, penetration and pride; and, therefore, he disbelieves its having been done after Cromwell's decease. The muscles, his Lordship adds, are strong and lively, and the look is fierce and commanding; whereas death sinks the features, renders all the muscles languid, and flattens every nerve. Bishop Hinchcliffe concurs in opinion with Lord Corke. On the whole, Mr. Noble concludes it to be most probable, that the grand Duke asked, and obtained the bust from Oliver himself (345).

(345) Noble, *ubi supra*.

Simon, the Medallist, was patronized by Cromwell. His medals, coins, and seals, were chiefly engraved by that incomparable artist; who, in 1656, was appointed to the office of Principal Engraver and Medall-maker. Notwithstanding his decided superiority to every rival, Simon was neglected after the Restoration (346).

Strange stories have been told concerning the disposal of Oliver's body; some of which are mentioned in note [PP]. It is sufficient here to say, that the futility of all of them has been well exposed by Mr. Noble, who has clearly shewn that he was buried in Westminster.

(346) *Ibid.* Pinkerton's Essay on Medals, vol. ii. p. 143.

Westminster-Abbey. It need not be added, that, after the Restoration, his corpse was taken up, hanged at Tyburn, and the head fixed upon a pole, at the top of Westminster Hall (347).

(347) Noble's
Memoirs, *ubi*
supra, p. 288—
291.

It was not possible, that the wife of so celebrated a man, in such a violent collision of parties, should escape the shafts of calumny. Several aspersions were thrown upon her; but they appear to have been totally groundless. Mr. Granger has characterized her as a woman of an enlarged understanding, and an elevated spirit. "She was," he adds, "an excellent house wife, and as capable of descending to the kitchen with propriety, as she was of acting in her exalted station with dignity. It has been asserted, that she as deeply interested herself in steering the helm, as she had often done in turning the spit; and that she was as constant a spur to her husband in the career of his ambition, as she had been to her servants in their culinary employments. Certain it is, that she acted a much more prudent part as Protectress, than Henrietta did as Queen; and that she educated her children with as much ability as she governed her family with address. Such a woman would by a natural transition have filled a throne (348)."

(348) Granger,
ubi supra, vol. iii.
p. 13.

Mr. Granger's idea, that Mrs. Cromwell interfered greatly in the affairs of Government, does not appear to be well founded. She was, indeed, a woman of ability and spirit, notwithstanding which, she generally acted in conformity to the Protector's desire; and when she did exert herself, it was rather to bridle, than to stimulate his ambition. Ludlow acknowledges, that when Oliver removed from the cockpit to Whitehall, his wife seemed at first unwilling to go thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur. When her husband was at the very summit of his power, she earnestly wished for, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Royal Family. For this purpose, she listened eagerly to a proposal of Lady Dyfert (afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale) for restoring the exiled Monarch, and promised to break it to his Highness. Accordingly, she took an opportunity of doing it one morning before he rose; when, having represented the many

dangers he was exposed to from his situation, and the certain ruin that would befall his family at his decease, she desired him to accept the Carte Blanche the King was willing to grant. This, she urged, would not only obtain a pardon for all past offences, but secure to himself and his posterity honours little less than regal. The sole answer she received to her representation was, "You are a fool: Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father's death, nor the injustice he has suffered from me; and if he can, he is unworthy of the Crown." Only one letter of Mrs. Cromwell's has been preserved. It was written in 1650, and affords sufficient evidence of her affection for, and submission to her husband (349).

(349) Noble's
Memoirs, vol. i.
p. 124—131.
311, 312.

Great pains have been taken of late years to obtain every possible information concerning the family of Oliver Cromwell, and to trace his descendants down to the present time. The subject was, in part, begun by Mr. Duncombe, or rather by Mr. Luson, in the Appendix to the second Volume of Hughes's Letters; was carried on by Dr. Gibbons, at the end of his funeral Sermon for Mr. William Cromwell; and has still more minutely been pursued in one of the numbers of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. But for the most complete and extensive intelligence, recourse must be had to Mr. Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, to which we have already so frequently referred. In this work will be found not only whatever could well be collected concerning the posterity of the Protector, but an account of all the families to which the House of Cromwell was allied, as well as of the principal persons who were distinguished and employed by Oliver during his government. Of Mr. Noble's publication we shall make no farther use, at present, than to avail ourselves of its assistance in writing the two following articles of Richard and Henry Cromwell. It may here be observed, that the extraordinary character of Mrs. Bridget Bendysh, the granddaughter of the Protector, and daughter of Ireton, which makes so prominent a figure in Mr. Duncombe's collection, has not been forgotten by us, but will be properly noticed in another part of our work.] K.

* * [CROMWELL (RICHARD), son of Oliver, and for a short time, successor to his father, as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, was born at Huntingdon, on the fourth of October, 1626, and baptized at St. John's Church in that town, on the nineteenth of the same month. It is probable that his uncle, Richard Cromwell, Esq; was one of his sponsors, and gave him his name, and certain that Mr. Henry Downtell, of St. John's College, in Cambridge, was another. His grammatical education, together with that of two of his brothers, was completed at Felsted, in Essex, whither he was sent, that he might be under the inspection of his maternal grandfather, Sir James Bouchier, who resided at that place. On the 27th of May, 1647, when he was far advanced in the twenty-first year of his age, he was admitted to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, where he did not distinguish himself by the closeness of his application, or his ardent prosecution of legal knowledge. His time was chiefly spent in the pursuits of pleasure; and it is remarkable, that, while the nation was torn to pieces by faction and civil war, he took no part in the contest; but led a life of privacy and inactivity. What is still more observable, whilst Oliver was fighting the battles of the Parliament, Richard Cromwell was the companion of the most loyal Cavaliers, and frequently drank success to the arms of the Sovereign whom his father was labouring to dethrone. When that unfortunate Monarch was condemned to death, Richard, it is said, was so struck with the horror of his approaching fate, that he threw himself upon his knees, and pleaded the cause of fallen majesty. But Oliver was not a man who could be diverted, by the entreaties and tears of his son, from executing the purpose he had formed (a).

(a) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 158, 159.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 319—323.
Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 514—526.

Soon after the King's death, Richard Cromwell, in consequence of the eminence to which his family was now rising, obtained a very eligible marriage with Dorothy, the eldest daughter of Richard Maijor, of Hursley, in the county of Hants. The Negotiation for this alliance may be seen in some letters of Oliver's which have been given to the public, by Dr. Harris and Mr. Noble (b). Richard Cromwell had a very considerable fortune with his Lady; and after his marriage, retired to Hursley, where he resided for some years, and became entirely the country Gentleman; indulging himself in hunting, hawking, and the other rural sports of the age. Neither did he here forget his former principles of loyalty, but retained the same attachment to Charles the Second which he had borne to Charles the First, and used his best endeavours to serve such of the adherents to the royal family

family as fell into inconveniences on that account. During his retirement, he did not otherwise concern himself with public affairs, but spent his time in the company of his wife, to whom he was tenderly devoted, and in a hospitable mode of living, which exceeded the rules of frugality and prudence. Upon his father's advancement to the Protectorate, he was chosen to represent the counties of Monmouth and Southampton. This was in 1654; and on the eleventh of November, 1655, he was made first Lord of Trade and Navigation. In August, 1656, he was returned one of the county Members for Hants, as well as Representative for the University of Cambridge. The next year, he had a narrow escape from being crushed to death, by the giving way of the stairs of the Banqueting-House, when the Members of Parliament were going to pay their respects to Oliver. Some of his bones were broken by this accident; but having the advantage of youth and a good constitution in his favour, his health and strength were speedily restored (c).

(c) Noble's
Memoirs, *ubi*
supra, p. 159—
161.

The Protector having resigned the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, on the third of July, 1657, that learned body manifested their regard for the family of his Highness, by choosing Richard for his successor. The choice was made on the eighteenth of the same month, and on the twenty-ninth following, he was installed in his new office at Whitehall. On this occasion, the ceremony was performed with great splendour; and next to the Chancellor, the most conspicuous person at the Installation was Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester. At the same time, to do him still greater honour, Richard was created a Master of Arts, in a Convocation of Doctors and Masters of the University, assembled at the Palace for that purpose. One of his first acts, as Chancellor of Oxford, was to remove Dr. Owen from the Vice-chancellorship, and to appoint Dr. John Conant in his room. The next honours conferred upon Richard Cromwell, were his being sworn a Privy-Counsellor, and made a Colonel in the army. When Oliver formed the design of creating a House of Peers, he placed Richard at the head of this newly constituted body. The Protector had been obliged to be cautious, in thus bringing his son forward to public notice. From the fear of alarming the Republicans, he had pretended, for a while, that he had no thoughts of raising his sons above the rank of private Gentlemen. But when he was more solemnly inaugurated and confirmed in his Protectorship, he displayed other views; though he still concealed his wishes of transferring the sovereign power, in hereditary succession, to his family (d).

(d) *Ibid.* p. 161,
162.

It has generally been represented that Richard Cromwell was dissatisfied with his father's grandeur, and thought that it was not built upon a good foundation. It does not, however, appear that he expressed any degree of hesitation in accepting the Government of these kingdoms: nor, on the other hand, is there reason to believe that he looked forward to it with pleasure. It is certain that he felt a real concern on account of Oliver's last illness; and a letter which he wrote to an intimate friend on that occasion, while it manifests his disposition in this respect, shews that he was possessed of a sound understanding [A]. On the fourth of September, 1658, the day after his father's decease, he was proclaimed with great solemnity, and the form of the proclamation was as follows: "Whereas it hath pleased the most wise God, in his Providence, to take out of this world, the most serene and the most renowned Oliver, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth; and his said Highness having, in his life-time, according to the humble petition and advice, declared and appointed the most noble and illustrious the Lord Richard, eldest son of his said Highness, to succeed him in the Government of these nations: We, therefore, of the Privy Council, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the Citizens of London; the Officers of the Army, and numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full voice and consent of tongue and heart, publish and declare the said Noble and Illustrious Lord Richard to be rightfully Protector of this Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging;

[A] *Shews that he was possessed of a sound understanding.* The truth of what is asserted above will best appear from the letter itself, which was written from Whitehall, on the 28th of August, 1658, to Captain John Dunche, at Peusey, near Abingdon, in Berkshire.

"SIR,

"I intended to have written to you by the first return, but since his Highness has been so ill, that I have not had either opportunity or desire to set pen to paper; we have not been without very great fears; for his Highness's illness hath been such as hath put the Physicians to a nonplus. Our hopes are somewhat increased by this fit of an ague; and shall it please God to go on with his gentle hand, and bring him temperately out of this fit, and not renew it, at the time his former fit began, or visit us with a quartan, we shall have some reviving comfort, and cause to magnify his goodness; it being a new life to his Highness and the affairs as they now stand, of this

nation, with the Protestant interest of Christendom. I believe the rumours of this dangerous illness hath flown into all parts of this nation, and hath caused several persons of ill affections to prick up their ears, which will cause friends to be vigilant, for they will hope they have a game to play: it is a time that will discover all colours, and much of the disposition of the nation may now be gathered. I heard that those who have been enemies, others that have been no friends, some of both, are startled; fearing their possessions, and worse conditions, not considering their affection, in this hazard his Highness is in. It must be the goodness of God that shall save him, and his knowledge of the state of England and Christendom; the spirit of prayer which is poured out for him, and the faith which is acted on behalf of him, gives us the best comfort and hopes: mine and my wife's respects to your father and mother.

"I rest yours,

"R. CROMWELL (1)." (1) Parliamentary History, vol.

xxi. p. 223, 224;
"to note.

"to whom we do acknowledge all fidelity and constant obedience, according to law, and
 "the said humble petition and advice, with all hearty and humble affections; beseeching
 "the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bless him with long life, and these nations with
 "peace and happiness under his government (e)."

Richard's accession to power was followed by every apparent testimony of attachment and affection. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, in the name of the Officers of the Army of England; Monk, for those of Scotland; Sir Charles Coote, for Ireland; and Lockhart, from Dunkirk, all presented their congratulations to him, and their vows of fidelity. The same was done by Admiral Montagu, in behalf of the Navy. The zeal of the Citizens of London for his service, appeared more unanimous than it had been for that of his father; and most of the counties, cities, and towns in the three nations, testified, by addresses under their hands, their obedience to their new Sovereign. Nay, the spirit of addressing extended to the Plantations. The young Protector, in many of these solemn congratulations, was highly magnified for his wisdom, his nobleness of mind, and the lovely composition of his body. At the same time, the memory of Oliver was loaded with flattery. He was compared to Moses, Zerubbabel, Joshua, Gideon, and Elijah; to David, Solomon and Hezekiah; to Constantine the Great; and, in short, to every other person who had been celebrated, either in the sacred Scriptures or profane History, for their piety or their goodness, their wisdom or their valour. Of these addresses, one specimen shall be inserted below [B], which seems to have been a model for many of the others; and we have given it

(e) Parl. Hist.
 of Eng. vol. xxi.
 p. 223, 229.

[B] One specimen shall be inserted below.]

"To his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging,

"The Humble Address of the Officers of your Highness's Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"May it please your Highness,

"WHEN we call to mind how God, the great and wise disposer of all things, hath, by a long continued series of Providence, carried on his work in these nations by the hands of several instruments, making it manifestly to prosper in the hands of all those that did heartily own his cause and people; but most remarkably and eminently, in the hands of that man whom he had chosen, your deceased father, whose memory shall be blest, and will be had in perpetual remembrance amongst good men; as having been the great assertor of the liberties of God's people, an instrument to restore these nations to peace, a lover of their civil rights, and so indefatigable in his endeavours after reformation; the mentioning of whom may well strike our hearts with unconceivable sorrow and abasement, to think that we, by our sins, have provoked the God of all our Mercies to give us such a stroke, by taking from us the delight of our eyes, and, under God, the Captain of his people, upon whom the eyes of foreign Princes were fixed with reverence and expectation.

"Oh! how gloriously did the Lord appear for and with him in the midst of his people, making the mountains to become a plain before him, and carrying him upon the wings of faith and prayer, above all difficulties and oppositions? How did the graces of God's spirit evidently shine forth in him? In his armies he reckoned the choicest saints his chiefest worthies; in his family, those that were near and dear to God, were near and dear to him. His eyes were upon the faithful in the land, to relieve many, to advance some, to protect and countenance all. In the things of God he had a tender and large heart, to love all the saints though of different judgments. He had great acquaintance with the Lord, mighty in faith and prayer, which made him so constant and glorious a victor.

"Your Highness, your armies, and people, reap the benefit of his prayers and successes; but, alas! this our *Moses* (your dear and blessed father) the servant of the Lord is dead, and shall we not weep? Though we weep not for him, yet we cannot but weep for ourselves. We cannot but look after him crying, *Our Father, our Father, the Chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof.*

"When we consider these things, we cannot but reverence the same Providence, in bringing your

Highness to succeed him in the Government, with so much serenity and general consent and approbation of the people, when the enemy so strenuously endeavours to promote distractions and divisions; and we cannot but hope, though it hath pleased the Lord sharply to rebuke us, yet he will not cast us off, nor withdraw his fatherly affections from us; but, in our returnings, he will give us rest, and will enable your Highness to carry on that good old cause and interest of God and his people upon your heart continually, and then he will carry you as upon eagle's wings, above all the malice and wicked machinations of ungodly men, to do valiantly in Israel, in the further enlarging of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, in maintaining the Christian liberty of all sober godly men, though of different opinions in some things; the defending of the civil rights of the whole people of these nations; and the reformation of all abuses.

"And more particularly, that we may open our hearts before you, we hope and pray that God will enable your Highness to endeavour, that the army which shall be thought fit to be kept up in the three nations, may be continued, and kept under the command of such officers as are of honest and godly principles, free to adventure all, that is dear to them, by all lawful ways and means to maintain an equal and just liberty to all persons that profess godliness, that are not of turbulent spirits as to the peace of these nations, nor disturbers of others, though different in some things from themselves, according to the true intent of the humble petition and advice.

"That the vacancies in your Highness's Council, and other places of public trust, be, from time to time, supplied and filled up with men of known godliness and sober principles, that they, with your Highness and your armies, may make it their work to carry on the concerns of the godly in these nations, and the civil rights of the people thereof, upon their hearts, with full purpose to maintain the same; and that a work of reformation, tending to good life and manners, may be vigorously carried on by the hands of good Magistrates, and those things that are vexatious and oppressive to the people may be suppressed.

"That the provision made for the ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient Ministers, and that for the approbation of Ministers tending to the bringing in of godly and able Preachers into the several places of these nations (whereby poor and ignorant souls may be brought to the knowledge of the truth) may be owned and maintained in their power, according to the Acts of Parliament; and that any who shall discourage or discountenance good Ministers in these nations, by encouraging loose and profane persons to oppose and slight them for not admitting such as are loose and profane to the Sacrament, may be discountenanced and punished.

"In your prosecution whereof, we hope that God will assist us to make it known to your Highness, and

it the preference, as it affords a direct contrast to what was presented, a few months after, by the same body of men. It is said that this Address was drawn up at Court, and that copies of it were sent to the several regiments of the three nations, to be subscribed: nor is it improbable that this might be the case, when it is considered how nearly related Fleetwood, who had then the Chief Command of the English Army, was to the Protector. Henry Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is, likewise, understood to have had no small hand in the scheme of procuring the presentation of a general Address from the three Armies; and his design in it was, to display the great unanimity of the soldiery in support of his brother's succession (f).

(f) *Ibid.* p. 232.
#36, 237.

The respect paid to Richard was not confined to his own subjects. Foreign Princes and States addressed their condolences to him, and sought a renewal of their alliances. M. de Bourdeaux, the Ambassador from France, distinguished himself above all others on this occasion. At an audience which he had of the Protector, and to which he was introduced by Sir Oliver Fleming, Master of the Ceremonies, he presented to his Highness two letters; one from the King of France, the other from his Eminency Cardinal Mazarine, as Chief Minister of State; and delivered himself, in a speech, to the following effect: "That his Master, the King of France, having heard of the death of his late Highness, of glorious memory, did very much take to heart the loss of so great a Captain, and so good an Ally of his Crown: that his Majesty rejoiced at being informed that, in order to the repairing of so great a loss, it had pleased God to establish his Highness, as his father's undoubted successor: that it was the desire of his most Christian Majesty, by all means, to maintain that alliance and amity, which had hitherto been of so great an advantage to both nations: and that his Majesty, to manifest the sincerity of his friendship, would be ready upon any occasion, either with his Counsels or Forces, to assist the Lord Protector against any of his enemies or opposers whatsoever." To this speech the Ambassador added, in his own behalf, "That as he himself had a great affection for the English nation, having now many years resided here, and a particular regard for the person of his late Highness the Lord Protector, to whom he always bore a profound reverence on account of his princely virtues; so he should at all times be ready to give his most noble son and successor a testimony how joyful he was to see his Highness thus happily established in the Government, and how desirous he was to render him every possible proof of his esteem and devotion (g)."

(g) *Ibid.* p. 237,
238.

For some time, the situation of Richard had every thing that was promising and prosperous in its external appearance. The voice of joy and of praise was heard from all parts; and perhaps this agreeable prospect might have continued much longer, had not the necessities of the State required the calling of a Parliament. By an alliance which Oliver, not long before his death, had made with the Crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest of his engagements, he had stood obliged to send, in the Spring, a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that King against Denmark; or, at least, to act so powerfully the part of a Mediator, as to induce the Danish Monarch to accept such conditions of peace as the other should be willing to propose. This could scarcely be done without parliamentary assistance; and therefore, the new Protector, by the advice of his Council, issued out writs about the middle of December, summoning a Parliament to meet on the twenty-seventh of January. Till that day, being nearly five months from his Accession to the Protectorship, he seemed to remain as great a Prince as ever his father had been before him. During the two last Parliaments of Oliver, no writs had been issued out to the meaner boroughs, but only to capital towns; and he had increased the number of Knights of Shires, in proportion to the assessments paid by each county to the public service. In consequence of this popular and equitable scheme, the House was filled with so great a number of independent Gentlemen, of the best families and estates in the kingdom, that he had no way of managing them, but by excluding, either by fraud or force, those who were the true friends of the Constitution. His son Richard, therefore, to avoid splitting upon the same rock, and not daring to rule without a Parliament,

all the world, that we aim not at any private interest or end of our own; but that we shall be heartily and faithfully with you, as we have been with your father, to adventure our lives and all that is dear unto us to stand by you. These being the principles upon which we engaged with your blessed father, and were blessed of God in, and we trust God will direct your heart to be fixed and bottomed upon the same principles, which we are persuaded God will own you in, and bless us in standing by you against all that shall oppose you therein, or make it their design to change or alter the present Government established in a single person and two Houses of Parliament, according to the humble petition and advice, or shall endeavour the subversion thereof, or the disturbance of the peace of these nations.

"And we are confident you will have the concurrent helps of the prayers and endeavours of the people of God, whereby your heart and hand will be strengthened to ride on prosperously, to the joy and rejoicing of all good men, and to the terror and disappointment of all your adversaries, when they shall perceive you inherit, not only your father's glory and authority, but also the hearts of his old faithful followers; and (which crowns all) the blessing of the God of your father; which that it may be continued unto you, and prosper you, in all that you put your hand unto, is and shall be the continual prayer of

Your Highness's most humble and loyal Servants.

resolved

(2) *Parl. Hist.*
vol. xxi. p. 233
—236.

resolved to call his upon the old model. Accordingly, only two Knights of the Shire were elected for each county; and all the petty boroughs were restored to their ancient usages and returns. This was done by the Protector under the pretence of ingratiating himself with the people; but the real design was to make way for his own creatures and dependents. As to the Members of the Upper House, they were all sufficiently attached to him by his father's or his own choice and election (b).

(b) *Ibid.* p. 245, 246.

On the twenty-seventh of January, 1658-9, the Parliament met, according to appointment, and Richard came to Westminster with the same state and solemnity that Oliver had done. The Commons assembled in their usual place; and the new Lords, who had also been summoned, by writ, to attend according to the humble Petition and advice, took their seats in the Upper House. In the last Parliament, the Commons had refused to acknowledge the authority of their Lordships; and this was one principal cause of their own dissolution. Something of the same spirit operated on the present occasion. When his Highness sent the Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Commons to attend him in the other House, it was only a small number that thought proper to obey the Call. Those, however, who did appear before him, heard a Speech from him much superior to their expectations [C], and which far exceeded that which followed from the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, the Keeper of the Great Seal (i).

(i) *Ibid.* p. 262 —265.

[C] *Heard a Speech from him much superior to their expectations.* This Speech, which reflects credit on the good sense of Richard, or his advisers, was as follows:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I BELIEVE there are scarce any of you here, who expected, some months since, to have seen this great Assembly, at this time, in this place, in peace; considering the great and unexpected change which it hath pleased the all-disposing hand of God to make in the midst of us. I can assure you, that if things had been according to our own fears, and the hopes of our enemies, it had not been thus with us: and therefore it will become both you and me, in the first place, (as to reverence and adore the great God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth, in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways, because of his judgments) so to acknowledge him in his goodness to these lands, in that he hath not added sorrow to sorrow, and made the period of his late Highness's life, and that of the nation's peace, to have been in one day.

“ Peace was one of the blessings of my father's Government: a mercy after so long a civil war, and in the midst of so great division which that war bred, is not usually afforded, by God, unto a people in so great a measure.

“ The cause of God, and these nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the parts of it, as you well know, with many enemies and great opposition. The Archers, privily and openly, sorely grieved him, and shot at him; yet his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.

“ As to himself; he died full of days, spent in great and fore travail: yet his eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural strength abated: as it was said of Moses, he was serviceable even to the last.

“ As to these nations; he left them in great honour abroad, and in full peace at home; all England, Scotland, and Ireland dwelling safely, every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beerseba.

“ He is gone to rest, and we are entered into his labours; and if the Lord hath still a blessing for these lands, (as I trust he hath) as our peace hath been lengthened out to this day, so shall we go on to reap the fruit, and gather the harvest of what his late Highness hath sown, and laid the foundation of.

“ For my own part, being by the Providence of God and the disposition of the law, my father's successor, and bearing that place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the public good to call a Parliament of the three nations, now united, and conjoined together into one Commonwealth, under one Government.

“ It is agreeable not only to my trust, but to my principles, to govern these nations by the advice of

my two Houses of Parliament. I find it asserted in the humble petition and advice, (which is the cornerstone of this building, and that which I shall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the Chief Magistrate, in whose advice both he and these nations may be most safe and happy.* I can assure you I have that esteem of them; and as I have made it the first act of my Government to call you together, so I shall further let you see the value I have of you, by the answers that I shall return to the advice that shall be given me by you, for the good of these nations.

“ You are come up from your several countries, as the heads of your tribes, and with hearts (I persuade myself) to consult together for their good. I can say I meet you with the same desires, having nothing in my design, but the maintenance of the peace, laws, liberties, both civil and christian of these nations; which I shall always make the measure and rule of my Government, and be ready to spend my life for.

“ We have summoned you up at this time to let you know the state of our affairs, and to have your advice in them: and I believe a Parliament was never summoned upon a more important occasion.

“ It is true, as I have told you, we are, through the goodness of God, at this time in peace; but it is not thus with us because we have no enemies: No, there are enough both within us and without us, who would soon put an end to our peace, were it in their power, or should it at any time come into their power.

“ It will be becoming your wisdom to consider of the securing of our peace against those, who, we all know, are, and ever will be, our implacable enemies: what the means of doing this are, I shall refer unto you.

“ This I can assure you, that the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are true and faithful to the peace and good interest of these nations; and it will be found so, and that they are a consistent body, and useful for any good ends; and if they were not the best army in the world, you would have heard of many inconveniences, by reason of the great arrear of pay which is now due unto them, whereby some of them are reduced to great necessities: but you shall have a particular account of their arrears, and I doubt not but consideration will be had thereupon, in some speedy and effectual way. And this being matter of money, I recommend it particularly to the House of Commons.

“ You have, you know, a war with Spain, carried on by the advice of Parliament. He is an old enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be necessary, both for the honour and safety of these nations, that that war be vigorously prosecuted.

“ Furthermore, the constitution of affairs in all our neighbour countries, and round about us, (as well friends as enemies) is very considerable; and calls upon us to be upon our guard both at land and sea, and to be in a posture able to maintain and conserve our own state and interest.

“ Great

The first grand object that engaged the attention of Parliament, was a Bill, entitled, "An Act of Recognition of his Highness's Right and Title to be Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging." This Bill was brought in, on the first of February, by Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and it was comprized in such terms as had no less a meaning in them than the admittance of Richard, and the persons then sitting in the other House, unto the full power, privileges and prerogative of the ancient Kings, and the ancient Peers of the Realm. It was the view of the Court party to carry the matter undiscovered; and they were the more encouraged in their hopes of success, as the Bill was read the first time without much difficulty. Accordingly, some of the long robe, who were devoted to the Protector, pressed for the reading of it again on the same day; their design in which was, that it should have been read a third time the next day, and thus immediately have passed into an Act. But though great pains had been taken to procure a Parliament which should support the measures of Richard and his Administration, it was impossible to prevent the principal leaders of the Republican party, and many of the zealous friends of Liberty, from being elected. These, therefore, contended, with equal justice and energy, that, according to the rule in such cases, the Bill ought to be referred to a grand Committee of the whole House. When this could not be obtained, they urged that the second reading of it ought, at least, to be put off for some days, and that liberty should be given to the Members to take copies, for the purpose of considering the business, and being better prepared for the debate. Thus far they succeeded, and the seventh of February was appointed for the second reading. When the House, at the time fixed upon, proceeded to the consideration of this grand point of Government, five whole days were spent in debating it, without coming to any conclusion; and on Monday the fourteenth, the Bill was not yet so far proceeded in, as to be referred to a Committee. However, on that day, the two following Resolutions were passed, as previous to the commitment of the Bill. The first was, "That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness Richard Lord Protector, to be Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging." It was resolved, secondly, "That, before this Bill be committed, this House do declare such additional clauses to be part of this Bill, as may bound the power of the Chief Magistrate, and fully secure the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and the liberties and rights of the people; and that neither this nor any other previous vote that is, or shall be, passed, in order to this Bill, is, or shall be, of force, or binding, unto the people, until the whole Bill be passed." So consonant was the last Resolution to the genuine sentiments of the Members, when under no improper bias, that it passed the House without any other negative than that of the Secretary. Nevertheless, when the courtiers understood, from the manner of Mr. Thurloe's voting, what the disposition was which prevailed at Whitehall, they manifested very little solicitude for effectually securing the freedom of the Constitution. In the course of the proceedings on the Recognition Bill, the Commons, after a debate that was carried on with great warmth for some days, came to two farther resolutions. These were, first, that it shall be part of this Bill to declare the Parliament to consist of two Houses; and secondly, that the bounds and power of the other House should be the first business taken into consideration. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of February, the subject was brought forward; and after a variety of warm debates, which sometimes lasted for a whole day together, it was at length resolved, on the twenty-eighth of March, that the House of Commons would transact business with the persons sitting in the other House, *as an House of Parliament*, during the present Parliament; and that it was not hereby intended to exclude such Peers, as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their

"Great and powerful fleets are preparing to be set forth into these seas, and considerable armies of several nations and kings are now disputing for the mastery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent islands and countries; among which is the Emperor of Germany, with other Popish States. I need not tell you of what consequence these things are to this State.

"We have already interposed in these affairs, in such manner as we found it necessary for the interest of England; and matters are yet in such a condition in those parts, that the State may, with the assistance of God, provide that their differences may not prejudice us.

"The other things that are to be said I shall refer to my Lord-Keeper Fiennes; and close up what I have to say, with only adding two or three particulars to what I have already said.

"And, first, I recommend to your care the people of God in these nations, with their concerns: the more they are divided among themselves, the greater prudence should be used to cement them.

"Secondly, The good and necessary work of reformation, both in manners and in the administration of justice, that profaneness may be discountenanced and suppressed, and that righteousness and justice may be executed in the land.

"Thirdly, I recommend unto you the Protestant cause abroad, which seems at this time to be in some danger, having great and powerful enemies, and very few friends; and I hope and believe that the old English zeal to that cause is still amongst us.

"Lastly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That you will, in all your debates, maintain and conserve Love and Unity among yourselves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the nation, who have sent you up in peace, and with their prayers, that the spirit of wisdom and peace may be among you: and this shall also be my prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmost endeavours for the making this an happy Parliament (3)."

(3) Parl. Hist. ubi supra, p. 265
—269.

privilege

(*) See his article in the present volume, p. 264*.

(/) Parl. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 281—297.

privilege of being duly summoned to be Members of that House. It was on this occasion that the long, severe, and able speech was delivered against the newly constituted Lords, which we have formerly mentioned as having been spoken by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards first Earl of Shaftesbury (*). Another Question which was agitated about the same time, was concerning the Members from Scotland and Ireland. Richard had summoned thirty Representatives from each of these two kingdoms, whose right to sit in the House was strongly objected to by the patriotic party. It was carried, however, without any extraordinary difficulty, though not without considerable debates, that the Members returned to serve for Scotland and Ireland should continue to sit and vote during the present parliament (/).

Whilst these and other matters were in agitation, the situation of the Protector became every day more and more critical and dangerous. The opposition to him in the Lower House was powerful and formidable; the Upper House was altogether insignificant and contemptible; and a spirit was rising against him in the Army. One strong proof of this spirit appeared in an Address which was presented to him, in the month of April, entitled, "The humble Representation and Petition" of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland; in which, amongst a variety of complaints, they strongly insisted that their arrears should be satisfied. If the Parliament had immediately resolved to give effectual redress to the Petitioners with regard to the last point, perhaps Richard might have continued in power some time longer. But so wise a measure was not pursued. The House, on this occasion, endeavoured to support its consequence by vigorous resolutions. On the eighteenth of April, a question was proposed and put, "That, during the sitting of the Parliament, there shall be no General Council, or Meetings, of the Officers of the army, without the direction, leave, and authority, of his Highness the Lord Protector and both Houses of Parliament." The division being called for on this Question, it was carried in the affirmative, by a large majority of a hundred and sixty-three to eighty-seven. Another Resolution, which was agreed to without a division, was, "That no person shall have, or continue, any command or trust, in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, that he will not disturb, nor interrupt, the free meeting in Parliament of any of the Members of either House of Parliament, or the freedom in their Debates and Councils." It was farther resolved, "That the concurrence of the other House be desired to these votes." The Commons having thus asserted their own authority, and attempted to provide for the personal security of the Members, next voted, That they would take into consideration how the arrears of the armies and navies might be speedily satisfied. All these resolutions were ineffectual: The army was too formidable to be resisted; and the grand Council of its Officers, by consent of the Protector, had assembled at Wallingford House. In this exigence, Richard advised with his Privy Council, whether it was, or was not, proper to dissolve the Parliament. Most of the Counsellors gave their opinion in favour of its dissolution; but Whitelocke doubted the success of the measure, and wished that the Houses might be permitted to sit a little longer; especially as the Commons had begun to consider of raising money, by which they might soon engage the soldiery, and link them fast to their interest. The majority, however, persisting in a different sentiment, the Parliament was dissolved on the 22d of April, and this act may be regarded as the real determination of Richard's power. He retained, indeed, the name and the appearance of Protector for a few days longer, though without any authority; and his reign, if such it may be called, was finally ended, by the resolution of the Council of Officers to invite the surviving Members of the Long Parliament, who had continued sitting till the twentieth of April, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust (m).

(m) Ibid. p. 340—369.

There were not wanting those who advised Richard to support himself in his dignity by sanguinary measures. They wished him to determine, without scruple, to cut off the men who aimed at depriving him of Sovereignty. But neither his moral principles nor his disposition would permit him to retain power at the expence of blood. There is a dialogue upon record, which is said to have passed, on this occasion, between Richard and Colonel Howard; and which is so curious, that it shall be inserted below [D]. At the

[D] And which is so curious, that it shall be inserted below.] The account is as follows: "When Colonel Howard perceived that nothing but vigorous measures could secure Richard in his Protectorate, from the treachery and ambition of Fleetwood and his other relations, the grandees of the army, he thus addressed him: "'Tis time to look about you; Empire and Command are now the question: your person, your life is in peril; you are the son of Cromwell, shew yourself worthy to be his son."

VOL. IV.

"This business requires a bold stroke, and must be supported by a good head. Do not suffer yourself to be daunted now, and my head shall answer for the consequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Vane, are the contrivers of all this: I will rid you of them; do you stand by me, and only back my zeal for your honour with your name. The necessity of preserving yourself, dispenses with the severe laws of justice. If this is not done, the army will be against you, and you are infallibly ruined."

6 U

the close of the dialogue it is subjoined, that it is just such a conference as we may suppose to have passed between King Henry the sixth and Queen Margaret. From whomsoever this remark proceeded, we are free to declare that it doth not meet with our approbation. There is a contempt of Richard implied in it, to which we think his conduct is not entitled, and which does not indicate the most exact moral discernment. Surely in the eye of true virtue, it must ever be judged laudable, rather to give up the gratifications of ambition, than to attain them by the perpetration of slaughter and murder. We are persuaded at the same time, that Richard's behaviour was as wise as it was just. If he had followed Colonel-Howard's advice, and had ventured to put to death men who stood in the nearest relation to his family, there is not the least probability that he could have secured to himself the permanency of Sovereign power. The bent of the times was against it; the late ill patched frame of Government was growing generally detestable; and people of all ranks, and of very different parties, began anxiously to look for a more settled state of things, in the restoration of the King. It has been thought, with no small appearance of reason, that if Oliver himself had lived much longer, he would not have been able, notwithstanding his extraordinary sagacity, and venturesome spirit, to have maintained his usurped greatness. Far less likely, therefore, was it that his son would have been capable of retaining the Sovereignty of this country, even though he had been wicked enough to have adopted the measures proposed by Colonel Howard.

There are but few occurrences, during Richard's Administration, that relate personally to himself. The principal one, is the danger he was exposed to by a fall from his horse, as he was taking his favourite diversion of hunting. Through excess of eagerness in the sport, he outrode his retinue; and his horse, either from restiveness, or leaping short, threw him into a ditch, from which he was extricated by a countryman before his guards could come up. This is said to have been the only time in which the good-humoured Sovereign was ever displeased with his attendants (n).

No sooner were the Republicans possessed of Government, than they sent to desire Richard to quit the Palace of Whitehall, as not thinking it safe that one who had been invested with Sovereignty should continue in the residence of the ancient Kings, and that too in the Metropolis. He was ordered, likewise, to surrender up his Great Seal, which he accordingly did on the fourteenth of May, when it was broken in pieces. At first he entertained thoughts of flying; but Fleetwood, whom he acquainted with his design, advised him to remain; assuring him that there was no intention of taking away his life, and that a fortune would be settled upon him adequate to his moderate wishes. This might occasion his continuing still at Whitehall, which displeasing the Parliament, the former order to leave it was renewed on the twenty-first of May; but to sweeten the message, the Lord-Chief-Justice St. John, and another Gentleman, were commissioned to promise, that, upon his compliance, provision should be made for the payment of his debts, and an honourable subsistence be procured for himself and family. Upon this he sent a submission in writing, declaring his free acquiescence in the change that had been made, and engaging to demean himself with all peaceableness under the present Government. His act of submission was accompanied with a schedule of his debts. The House being satisfied with this part of his conduct, agreed to the payment of his debts, upon condition that he should peaceably quit Whitehall, and dispose of himself as his private occasions required. To encourage him farther in so doing, they took him under their protection, and resolved that a Committee should be appointed to consider of the most eligible manner of settling upon him a comfortable and honourable subsistence. Richard stood at this time in need of being protected by Parliament, as he now felt all the inconveniences of the involved state of his affairs: for the creditors, to whom he was indebted on account of the pompous funeral of his father, became extremely clamorous; and one of them had the boldness to issue out a writ against him. Nay it has been asserted, that his Palace was surrounded with all the Bailiffs of Middlesex. As the House proceeded slowly in giving effect to the

(n) Noble's
Memoirs of the
Protectoral
House of Crom-
well, vol. i. p.
164.

"ruined. And you have nothing to fear: I'll take it upon myself, and be answerable for the consequences."

To this Richard replied; "Every one shall see I will do no body any harm. I never have done any, nor ever will. I shall be very much troubled if any one is injured upon my account; and instead of taking away the life of the least person in the nation for the preservation of my greatness, which is a burden to me, I would not have a drop of blood spilt." "Do you think," replies the Colonel, "this moderation of your's will repay the wrong your family has committed by its elevation?" "Every body knows that, by violence, your father procured the death of the late King, and kept his sons in banishment. If the father's crimes cry for vengeance, shall the son have them passed over in silence? Mercy in the present state is unrea-

sonable. We may shed that blood that strives to shed our's, without being blood-thirsty, or cruel. Though conscience may sometimes obstruct a Sovereign's sacrificing an innocent person to his ambition, it does not oppose his executing a criminal for his own safety. Lay aside this pusillanimity so unbecoming the successor of Cromwell. Be quick, for every moment is precious. Consider your enemies spend this time in acting, which we waste in consulting." But, instead of rousing his resentment against his perfidious relations, he returned his thanks for the Colonel's zeal, and said, "talk no more of it, my resolution is fixed. Violent counsels suit not with me; and all you can persuade me to by what you now give, is, that it proceeds from true friendship, for which I am thankful (4)."

(4) Noble's
Memoirs of the
Protectoral
House of Crom-
well, vol. i. p.
P. 330—332.

redress

redress and provision which had been voted in Richard Cromwell's favour, he still remained at Whitehall; and when, at length, he was obliged to leave it in consequence of a resolution that it should be cleared in six days of all persons whomsoever, excepting such as should be allowed by Parliament, he did not retire to his Seat at Hursley, but went to the Palace of Hampton Court, where he resided for some time. The alarm occasioned by this step was productive of consequences that might have been very advantageous to him, had not the subsequent changes prevented all farther transactions relative to him and his affairs (o).

(o) *Ibid.* p. 164
—168.

During the sitting of the Long Parliament, and through the frequent revolutions that followed, Richard continued totally inactive. Some, indeed, who had less to fear from his Restoration than from that of his Majesty, wished to see him Protector again. This is understood to have been especially the case with regard to Lambert, who is represented as having strongly solicited Colonel Ingoldsby to join with him in the business. But the Colonel was convinced that any such attempt was now too late; besides which, he had already made his peace with the King. On the meeting of the healing Parliament Richard Cromwell retired to Hursley; and, on the very day in which Charles the Second's return was voted, he resigned the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford. The resignation is expressed in terms which do honour to his understanding and his disposition. It was as follows:

“ For the Vice-Chancellor and Convention of the University of Oxford.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I shall always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you in your free election of me to the office of your Chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But since the All-wise Providence of God, (which I desire always to adore, and bow down unto) has been pleased to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office, I thought I should not be faithful to you, if I did not resign it up into your hands, that you might have opportunity to choose some other person, who, in the present state of things, may be more fit and able to serve you. I do hereupon most freely resign and give up all my right and interest in that office; but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity; that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still abide flourishing and fruitful.

“ Gentlemen,

“ HURSLEY,
“ May 8, 1660.

“ Your affectionate friend and servant,

R. CROMWELL (p).”

(p) *Ibid.* p. 168,
169. 339.

As Richard was sensible how obnoxious he must be to a Monarch who was come home to take possession of the kingdoms which for so many years had been withheld from him, and the Sovereignty of which had been occupied by the Cromwells, he judged it prudent to retire to the Continent. It is remarkable that his name was not mentioned in either House of Parliament; and Lord Clarendon asserts, that he fled “ more for fear of his debts than of the King; who thought it not necessary to enquire after a man so long forgotten.” He transported himself to France, and, according to the same author, resided some years at Paris, “ untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his name, nor having above one servant to attend him.” When there happened to be a rumour and apprehension that a war was likely to fall out between England and France, Richard determined to quit that country, and to remove to some neutral place. The city he pitched upon was Geneva, to which he made his way by Bourdeaux, and through the Province of Languedoc. In the course of his journey he came to Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the Prince of Conti, who had a handsome Palace there, at which he then resided, being at that time the Governor of the Province. “ In this place,” says Lord Clarendon, “ Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with a view of the situation, and the many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's, and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, that all strangers who came to that town, used to wait upon the Prince of Conti, the Governor of the Province, who expected it, and always treated strangers, and particularly the English, with much civility: that he need not be known, but that he himself would first go to the Prince, and inform him, that another English Gentleman was passing through that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hand. The Prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after a few words, began to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. “ Well,” said the Prince, “ Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great
“ courage,

(q) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars of England, vol. iii. Part 2nd, page 662, 663.

"courage, and was worthy to command; but that Richard, that coxcomb, *coquin*, *pot-tron*, was surely the basest fellow alive. What is become of that fool? How was it possible he could be such a sot?" He answered, that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father;" so being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the Prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the King's restoration (q)." This pleasant story has been taken notice of by several writers; and some have made remarks upon it that are favourable to Richard Cromwell. After what has been already said in his vindication, we shall only observe, that the Prince of Conti appears to have been a man who did not think that scruples should hinder any person from resolving to wade through blood and slaughter to a throne.

Richard did not continue long at Geneva. The alarm which occasioned his leaving France proving groundless, he returned to that country; where he resided (with the exception of another short interval spent at Geneva, and for the same reason) till about the year 1680. At this time, having overcome his pecuniary difficulties, and knowing the unpopularity of the Court, he ventured to return to England. The place which he fixed upon for his residence was Chesshunt in Hertfordshire, a village within twelve miles of London. Here he lived under the name of Richard Clark, Esq; and was little known, excepting by a few select friends. But though he courted privacy and retirement, he did not abstain from social intercourse; making occasional visits to his acquaintance, to the most intimate of whom he cautiously avoided speaking of his former elevation. Dr. Watts, who had frequently been in his company, used to say, that he never knew him glance at his former station above once, and that in a very distant manner (r).

It might have been expected that Richard had now weathered every storm, and that he would have descended to the grave in peace. This, however, was not the case. In 1705, he lost his only son, Oliver, who died on the eleventh of May, having never married. By this event Richard became entitled to a life estate in the Manor of Hursley, which, having been part of his wife's jointure, had devolved to Oliver, in right of his mother. In consequence of his son's decease, the old Gentleman sent his youngest daughter to take possession of the estate; which she accordingly did; but not, it seems, with a view of surrendering it to her father. She and her sisters, it is said, forgetting their duty, and even the dictates of humanity, refused to give it up to him; alledging that he was superannuated, and proposing to allow him a small yearly sum. This conduct was the more criminal, as he had ever been very fond of his children, and had treated them with the greatest tenderness and affection. The advanced age of Richard did not prevent him from behaving, on the present occasion, with a becoming spirit. He scorned to submit to the award of his daughters, and a process at law was the consequence. As he was obliged to appear in person in court, his sister, Lady Fauconberg, sent her coach and equipage, to conduct him thither. When he came, the judge, remembering his former elevation, conducted him into an apartment where refreshments were provided for him; and, on his being brought into court, ordered that he should be accommodated with a chair, and that he should sit covered. One of the Counsel on the other side seeming disposed to object to this indulgence, the liberal minded magistrate immediately replied, "I will allow of no reflections to be made, but that you go to the merits of the cause." In conclusion, a decree was given in favour of Richard, accompanied with some severe strictures on the shameful treatment he had received from his daughters. It is understood that the Judge was commended by Queen Anne, for the proper attention he had shewn to a man who had once been a Sovereign. The principal Counsellor retained by Richard was Thomas Pengelly, Esq; who, in the reign of George the First, became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. This Gentleman exerted himself with uncommon zeal in favour of his Client, and was much approved for his conduct in the affair. There was, at that time, a prevalent report, that he was the natural son of his employer. However this may have been; it is certain that a great friendship subsisted between Richard Cromwell and Mrs. Pengelly the mother of the Counsellor [E]. As the old Gentleman was going from Westminster Hall, his curiosity led him to visit the House of Peers. Being asked there, by a person, to whom he was a stranger, if he had ever heard or seen any thing like it before, he replied, "never since I sat in that Chair," pointing to the Throne (s).

(r) Noble's Memoirs, *ubi supra*, p. 172, 173.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 173 —175.

[E] It is certain that great friendship subsisted between Richard Cromwell and Mrs. Pengelly, the mother of the Counsellor.] The report of Sir Thomas Pengelly's having been the natural son of Richard, is confirmed by Lord Egmont, in his manuscript collections. It has been enquired who the Judge was that behaved with so much respect to the former protector. According to the Earl of Egmont and Mr. Hewling Luson, it was the Lord Chancellor Cowper.

Mr. Granger says, that it was the Lord Chief Justice Holt. The question depends upon the court in which the cause was tried. If the trial was at the King's Bench, Holt was the Judge; if in the Court of Chancery, it must have been Lord Cowper. Cowper presided in the Court of Chancery, from the 11th of October, 1705, to the 25th of September, 1710. We mention this circumstance, because it has been mistaken by Mr. Noble (5).

(5) Granger, vol. iii. p. 14. Hughes's Letters, vol. ii. App. p. 52, 53. Cowper's Article in this volume.

Richard

Richard Cromwell enjoyed a good state of health to the latest period of his life; and his activity was so great, that at fourscore, he would gallop his horse for several miles together. In his last illness, and just before his departure, he said to his daughters, "Live in love, I am going to the God of Love." His decease took place on the 12th of July, 1712, in the eighty sixth year of his age. It is somewhat uncertain whether Cheshunt or Theobalds was the place of his death; but the general account is, that he died at Cheshunt, at the House of Serjeant Pengelly. His remains were conducted with considerable funeral pomp, to Hursley, and deposited in the Chancel of that Church, near to those of his Lady. In his last will, which was made on the first of July, being no more than twelve days before his decease, he remembered several of his acquaintance; and, among the rest, he bequeathed to his good friend Mrs. Rachael Pengelly, "the little picture with the gold chain." His sister Mary, Countess of Fauconberg, was appointed his executrix. It is observable that his daughters are not named in the will. Perhaps he had but a small personal fortune, and he knew that they would succeed of course to the estate of Hursley, which was an ample patrimony. Had he possessed ever so much, their conduct gave them no title to be particularly distinguished (t).

Very unfavourable, and, in our opinion, very unjust accounts have been given, by the generality of writers, of Richard Cromwell's abilities. Such accounts seem to have originated, in a great measure, from a secret contempt which has been entertained of him because he would not support his illegal power by plunging into the deepest iniquity. That he had a good understanding we trust has already been sufficiently evinced: and though he cannot be said to have been of an enterprising temper, he could behave with spirit on proper occasions. When the army deserted him, excepting one troop of horse, seeing Whalley's regiment also filing off, he opened his breast, and desired them to put an end at once to his misfortunes and his life. At the time in which Fleetwood, Desborough, and others, endeavoured to persuade him to dissolve his Parliament, and even proceeded so far as to threaten him if he did not adopt that measure, he withstood all their arguments, menaces, and solicitations until the next morning, though he had no person near to support him in the contest, besides Secretary Thurloe. A pleasant magnanimity was displayed by him on his quitting Whitehall. Having given strict orders to his servants to be very careful of two old trunks which stood in his wardrobe, a friend, who was with him, asked him the reason of his particular solicitude about them. "Why," replied he, "they contain no less than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England." The trunks were filled with the addresses which had been presented to him, from every part of the kingdom, on his accession to power, and in which the addressers promised to support him at the expence of all that was near and dear to them. These addresses he always carefully preserved [F]. The general practice of addressing commenced on Richard's succeeding to the Protectorate (u). It was unfortunate in its origin; but has been wide in its example. The extent to which it has since been carried, sometimes as an engine of policy, sometimes as the effervescence of public spirit, and sometimes as the effect of genuine loyalty, cannot be unknown to our readers.

Richard Cromwell was represented by the Republicans as a man of little religion; one cause of which was, his reply to an inferior officer, who had publicly murmured at the advancement of some Cavaliers, and was taken to Whitehall to answer the charge. "What," said the Protector, in a deriding manner, "would you have me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsbey, who can neither pray nor preach; and yet I will trust him before you all." This, however, only implies that he was aware of the hypocrisy and cant of the times. In a letter which was written, in 1659, to John Winthorpe, Esq; Governor of Connecticut, in New England, he is described as a very worthy person indeed, of an engaging nature, and religious disposition, paying great respect to the best of men, ministers, and others. In the latter part of his life he attended divine worship regularly every Sunday. Mr. Neal, who says that Richard in his early years had not the zeal for religion, which was then fashionable, has testified that he was a man

[F] *These addresses be always preserved.* A curious anecdote on this subject was related to the late Rev. George North, Vicar of Codicote, near Welwyn, Herts, by two persons who conversed with Richard in the last years of his life, at Cheshunt. None were admitted to visit him, but such as had strong recommendations from some of his intimate acquaintance, as being men of an agreeable and cheerful conversation, and of strict honour. One of the two persons just mentioned, who lived at Ware, was recommended under this character, and introduced to him, with an admonition to conform to the old Gentleman's peculiarities, without asking any questions, or seeming to make observations. After an hour or two had been spent in conversation, and in drinking, Richard started up, took the candle, and was followed by the rest of the company, (who all,

excepting the last admitted man, knew what was going forward) carrying the bottle and the glasses into a dirty garret, where was nothing but a round hair trunk. This Mr. Cromwell pulled out to the middle of the room, and calling for a bumper of wine, drank prosperity to old England. The company did the same, when the new guest was called to do so, sitting astride on the trunk, as all of them had done. Richard desired him to sit light, as he had no less under him than the lives and fortunes of all the good people of England. The trunk was then opened, and the original addresses shewed him with great mirth and laughter. Such was Richard's method of initiating a new acquaintance (6). This anecdote was communicated to Mr. Noble by Dr. Lort, to whom several Biographers, and ourselves in particular, are so greatly indebted.

(t) Noble's
Memoirs, ubi
supra, p. 176,
177.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 179
—181.

(6) Noble's
Memoirs, ubi
supra, p. 181,
182.

of great gravity and real piety. However, even in old age, he was so far from being an austere person, that he often gave way to innocent pleasantries. He possessed many amiable qualifications, and was much beloved by his friends, with some of whom he kept up a correspondence to his death. Mr. Howe, Mr. White, and Mr. Penn, were in the number of his correspondents. The first of these had been his domestic Chaplain; and when that Gentleman was upon his death-bed, Richard went to pay him a respectful visit, and to take a last farewell of him. It is said that tears were shed on both sides, and that the parting was very solemn. From various testimonies it appears, that Mr. Cromwell was highly esteemed in his neighbourhood; that there was no kind of blemish upon his character; that he was a perfect Gentleman in his behaviour; and was well acquainted with public affairs (*w*).

(*w*) Noble's
Mem. ubi supra,
p. 182—184.
Neal's Hist. of
the Puritans,
vol. iv. p. 260.

It is somewhat extraordinary that there is no coin or medal of Richard Cromwell. His Great Seal was cut by the inimitable Simon, and has been engraved by Vertue. Some pictures of him are in the possession of different persons; and there are several prints of him, executed by various hands. Concerning his wife Dorothy, very little is known. So far she has been happy, that amongst the illiberal things that have been levelled against the Protectoral House of Cromwell, her character is almost the only one that scandal has left untouched. It is thought she never saw her husband after he retired to France. She was married at Hursley, on the first of May, 1649; and died on the fifth of January, 1675-6, in the forty-ninth year of her age. The character given of her is, that "she was a prudent, godly, practical Christian (*x*)."] K.

(*x*) Noble's
Mem. ubi supra,
p. 185—188.
To the same
work, p. 189—
196, we refer for
an account of
Richard Crom-
well's children.

* * [CROMWELL (HENRY), the youngest surviving son of the Protector Oliver, and, for a short time, Lord Deputy and Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland, was born at Huntingdon on the twentieth of January, 1627-28, and baptized at the Church of All Saints in that town, on the twenty-ninth of the same month. His education, together with that of his brothers, was finished at Felsted School, in the county of Essex. Being of a military disposition, his father placed him in the army of the Parliament at the age of sixteen; and, in 1647, when he had not completed his twentieth year, he had risen to be Captain of the General Sir Thomas Fairfax's Life Guard. In August, 1649, he accompanied Oliver into Ireland, to quell the Roman-catholic Rebellion, having, at that time, attained to the rank of a Colonel. Whilst he was in this service, he made an attack, in conjunction with Lord Broghill, upon the quarters of the enemy, in which a hundred and sixty of them were killed. At the same time, a hundred and twenty foot, with their officers, and a hundred and fifty gallant horse, were taken prisoners. This action took place in April, 1650; and in the following year Henry Cromwell assisted at the siege of Limerick. When the little, or Barebones Parliament, as it was called, assembled, in 1653, he was returned one of the representatives for the kingdom of Ireland. In the same year he was sent again into that Island, for the purpose of examining its condition, of discovering the temper of the people, and of reconciling them to the government of his father. This was a delicate and difficult task; but he performed it with admirable wisdom and discretion. The ruling powers, at that time, were the zealous Republicans. With regard to these men, Henry Cromwell found, or thought he found, that they had taken more care of themselves than of the people; and that they were so much in love with their power and places, that it would be improper to permit them any longer to retain important situations in the kingdom. Upon Ludlow, one of the most steady and determined amongst them, he could make no impression. That high spirited Gentleman preserved the consistency of his principles, and would not stoop to promise subjection to the government of a man whom he looked upon as an usurper, and a betrayer of the cause for which they had so long been fighting. The Protector, who was well acquainted with the jealous temper of the Republicans, and knew that they would be offended if his son affected state and grandeur in his manner of coming to Ireland, sent him without any other title than plain Henry Cromwell, and he was attended only by one servant. However, even the Common-wealth party thought proper to receive him with the greatest ceremony and respect. As he landed near Ludlow's country seat, that Commander sent his coach to conduct him thither; and here he was met by his brother-in-law Fleetwood, who, with several other persons of rank, came with their carriages, and conveyed him with due solemnity to Dublin. Such was Henry Cromwell's behaviour in this visit to Ireland, that he was highly valued by the people in general of that country; nor was the estimation he was held in confined to that kingdom, but extended to England. When, on his return, he arrived at Chester, many of the Gentlemen who had distinguished themselves in favour of Charles the First, waited upon him to testify their regard to his character; and, among the rest, a Colonel Mossion, who had been an officer in the King's army. In this interview, the Colonel having asked Henry how he left Ireland, he replied, "very well, only some who are in love with their power must be removed." Henry afterwards manifested his gratitude for the civilities he had repeatedly received from that Gentleman, by strongly, and we may suppose effectually interceding for his enlargement, when, in 1658, he was secured, together with some other

other Cavaliers, who had fought during the civil war, in his Majesty's service (a).

Soon after Henry Cromwell had returned to England, in 1653, he married a daughter of Sir Francis Russel, Bart. and for some time chiefly resided at Whitehall. Part of 1654 was spent by him at his father-in-law's seat, at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire; and in this year he was appointed one of the Visitors who were sent by the Protector to the University of Cambridge. In the same year he was chosen one of the Representatives in Parliament for that University. In 1655, he was again sent into Ireland, though with no other commission than that of Major General, to prevent the Governors of that kingdom, and Fleetwood in particular, from being disgusted. When he came to Chester, he remained there from the second of June to the twenty-third of the same month; and on that day he dispatched a letter to Thurloe, Secretary of State, acquainting him, that he had been treated, both by the country in his journey, and by the city where he then was, with a great deal of respect. From Chester he went to Holyhead, where he arrived on the fifth of July. Here he was much concerned to find that there were only two Ministers in the whole Island of Anglesea; and he requested that an order might be made to increase the number of clergy in that country. During some time which he spent in these western parts of the kingdom, he was constantly treated with every mark of esteem, and particularly by the Cavaliers. This did not appear a little criminal in the eyes of Ludlow, especially as Henry Cromwell was again entertained at Colonel Mossion's in North Wales, where the said Colonel drank the Protector's health. The same author was far from being pleased with the welcome reception which Henry met with on his return to Ireland. "Upon his arrival," says Ludlow, "in the Bay of Dublin, the men of war that accompanied him, and other ships in the harbour, rung such a peal with their cannon, as if some great good news had been coming to us; and though the usual place of landing for those who come in ships of war was near my house, yet he and his company went up in boats to the rings end, where they went ashore, and were met there by most of the officers, civil and military, about town (b)."

Great caution and secrecy were used by Henry Cromwell, for some time, to cover the real business on which he was sent; and it was at first thought that he only came over to command the army as Major-General, under Lieutenant-General Fleetwood. But by degrees his designs became more and more apparent. At length, when he found that it would be impossible any longer to curb the spirit of the Republicans, who were secretly supported by Fleetwood, he produced a commission by which he was constituted Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and Commander in Chief in that kingdom. However, to qualify what it was known would be distasteful to many persons, others were joined with him in the administration of civil affairs. But nothing could reconcile the minds of the officers of the army. As they had long been accustomed to oppress the natives, and to advance their own fortunes by the confiscation of the estates of the Irish, they were far from approving the government of one who was likely to put a stop to their excesses. Besides this, Henry did not view their political sentiments in the most favourable light. He wished, by moderation and condescension, to unite the whole kingdom, and to conciliate the affections of the different parties to each other. To frustrate, therefore, his designs, the officers had the boldness to petition the Protector to restore their old Chief Governor, Fleetwood, who coincided with them in their principles, and whose weak understanding they could easily render subservient to their projects. In this crisis Henry conducted himself with no small degree of prudence and address. The petition of the officers was counteracted by another of the opposite party in favour of the new Lord Deputy; and in a letter from the Church of Dublin, to Oliver, signed by many of the Ministers, an entire approbation is given of his son's conduct; for his equal justice; his mercy to the poor; his charity to all good men, though different in religious sentiments; and for the respect and reverence he shewed for religion. Indeed, Henry Cromwell, by the liberal and equitable spirit of his administration, by his impartiality and benevolence, soon reconciled the Irish to their Governor. Though the nation was depopulated and exhausted, and, at the same time, oppressed with assessments; though the military establishment could not be supported, and the partiality of Oliver to the officers who had espoused his cause, prevented any scheme of a reduction; though his grants to particular creatures impoverished the revenue; and though in consequence of the other urgent concerns of the Protector, the affairs of Ireland were sometimes totally neglected; amidst all these difficulties, Henry acted with so much skill and vigour for the public welfare, that the country was in a far more happy and prosperous condition than it had been for a long series of years. His father said, that his son was a Governor from whom he himself might learn. So firmly did the Lord Deputy establish his authority in the hearts of a people, who were ingenuous enough to acknowledge the merits of his administration, that they were entirely reconciled to the interests of Oliver. When a petition was sent to Oliver from the officers of his own regiment, avowing their dissatisfaction with his son's Government, addresses were transmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expressing their resolution of adhering to the Protector against all those whose particular animosities endeavoured to re-embroil the public. But notwithstanding these

(a) Noble's
Memoirs of the
Protectoral
House of Crom-
well, vol. i. p.
197—199.

(b) Nobles's
Mem. ubi supra,
p. 199—201.
Ludlow's Mem.
vol. iii. p. 534.

flattering

flattering testimonies in Henry's favour, and the esteem which he, in general, acquired by his wife and zealous measures for the common benefit, he was surrounded with so many embarrassments, that his letters are full of complaints; and he declared his wish to Secretary Thurloe, that he might be permitted to lay down his office, and retire to a private life (c).

(c) Noble, *ubi supra*, p. 201—206.
Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 401.

On the death of his father, with which event Henry appears to have been deeply affected, he took care to have his brother Richard's accession to the Protectorate proclaimed and acknowledged with all due solemnity in Ireland; and the same assurances of support were renewed to the new Sovereign, which had been given to Oliver. The satisfaction and joy in Ireland, upon the occasion, was as general and as great as they had been in England. There is no doubt but that Henry contributed principally to this; not only by his power as Governor, but by the influence arising from the popularity of his character. He was, indeed, very zealous for the interests of his brother, which he displayed, among other instances, in giving such advice to him and to Fleetwood, as reflects no small credit upon the soundness of his own understanding, and the goodness of his heart [A]. His Commission to the Government of Ireland was now renewed under the title of Lord-Lieutenant. However, it was an addition of honour only, and not of advantage, that was gained by this title. On the contrary, the new commission was so modified by the Privy Council, and contained so many restrictions and limitations, that Henry had much reason to be dissatisfied. When the Intelligence was brought of the dissolution of Richard's Parliament, and the intrigues at Wallingford-House, the Lord-Lieutenant exerted him-

[A] *As reflects no small credit upon the soundness of his understanding, and the goodness of his heart.* What is asserted above will be confirmed by two letters which have been preserved by Mr Neal, in his history of the Puritans; the first written to Richard, the second to Fleetwood. They are as follows:

"In his letter of October 20, 1658, he says, if the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I confess it is no more than I looked for; only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their respective charges; but as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither stem it, nor come to an anchor, but must be content to go adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know ambition, and affectation of empire never had any bounds. I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine day's wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubtful whether sober men will venture to embark themselves when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections.—I am almost afraid to come over to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no question but all the letters will be opened that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your councils.

"I remain, yours, &c.

"H. C."

"Dear Brother,

"I received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray give me leave to expostulate with you; how came these two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, their being absent from their charge without license would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with his highness's privity? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition; but, dear brother, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late highness at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause

which had long lain asleep. I thought my father had pursued it to the last. He died, praying for those that desired to trample on his dust. Let us then not render evil for good, and make his memory stink before he is under ground. Let us remember his last legacy, and for his sake render his successor considerable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do these things tend? What a hurly-burly is there? One hundred independent ministers called together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a regiment. Remember what has always befallen imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing independent, or anabaptist, be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate, or presbyter? And is it a dangerous opinion, that *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a sound principle when it is held by the fifth monarchy men. Dear brother, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried, that all the people of God, though under different forms; yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not become the magistrate to descend into parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can these things be done, and the world not think his highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits? Dear brother, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable state of the innocent people of these nations: what have these sheep done that their blood should be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late highness loved you; how he honoured you with the highest trust, by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us. And his declaring his highness his successor, shews, that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. O brother! use it to curb extravagant spirits, and busy-bodies, but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother, you must pardon me, if I say God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your doors. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend, and a good subject. And the great God, in whose presence I speak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you. And you may rest assured, that you shall always find me,

"Your true friend, and loving brother,

"H. C. (1)."

(1) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. iv. p. 212—214.

self with peculiar vigour to support the tottering power of his brother; and on the restoration of the Rump Parliament, he laboured to prevent the disorders which might arise from so sudden a revolution. A proclamation was issued by him to preserve the peace; and after a consultation with his officers, he sent agents to the Council of State in England, with proposals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland. These proposals being referred to the Parliament, some ordinances were made for the benefit of the adventurers and soldiers; and at the same time it was resolved, that the country should again be put into the hands of Commissioners; that Henry Cromwell should be recalled; and that Ludlow should be appointed to command the forces of the Commonwealth in that kingdom. Henry had already declared to Fleetwood, "that, although he could not promise so much affection to the late changes as others very honestly might, because he could not promote any thing which inferred a diminution of his late father's honour and merit, yet he had such a tenderness for peace as to be content with the present Government; and, therefore he thought it his duty to prevent those fears and jealousies which might give occasion to interrupt the public peace, by resigning his charge to any one whom they should send to receive it." The new Commissioners were either not acquainted with his sentiments, or suspected his sincerity. They were sensible, at the same time, of his abilities, his popularity, and his power in Ireland; and hence were led to imagine that he would retain his authority by force. Their fears in this respect were groundless: for when Sir Hardress Waller was employed to surprize the Castle of Dublin, he was admitted without the least opposition, and Henry Cromwell retired to a House in Phoenix Park. He had administered the government with so great a disregard to his private interest, that he could not immediately command as much money as would be sufficient to defray the expenses of his voyage to England. Indeed, such was the integrity of his disposition, that, in a letter to his brother, he could say, "I will rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it (d)."

After Henry Cromwell had arrived in England, and waited on the Parliament, he retired into the country, where he continued without taking any part in the various succeeding revolutions. He probably thought himself happy in quitting a station, which, though elevated and splendid, had been exposed to so many difficulties that it never afforded him any satisfaction. It is understood, that he was far from being displeased with his Majesty's restoration. When that event happened, he was not only included in the Act of Indemnity, but appears to have received some mark of favour from the King, of which he expressed a very grateful sense, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, through whose interposition the benefit was obtained [B]. For some years Henry Cromwell resided with his father and brother-in-law, Sir Francis and Sir John Russel; after which he removed to his estate at Spinney Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, a very retired situation. In the house belonging to this estate, which was worth between five and six hundred pounds a year, he spent the remainder of his days, descending from the toilsome grandeur of governing men, to the humble and happy occupation of husbandry. There is a tradition that he was once honoured with a visit from King Charles the Second, when his Majesty was returning from Newmarket [C].

(d) Leland, *ubi supra*, p. 401—403.
Noble, *ubi supra*, p. 206—210.
Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 211.

The

[B] *Of which he expressed a very grateful sense, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, through whose interposition the benefit was obtained.* It may be acceptable to our readers to see a copy of the letter.

"May it please your lordship,

"When the declaration was framing, I did abhor to bee so unreasonable as to seeke any particular provision for myself in it; but when I saw myself secured by the multitude, and when his majesty by his special letters and promises declared, that though I had indeed escaped in the crowd, yet that hee had a particular mercy for mee; and when I saw hee could not be prevailed upon to unsettle others, who perhaps (abating my name) were greater offenders, I did then presume to insist upon that his mercy; nor could I believe (with some) that my soe doing was dishonorable unto his majesty. And your lordship (being above making an interest by trampling upon the fallen, or by being bitter against things that come to pass by God's secret providence) have most nobly and christianly patronized me in it, even to successe; and for this, in a few words. I give your lordship my eternall thanks and prayers.

"I might, perhaps, have better expressed these my sentiments some other way; yet I have presumed to doe it thus, by a letter, that there may remayne a testimony of infamy upon mee, if ever I abuse the admirable mercy I have found, either by future disloyalty to his majesty, or ingratitude to your lordship. And I wish your lordship would add one favour

VOL. IV.

more, which is to assure his most excellent majesty, and his royal highnes (how hard, or needles soever it be to beleieve me) that few can wish their royall persons, family, or interest, more prosperity and establishment, then doth,

"may it please your lordship,
"your lordship's most obedient, most humble,
"and most obliged servant,

April 9, 1662.

"H. CROMWELL (2)."

[C] *There is a tradition that he once was honoured with a visit from King Charles the Second, when his Majesty was returning from Newmarket.* The story, as related by Mr. Noble, we shall give in his own words.

"In this employment (husbandry) he was discovered by his Sovereign King Charles the Second, who, in returning from Newmarket, in the month of September, 1671, expressing his wish to call at some house and take refreshment, Lord Inchiquin, Henry's brother-in-law, then with his Majesty, observed, that there was a very honest Gentleman in the neighbourhood, that would think it an honour to entertain his Majesty, which the King was pleased with, and desired him to conduct them to his friend's seat. When they came into the farm-yard (which led to the house) his Lordship, taking up a muck-fork, and throwing it over his shoulder, went before Mr. Cromwell, who was then in the yard, and wondering at so large a company's coming so unexpectedly upon him, and still more at

6 Y

"this

(2) Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 347, 348.

The death of Henry Cromwell was occasioned by that dreadful disorder, the stone. His Majesty being informed of his illness by the Earl of Suffolk, expressed his regard for him, enquired into the particulars of his complaint, and recommended that certain drops should be given him, of which the King, who had a chemical turn, entertained a high opinion. It was on the twenty-third of March, 1673-74, that Henry departed this life, and in the forty-seventh year of his age. Two days after his decease, he was buried within the Communion-Rails of Wicken-Church, close to his mother. After the Restoration, he conformed to the Church of England, and died in that Communion. This, however, did not prevent his retaining a great regard for the Nonconformists. To Richard Parr, M. A. the ejected Vicar of Chippenham, he afforded a seasonable assylum; and it is certain that most, if not all, of his descendants continued among the Protestant Dissenters. The testimonies to the excellence of Henry Cromwell's character are numerous and decisive. Dr. Leland says, that he was penetrating, just, and generous. Mr. Neal declares, that he was a wise and discreet Governor; that, by his prudent conduct, he kept the Irish in awe; that he brought that nation into a flourishing condition; and that he behaved with such a generous impartiality, as gained him the esteem even of the Royalists themselves. Cardinal Mazarine acknowledged, that he admired him very much. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, in a letter to him, said, "You may have many who love his Highness's son, but I love Henry Cromwell, were he naked, without all those glorious additions and titles, which, however, I pray may continue and be increased on you." And the late Arthur Onslow, Esq; so long Speaker of the House of Commons, than whom no one was a better judge of characters, was of opinion, "that he was truly a great man, and might pass for a great man in those great days (e)." It is remarkable, that there is no engraved portrait or medal of so eminent a person. Oliver Cromwell, Esq; of Essex-street, in the Strand, the sole male-descendant of the family now living, has an original picture of him; the only one, he thinks, that is known (f). Mr. Noble, however, has mentioned others. Elizabeth, Henry's Lady, was a woman of exemplary conduct, and elegant manners. She is said to be still remembered in the neighbourhood, by the appellation of the good Lady Cromwell. It is related, that, before her marriage, she had a dislike to the Protector Oliver; but that, upon her union with the family, all her prejudice was removed, and changed into a very affectionate esteem for her father-in-law, as the most amiable of parents. She survived her husband some years; and dying on the seventh of April, 1687, at the age of fifty-two, was buried close to him, in the Church of Wicken (g). For an account of Henry Cromwell's posterity, we refer, as before, to Dr. Gibbons, to Hughes's Letters, to the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, and to Mr. Noble.

"Thus," says the author to whom we have so often referred, "the Protectorate House of Cromwell may not be improperly represented as a river, which taking its rise in the mountains of Wales, continued long in that Principality; when gently gliding down the hills of Glamorganshire, and meandering through various countries, it arrived at the Imperial Thames; where, having gained great strength, and enlarged its bounds, it changed its ancient name, and turning its course North-East, rolled on into Huntingdonshire, where it loitered a considerable time and divided itself into various branches. One of the least of them suddenly bursting its banks, swelled itself into a tremendous river, which not only swallowed up the main stream, but at length overflowed three mighty nations; and by its rapidity, and dreadful violence, spread terror throughout the globe; when it as silently, and suddenly, returned to far less than its original limits; leaving, however, many noble branches behind it. Ever since it has softly murmured on towards the South; where, instead of its former boundless current, it is now only admirable for the clearness and goodness of its stream (h).]"

K. (h) Noble, *ubi supra*, p.

"this ceremony of the muck-fork. Nor was the King without his surprize. What, says his Majesty of Fun, is the reason of this? "Why, Sire, says the muck-fork bearer, this Gentleman, before whom I carry this instrument of husbandry, is Mr. Henry Cromwell, to whom I had the honour of being mace-bearer, when he was in Ireland. Charles laughed, poor Mr. Cromwell was confounded; but the ease of the Sovereign dissipated all disquietude. The hungry company were treated with what the hospitable Henry had, and they departed with good humour and pleasure on all sides (3)." Mr. Noble informs us, that this story was communicated by the Rev. Edward Turner, of Burwell, in Cambridgeshire; and adds, that he has reason to suppose that Mr. Turner is right in his relation, because he is a very curious Gentleman, resides near the place, and is some way allied to the Cromwells. Anecdotes make so admirable a figure in convivial intercourse, and are so much sought for,

and delighted in at present, that it is an unpleasing employment to weigh them in too nice a balance. Nevertheless, a regard for truth obliges us to point out the incongruities of the above story. We would ask, in the first place, how Lord Inchiquin came to be Henry's brother-in-law? No such circumstance occurs in all Mr. Noble's elaborate researches into the affinities of the Cromwell family. Secondly, was it likely that the eldest son of a Peer (for the Earl of Inchiquin's father was living at the time of Henry's administration in Ireland) should condescend to the humble office of being mace-bearer to the Lord Lieutenant? Thirdly, there is good reason to believe, that this Nobleman, at that very time, resided abroad with his father. Fourthly, it is probable that Lord Inchiquin, in September, 1671, was at Tangier, of which he was Governor. The fact, we apprehend, is, that, on some occasion or other, King Charles the Second was at Henry Cromwell's house; but the circumstances of the visit cannot now be ascertained.

(e) Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 398. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 181. Noble's Mem. *ubi supra*, p. 211—215. (f) From the information of Mr. Cromwell.

(3) Noble, *ubi supra*.

* * [CROXALL (SAMUEL), a Divine of the Church of England, and author of several ingenious productions, was born at Walton upon Thames in Surrey (a); but in what year we are unable to ascertain. He was son of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Croxall, Rector of Hanworth, Middlesex, and Vicar of Walton (b). He was educated at Eton School, and from thence was removed to St. John's College, Cambridge. It is supposed to have been while he was at the University, that he became enamoured of Mrs. Anna-Maria Mordaunt, to whom he afterwards addressed his "Fair Circassian," in a dedication, expressive of an ardent passion, but written in a very bombastic style, and with expressions that bordered on profaneness. Having early imbibed an attachment to the Whig interest, he employed his pen in favour of that party during the latter end of Queen Anne's reign; and published "Two original Cantos, in imitation of Spenser's Fairy Queen," as a satire on the Earl of Oxford's administration (c). In 1715, he addressed a Poem to the Duke of Argyle, upon his obtaining a victory over the rebels; and the same year published "The Vision," a poem, addressed to the Earl of Halifax. It was in the year 1720, that he published "The Fair Circassian [A]," in 4to. but without his name, as he was then probably in orders, and did not think it prudent openly to avow such a performance. Soon after he quitted the university, he was instituted to the Vicarage of Hampton in Middlesex (d); and in 1722, he published, "Fables of Æsop, and others, translated into English: with instructive applications [B]." This collection of fables was well received,

(a) Lives of the Poets, published under the name of Cibber, vol. v. p. 288.
(b) Ibid.

(c) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 240. edit. 1784.

(d) Ibid.

[A] *The Fair Circassian.* A small part of this poem was first printed in Steele's Miscellanies, and has been since re-printed by Mr. Nichols, in his Select Collection of Poems, vol. iv. p. 120. The Fair Circassian is a very free translation, or imitation, of Solomon's Song. As a poetical composition it has considerable merit, but it is too licentious in its tendency. The eighth edition was printed in 1765. Though Mr. Croxall published it without his name, and only as written by "a Gentleman Commoner of Oxford," yet it was some years after known to be his, and he was attacked for it with great severity by Mr. Cragg, one of the Ministers of the city of Edinburgh, who published a small volume of *Spiritual Poems*, in one of which are the following lines:

'Curfed be he that the Circassian wrote,
'Perish his fame, contempt be all his lot
'Who basely durst in execrable strains,
'Turn holy mysteries into impious scenes.'

Mr. Cragg also expressed great indignation at the author of the "Fair Circassian," for having 'prostituted his muse to the purposes of lewdness, in converting the Song of Solomon into an amorous dialogue between a king and his mistress,' and he observed, that he could not have expected 'such profanation from a Clergyman (1).'

(1) Lives of the Poets, vol. v. p. 291, 292.

It is observed in the notes to the Bible of the Messieurs of Port Royal, that Solomon's Song is a 'spiritual Epithalamium, in which Solomon, animated by the spirit of God, sings the praises of Jesus Christ, and of the Church.' Another writer, after taking notice that there have been various opinions respecting the design of Solomon's Song, remarks, that 'the most generally received is, that we are not to stick in the primary, and literal sense of this book of Solomon, and so look upon it as nothing but the fond dictates of an earthly passion; but we are to search for a secondary, and a spiritual meaning; and as the mutual affection of Christ, and his Church, is frequently in other parts of scripture described to us by the tender, and reciprocal affection of the married state, we are to consider this book as a mystical account of the spiritual espousals of Christ and the Faithful, and to explain the several parts of it by this key (2).' But it is well known that the learned Sebastian Castalio maintained, that the Song of Solomon was a profane piece, and as such ought to be left out of the canon of scripture; and others have adopted similar sentiments. It has been considered as an amorous Pastoral. The writer, who has been just quoted, says, 'We may, without any hesitation, assert, that it is of the pastoral kind. There are not, indeed, *totidem verbis*, shepherds and shepherdesses introduced in it. The personages, it must be confessed, are of a more distinguished character. But yet the scenes are entirely pastoral, and the sentiments of this piece are evidently such as are

not near so agreeable to any other way of writing. We have every where in it vineyards, flocks, flowers, birds, trees, gardens, fountains, love, beauty, simplicity, and nature. Nay all its ideas are in a manner borrowed from rural scenes. At least, there are as few instances of this rule's being transgressed, as there are in any of the ancient pastorals (3).—It is not improbable, that some of the favourers of the mystical interpretation were induced to entertain such sentiments solely by finding it among the sacred writings; from whence they but too easily agreed, that it must of necessity be explained in this allegorical manner; forasmuch as, if they did not look beyond the bare letter of it, it could not be thought to have been with any propriety ranked among the inspired volumes (4).—The Jews of the age of Solomon, out of an affectionate regard to their illustrious monarch, thought every thing of his composing ought to be preserved and given down to posterity, and as they preserved his *Proverbs* as a monument of his wisdom, and *Ecclesiastes* of his repentance, they probably chose this out of many others to be kept, as a proof of his gallantry and politeness. But Rabbins and Targumists afterwards arose in Israel, who knew not Solomon, and being fond of shewing their deep penetration, gave it a new and figurative sense, and immediately ranked it among their authentic scripture (5).'

(3) Ibid. p. 49.

(4) Ibid. p. 17.

(5) Ibid. p. 13.

The same writer also observes, that if the Song of Solomon be considered only as a mere human composition, 'the whole, and every part of it, considered only in that light, is as easy, consistent, and intelligible, as can reasonably be expected in a piece of such antiquity (6).—There are allegories in other parts of scripture; yet in the very obscurest of them there is always something to fix and ascertain the design of the author, and to assist us in investigating their meaning. But is this the case with the Song of Solomon? Is there, through the whole, any the least hint given us, that it relates to Christ, and his Church? or that the Beloved, that is spoken of, is any other, than Solomon himself; or the Fair, that is celebrated, any other than his Bride (7)?' This writer also remarks, that the name of God is never once mentioned in Solomon's Song, and that this poem is no where quoted, or referred to in the New Testament. 'A pure and heavenly flame,' says he, 'shines through every other part of the Sacred Writings; but who, without doing the greatest violence to reason, can discover, in this book, any thing but a mere earthly passion (8)?'

(6) Ibid. p. 43.

(7) Ibid. p. 18.

(8) Ibid. p. 27.

[B] *Fables of Æsop, and others, &c.* In his dedication of this collection to the young Lord Sunbury, son to the Earl of Halifax, he says, 'These fables abound in variety of instruction, moral and political. They furnish us with rules for every station of life. They mark out a proper behaviour for us, both in respect of ourselves and others; and demonstrate to us, by a kind of example, every virtue which claims our

(2) Dissertation on the Song of Solomon, 8vo. 1751, p. 7.

(e) Notes to Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, vol. vii. p. 346.
(f) Lives of the Poets, *ut supra*.

(g) *Ibid. ubi supra*, p. 293.

(i) Nichols's Notes, *ut supra*.

ed, and has been much used in schools. The ninth edition, in 12mo. was printed in 1770. Mr. Croxall also wrote all the dedications prefixed to the "Select Novels," printed for Watts in 1729 (e). He was likewise concerned, with several others, in the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, of which he performed the story of Nisus and Scylla, the Labyrinth, the funeral of Memnon, Dædalus and Icarus, part of the fable of Cyparissus, and the greatest part of the eleventh book (f). In February, 1730-31, he was instituted to the united parishes of St. Mary Somerset and St. Mary Mountshaw, in London, which he held till his death. He was also Chancellor, Prebendary, Canon Residentiary, and Portionist of the Church of Hereford, and became Doctor in Divinity. In 1732, he was appointed Chaplain to the King, and was made Archdeacon of Salop in the Diocese of Hereford; in 1734, he obtained the Vicarage of Selleck in Herefordshire; and the following year he published, in one volume, 8vo. "Scripture Politics: Being a View of the Original Constitution, and subsequent Revolutions, in the Government, religious and civil, of that People, out of whom the Saviour of the World was to arise: as it is contained in the Bible." In this work he treats of the Mosaic law, of the Holy Land, the origin of the people of Israel, their forms of government, their military affairs, and their religious rites, ceremonies, and ecclesiastical officers. It is not a performance of much erudition [C], and seems chiefly intended to render the Old Testament more easily understood by ordinary readers. In 1750, he published a poem, entitled, "The Royal Manual;" which he stated, in the preface, to be the production of Andrew Marvel; but it was supposed to have been written by himself (g). A poem, called, "Colin's Mistakes," which has been lately re-printed by Mr. Nichols (h), has also been attributed to Dr. Croxall. He is reported to have chiefly governed the Church of Hereford during the old age of Bishop Egerton; and it is said, that he pulled down an old stone chapel, adjoining to the Palace, and with the materials built part of a house for his brother, Mr. Rodney Croxall (i). Dr. Croxall died, at a very advanced age, on the 13th of February, 1752 (k).] T. (k) *Ibid.*

(h) Select Collection of Poems, vol. vii. p. 345.

* * [Besides his other preferments, Dr. Croxall was House Chaplain to the Royal Palace at Hampton Court. While he held this employment, he preached a Sermon on a public occasion, in which, under the character of a corrupt and wicked Minister of State, he was supposed to mean Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Robert had stood in his way to some ecclesiastical dignity which he wished to obtain. It was expected that the Doctor, for the offence he had given, would have been removed from his Chaplainship: but the Court over-ruled it, as he had always manifested himself to be a zealous friend to the Hanover Succession. To the list of his Poems may be added, an Ode, inscribed to King George the First, on his landing to receive the Crown (l).]

Dr. Croxall, in the course of his life, published six single Sermons. The first was preached in 1715, from John xiii. 35, and entitled, "Incendiaries no Christians;" the second in 1723, from Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19; the third in 1724, from 1 Timothy iv. 6, at the Consecration of Bishop Egerton; the fourth on the 30th of January, 1730, before the House of Commons, from Proverbs xxv. 5; the fifth in 1738, from 2 Samuel xii. 7; the title of which is, "The Royal Sin, or Adultery in a King rebuked;" and the sixth in 1741, from Psalm lxxxvii. 7. on the Antiquity, Dignity, and Advantages of Musick (m).

(l) From Lord Egmont's Manuscript Biographical Collections.

A late author has censured Dr. Croxall's Fables, as being above the comprehension of those by whom alone they are read, and, at the same time, as composed in a very mean style. With regard to his ordinary mode of expression, the writer adds, that it aims at humour without reaching it; that it is totally destitute of that elegant simplicity in which a narrative of this kind should be presented to children; and that it were easy to fill a volume with the vulgarisms and absurdities of Croxall's *Æsopian Fables* (n). The book, however, is still in the possession of the schools.] K.

(m) Cooke's Preacher's Assistant, vol. ii. p. 95.

(n) Winter Evenings, vol. i. p. 210-212.

'our best regards, and every vice which we are most concerned to avoid.' In the applications of these Fables, Dr. Croxall has introduced sundry remarks, in order to instil into the minds of youth sentiments of civil liberty, and has made many useful observations on life and manners.

[C] *Not a performance of much erudition.* In his preface, Dr. Croxall says, 'The whole scope of the Sacred Writings, from the beginning to the end, appears evidently to be but this one, *The salvation of mankind through Jesus Christ*. Which being attainable only by a proper faith, and a good moral life, the Bible contains nothing but what relates to one or the other of these; nothing but genealogies,

types, predictions, and demonstrations, concerning the Messiah; and institutions, precepts, exhortations, and examples, for living righteously. Therefore, that I might not burthen, either the reader or myself, with more than was necessary, and perhaps safe upon this occasion, I have omitted consulting any of those very learned authors who have written professedly upon the same subject, except Sigonius; and him, more for method than any thing else; keeping as close as possible to the express sense and meaning of the scriptures; which I take to be the best, if not the only allowable interpreters of what themselves contain (g).']

(g) Pref. to Script. Politics, p. 4, 5, 6.

CUDWORTH (RALPH), a very learned and rational Divine, son of Ralph Cudworth, D. D. Rector of Aller in the County of Somerset [A], was born at Aller in 1617.

[A] *Son of Ralph Cudworth, &c.* He [the father] was at first Fellow of Emanuel College and Rector of St. Andrew's in Cambridge, then Vicar of Coggeshall in Essex, and afterwards Rector of Aller, and Chaplain to

(a) *Vita D. R. Cudworth præfixa L. Mosheimii Latine Versioni Cudworthi Operum. Jenæ 1733.* 2 vols. fol.
(b) Wood, *Faßti*, vol. i. col. 187. edit. 1721.

(c) *Vita R. Cudworth, ubi supra.*

(f) Whitelock's *Memorials of the English Affairs*, Lond. 1732. p. 654.
(b) Browne Wil-
lis's *Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c.* Lond. 1727. 4to. p. 743.

(1) *Vita R. Cudworth, ubi supra.*
Newcourt's *Re-
pertorium Eccle-
siæ*, vol. ii. p. 160.
(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Vita, ubi supra.*

1617 (a). His mother was of the family of Machell, and had been nurse to Prince Henry, eldest Son of King James I. After Dr. Cudworth's death, which happened in August or September, 1624 (b); she married again to Dr. Stoughton, an eminent Preacher in those times, who took a particular care of his son-in-law's education. He discovered from the first a quick and penetrating genius, and made so good progress in his studies, that at the age of thirteen he was admitted Pensioner of Emanuel College [B]: however, he was not matriculated as a Student in the University till July 5th, 1632. What proficiency he made there in all kinds of learning, particularly in Philosophy, his excellent Works do abundantly testify. In 1639 he took the degree of Master of Arts; and about the same time being chosen Fellow of his College, he became so eminent a Tutor, that he had eight-and-twenty Pupils at once; a thing never known before even in the largest Colleges in the University. Among them was the famous William Temple, afterwards created a Baronet (c). Not long after, he was presented by Emanuel College to the Rectory of North-Cadbury in Somersetshire, a living worth near three hundred pounds a year, and probably kept it till the year 1656 (d). The first things he published were, *A discourse concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*; and, *The Union of Christ and the Church shadowed, or in a shadow*, printed at London in 1642. About 1644 he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity [C], and the same year he was chosen Master of Clare-Hall, in the room of Dr. Paske who was ejected; where he had the honour of having under his care the celebrated John Tillotson. The next year, Dr. Metcalfe resigning his place of Regius Professor of Hebrew, Mr. Cudworth, who was a great master of the oriental languages, was unanimously appointed, on the 15th of October, to succeed him. From this time he applied himself entirely to his academical employments and studies; and read his public lectures every Wednesday; the first being upon the structure and plan of the Temple of Jerusalem. In 1647 he printed, at Cambridge, a Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4. which he had preached, the 31st of March of the same year, before the House of Commons at Westminster [D]. In 1651, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (e). Notwithstanding his preferments, yet, whether it was owing to that neglect and contempt of the things of this world, which are common among studious persons, or to any other cause, certain it is, that Dr. Cudworth's income was not sufficient to maintain him; and therefore he left, upon that account, the University for a while: but, being extremely beloved, he was soon invited thither again. For, upon the death of Dr. Samuel Bolton, Master of Christ's College, in October 1654, he was chosen to succeed him. The same year he married; and spent in this place the remainder of his days, being very careful of young Gentlemen's education. January 16, 1656, he was one of the Divines appointed by the Grand Committee for Religion (f), to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible [E]. The first of December, 1662, he was presented by Gilbert Bishop of London, to the Vicarage of Ashwell, in the county of Hertford (g). And in 1678, he was installed Prebendary of Gloucester (h). But the most remarkable circumstance of his life, and what does him most honour, is, that he was the Author of *The True intellectual System of the Universe*; a book full of excellent reasoning, and a great variety of curious learning [F]. As one extreme is generally apt to produce another, the pious Nonsense, and

(d) For then S. Cradock was presented thereto. See A. Wood's *Faßti*, vol. ii. col. 71.

(e) *Vita, &c. ut supra.*

(g) Bishop Ken-
net's Register
and Chronicle,
&c. p. 835.

to King James I. He published several pieces of Mr. Perkins, and added *A Supplement to Mr. W. Perkins's Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*; which is all he ever published under his own name (1).

[B] — *At the age of thirteen he was admitted Pensioner of Emanuel College.* And though he was so young, his father-in-law declared, That he was as well grounded in school-learning, as any boy of his age that went to the University (2).

[C] *He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity.* The questions he disputed upon, at the commencement at Cambridge that year, were these; There are eternal and indispensable reasons (or differences) of good and evil; and, There are incorporeal substances immortal in their own nature (3).

[D] *A Sermon on 1 John ii. 3, 4.* It was printed in 4to, containing 82 pages, and reprinted in folio to be placed at the end of his Intellectual System. In the Dedication of it to the House of Commons, he told them, That the scope of that Sermon was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to persuade men to the Life of Christ, as the pith and kernel of all religion; without which all the several forms of religion in the world, though we please ourselves never so much with them, are but so many several dreams.

[E] *He was one of the Divines appointed, &c.* These Divines, of which the chief, besides Dr. Cudworth, were, Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Castle, and Mr. Poulk, often met at the Lord

Commissioner Whitelock's, and had the most learned men in the oriental tongues to consult with in this great business, and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English; which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world. But this design became fruitless by the Parliament's dissolution (4).

[F] *The true Intellectual System, &c.* The whole title of it is, *The true Intellectual System of the Universe: The first part; wherein, all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted; and its Impossibility demonstrated.* By R. Cudworth, D. D. Being surprized at the length of the first part, he published it, as a thing complete of itself; designing to compose and publish afterwards a second and third part, which, however, he never did (5). An abridgment of this book was published in 1706, under the following title, *A Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism: being in a great measure either an Abridgment or an Improvement of what Dr. Cudworth offered to that purpose in his True Intellectual System of the Universe. Together with an Introduction, in which among accounts of other matters relating to this Treatise, there is an impartial examination of what that learned person advanced touching the Christian Doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, and the Resurrection of the Body* In two Volumes. By Tho. Wise, B. D. Fellow of Exeter College, &c. in Oxford. This abridgment is reckoned to be well done: the style being clear and easy, and the matter well digested. A Latin translation of the Intellectual System was published

(4) Whitelock, *ubi supra.*

(5) Preface.

and stupid Enthusiasm, that had prevailed in this kingdom during the times of confusion, were succeeded, in the licentious reign of King Charles II. and even some time before, by Atheism, Profaneness, and Irreligion. Many of our best Divines endeavoured to stop their progress, but none with more vigour or greater success than Dr. Cudworth. 'None better knew how to use the arms of Reason and Learning, as one expresses it (i), to conquer the presumptuous ignorance of Hobbes, who had acquired a great reputation at court.' 'Tis no wonder therefore that King Charles's courtiers should undervalue the

(i) Mosheim in vit. Cudworth, ubi supra.

(i) See J. Clerici Vita, Amstelod. 1711. 8vo. p. 129.

True intellectual System (k): but, notwithstanding their vain efforts, it has and will maintain its reputation. The Author was undoubtedly several years about it, though it was not published till 1678 [G]. Besides the four books already mentioned, Dr. Cudworth published in 1664, a Sermon preached at Lincoln's-Inn, on 1 Cor. xv. 57. and a treatise intitled *Deus Justificatus*, or, *The Divine Goodness vindicated and cleared, against the Assertors of absolute and inconditionate Reprobation*. He left several books in manuscript [H], of which only one has been printed since his decease, intitled, *A Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality* [I]. He died at Cambridge June 26, 1688, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was buried in Christ's College. Several sons that he had died young; but one daughter, named Damaris [K], born January 18, 1658, survived him. She was second wife to Sir Francis Masham, of Oates in Essex, Baronet, and had by him a son, Francis Cudworth Masham, Esq (l); one of the Masters in Chancery, Accomptant-General of the said court, and foreign Apposer in the Court of Exchequer, who died May 17, 1731. Dr. Cudworth was a man of great piety and moderation, of uncommon prudence; and especially of very extensive learning: for he was not only a good Linguist and Antiquary, but also an able Mathematician, a subtil Philosopher, and a profound Metaphysician. In his small treatises, he shows himself well skilled in the oriental languages; as he appears in his *Intellectual System* a perfect master of the Platonic Philosophy; with a great strength of genius, and a vast compass of learning. He hath in it some particular notions; namely, of a *Plastic Nature*, which, subordinate to the Supreme Being, forms and organizes the bodies of animals, and produceth other phænomena (m): and, what he saith concerning the *Trinity* (n), and the *Resurrection* (o), is thought not to be exactly conformable to the received opinions [L]. But, notwithstanding, he must be impartially allowed

(l) A. Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 435.

(n) Pag. 210. 546, &c.

(m) Intellectual System, &c. p. 146, 147, &c. This notion was adopted by the great Mr. Ray, in his Wisdom of God, &c. (o) Pag. 784, &c.

published at Jena 1733, in two volumes, fol. by John-Laurence Mosheim, D. D. illustrated with notes and dissertations.

[G] *Though it was not published till 1678.* It was printed in a thick folio containing 999 pages, besides the Preface and Contents. The *Imprimatur*, at the end of the Preface, bears date May 29, 1671, which shows that the author kept it by him a considerable time before he published it.

[H] *He left several books in manuscript.* The titles of them are, I. *A Treatise concerning moral Good and Evil*, in several volumes in folio, containing near 1000 pages. The design of it is to prove, that morality is founded in nature, and doth not depend upon the arbitrary will of any Being. He also exposes Epicurus's notions, and Hobbes's Morality and Politics. II. *A Treatise of Liberty and Necessity, wherein the foundations of the Philosophy of Atheism are destroyed, the certainty of Morality established, and the nature of it explained.* It consists of 1000 pages in folio, and solves the objections of the Stoics, antient Atheists, and some modern Christians, against human liberty. III. *A Commentary on the Seventy Weeks mentioned by the Prophet Daniel, wherein the several explications of them by the Jews, and some Christian writers, are examined and confuted*, 2 vols. fol. IV. *Of the Truth of the Christian Religion against the Jews.* He mentions this book in some of his works, but it has not yet been found among his MSS. V. *A Treatise of the Creation of the World, and the Immortality of the Soul.* A volume in 8vo. VI. *Of the Learning of the Hebrews.* VII. *An Explanation of Hobbes's Notions, concerning the Nature of God, and the extension of Spirits.*

[I] *A Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality.* It was printed at London in 8vo. 1731, with a Preface by Edward [Chandler] Lord Bishop of Durham; who therein observes, that the author 'proves in that book the falseness of the consequences with respect to natural justice and morality in God, which are deducible from the principles of those that maintain the second sort of fate, denominated by him *Theologick* (6). And thus it may be reckoned to be a sequel in part, of his first book against *material fate* (7). The author intitled it *Διαισιον* *φυσικὴ καὶ ἀνώγειον*, or *A Treatise concerning eternal and*

immutable Morality; and 'transcribed the best part of it with his own hand, as if it were speedily to be sent to the press (8).'

[K] *One daughter named Damaris.* She died April 20, 1708, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Bath; where a monument is erected to her memory, in which this character is given of her — 'To the softness and elegance of her own sex, She added several of the noblest accomplishments and qualities of the other. She possessed these advantages in a degree unusual to either, and tempered them with an exactness peculiar to herself. Her learning, judgment, sagacity, and penetration, together with her candor, and love of truth, were very observable to all that conversed with her, or were acquainted with those small treatises she published in her lifetime, though she industriously concealed her name (9). Of the small treatises here mentioned, one was *A Discourse concerning the Love of God*. Printed at London, 1696, 12mo. The rest are not known. Mr. J. Locke lived in her family the 14 last years of his life.

(8) Ibid. p. 11.

[L] *Is thought not to be exactly conformable, &c.* He has been very severely treated upon that account; particularly by one (10), who calls him a Tritheistick, and says, 'the most that charity itself can allow the Doctor, if it were to step forth, and speak his most favourable character to the world, is, that he is an Arian, a Socinian, or a Deist.' A very hard and unjust censure!

(9) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, Esq; vol. iii. p. 435. Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglic.* vol. i. p. 146.

(10) J. Turner, Dedication before his Discourse of the Messiah, Lond. 1685, p. 17. 19.

[*] The article of our learned predecessor is accurate with respect to facts; but it might reasonably have been more copious in describing the works of so eminent a literary character as Dr. Cudworth. This defect, therefore, we shall endeavour, in some degree, to supply. His first publication, which was his "Discourse concerning the true notion of the Lord's Supper," merits notice, on account of the influence it has had on the sentiments of several considerable men. The principle which Dr. Cudworth maintains is, that the Lord's Supper is a feast upon a sacrifice. His tract has excited so much attention as to pass through various editions; and it has been quoted with great commendations by Selden, Barchart,

(6) See Intellectual System, &c. p. 3, &c. and Preface.

(7) Bishop Chandler's Pref. p. 9.

allowed to have been 'a great man in all parts of learning, divine and human, an honour
' to Emanuel College where he was educated, to Christ's College where he afterwards
' presided,

(11) Gen. Dict.
Historical and
Critical, vol. iv.
p. 484, note B.

chart, and Spencer (11). The doctrine advanced in it has so far stood its ground, as to have been supported, from time to time, by one divine or other, down to the present day. A work which adopts the same idea, was written above forty years ago, by Mr. Willets, a learned dissenting minister, at Newcastle under Lyne. Bishop Warburton, in the second volume of his discourses on the principles of natural and revealed religion, has elaborately sustained Dr. Cudworth's opinion; and the present Bishop of Chester (Dr. Cleaver) has very recently shewn himself to be an ingenious defender of the same sentiment. On the other hand, Bishop Hoadly, in his Plain Account, could discern no evidence of the Lord's Supper being a feast upon a sacrifice. That it is a groundless notion, was ably maintained, in a pamphlet, published in 1755, in answer to Warburton: and Cudworth's hypothesis has lately been refuted by Dr. Bell. Indeed, the idea that the Sacrament is merely a commemoration of the death of Christ, and calculated, in that view, to answer important moral purposes, is so rational and intelligible, and, at the same time, so conformable to the direct words of the institution, that there appears to be no necessity or foundation for having-recourse to any scheme of a more recondite and mysterious nature.

The dedication to the sermon which Dr. Cudworth preached before the House of Commons, in 1647, is omitted in the impression of it that was given at the end of the "Intellectual System," in 1678. This is the more to be regretted, as it displays the Doctor's sentiments, upon the nature of religion, and the value of learning, at a time of prevailing fanaticism and bigotry, in a manner which reflects no small credit on the liberality of his mind. We shall insert, therefore, an account of it, for which we are indebted to the great "General Dictionary."

"He observes there, that the scope of this Sermon was not to contend for this or that opinion, but only to persuade men to the *Life of Christ*, as the pith and kernel of all Religion; without which all the several Forms of Religion in the world, though we please ourselves never so much in them, are but so many several dreams. And those many opinions about Religion, that are every where so eagerly contended for on all sides, where this doth not lie at the bottom, are but so many shadows fighting with one another. So that I may well say of the true Christian, that is indeed possessed of the life of Christianity, in opposition to all those that are but lightly tintured with the opinions of it, in the language of the Poet,

Οἷον πίπνται τοὶ δ' ὡς σκῆλ' αἰσσοῦσι.

Wherefore I could not think any thing else either more necessary for Christians in generall, or seasonable at this time, than to stirre them up to the reall establishment of the Righteousnesse of God in their hearts, and that Participation of the divine Nature, which the Apostle speaketh of; that so they might not content themselves with mere phancies and conceits of Christ, without the Spirit of Christ really dwelling in them, and Christ himself inwardly formed in their hearts, nor satisfie themselves with the mere holding of right and orthodox opinions, as they conceive, whilst they are utterly devoid within of that Divine Life, which Christ came to kindle in men's souls, and therefore are so apt to spend all their zeal upon a violent obtruding of their own opinions and apprehensions upon others, which cannot give entertainment to them. "Which, besides its repugnancy to the doctrine and example of Christ himself, is like to be the bellows, that will blow a perpetual fire of discord and contention in the Christian Commonwealths; whilst in the mean time those hungry and starved opinions devour all the life and substance of Religion, as the lean Kine in Pharaoh's Dream did eat up the fat. Nor lastly, please themselves onely in the violent opposing of other men's Superstitions, according to the genius of the present times, without substituting in the room of

"them an inward Principle of Spirit and Life in their own souls. For I fear many of us that pull down idols in churches, may set them up in our hearts; and whilst we quarrel with painted glasse, make no scruple at all of entertaining many foul lusts in our souls, and committing continual idolatry with them." He afterwards desires the House of Commons, that after their care for the advancement of Religion and the public good of the Commonwealth, they would think it worthy of them to promote ingenuous learning, and cast a favourable influence upon it. I mean not, says he, that onely, which furnisheth the pulpit, which you seem to be very regardfull of; but that, which is remote from such popular use, in the several kinds of it, which yet are all of them both very subservient to Religion, and usefull to the Commonwealth. There is indeed a *ῥυθμιώδης*, as the Philosopher tells us, a bastardly kind of Literature, and a *ῥυθμιώδης γνῶσις*, as the Apostle instructeth us, a Knowledge falsely so called, which deserves not to be pleaded for. But the noble and generous improvement of our understanding faculty in the true contemplation of the Wisdom, Goodnesse, and other Attributes of God, in that great fabrick of the universe, cannot easily be disparaged without a blemish cast upon the Maker of it. Doubtlesse we may as well enjoy that which God hath communicated of himself to the creatures by this larger faculty of our understandings, as by those narrow and low faculties of our senses; and yet no body counts it to be unlawfull to hear a lesson plaied upon the lute, or to smell a rose. And these raised improvements of our natural understandings may be as well subservient and subordinate to a divine Light in our minds, as the natural use of those outward creatures here below to the life of God in our hearts. Nay all true knowledge doth of itself naturally tend to God, who is the Fountain of it; and would ever be raising of our souls up upon its wings thither, did not we *καταχωνεῖν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ*, detain it, and hold it down in unrighteousnesse, as the Apostle speaketh. "All Philosophy to a wise man, to a truly sanctified mind, as he in Plutarch speaketh, is but *ὁδὸς τῆς Θεολογίας*, matter for Divinity to work upon. Religion is the Queen of all those inward endowments of the soul, and all pure naturall knowledge, all virgin and undeflowred arts and sciences are her handmaids, that rise up and call her blessed. I need not tell you how much the skill of tongues and languages, besides the excellent use of all Philology in generall, conduceth to the right understanding of the letter of sacred Writings, on which the spirituall notions must be built; for can those possibly be ignorant of that, which have but once heard of a Translation of the Bible? The Apostle exhorteth private Christians to *whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, to think on those things*; and therefore it may well become you, (noble Gentlemen) in your publick sphere, to encourage so noble a thing as knowledge is, which will reflect so much lustre and honour back again upon yourselves (12)."

The Intellectual System is a work of such immense learning, and such great celebrity, that a fuller view of its design than our Predecessor has given cannot but be desirable.

"In the preface Dr. Cudworth tells us, that when he engaged the press, he intended only a discourse concerning Liberty and Necessity, or, to speak out more plainly, against the fatal Necessity of all and events; which, upon whatever ground, tained, will serve the design of Atheism, and mine Christianity and all Religion, as taking all guilt and blame, punishments and rewards. But afterwards he considered, that this, which is indeed a controversy concerning the True and Intellectual System of the Universe, does in the full extent of it take in other things; the Necessity of all actions and events being maintained by several persons upon very different grounds, according to the tripartite Fatalism mentioned in the beginning of the first chapter; the

(12) Gen. Dict.
ubi supra, p.
484, 485, note
D.

(7) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 462.

presided, to the whole University of Cambridge which he adorned (p), and to the Church and Age in which he lived (q).

(p) Bishop of Durham's Pref. to the Treatise concerning eternal and immutable Morality, p. 12.

the first of which, *supposing the material Necessity of all things without a God*, he tells us, is *absolute Atheism*; the second, *Immoral Theism*, or *Religion without any Natural Justice and Morality*, all just and unjust, according to this hypothesis, being factitious, made by arbitrary will and command only; and the third, such a Theism as acknowledges not only a God or omnipotent understanding Being, but also Natural Justice and Morality, founded in him, and derived from him; nevertheless no Liberty from Necessity any where, and therefore no distributive or retributive Justice in the world. "Whereas these three things are the fundamentals or essentials of true Religion. First, that all things in the world do not float without a Head or Governor; but that there is a God, an omnipotent understanding Being, presiding over all. Secondly, that this God being essentially good and just, there is *φύσει καλόν* *καὶ δίκαιον*, something in its own nature immutably and eternally just and unjust, and not by arbitrary will, law, and command only. And lastly, that there is something *ἐν ἡμῖν*, or, that we are so far forth the principles or masters of our own actions, as to be accountable to justice for them, or to make us guilty and blame-worthy for what we do amiss, and to deserve punishment accordingly." These three things, as the Doctor observes, taken all together, make up the wholeness and entireness of that, which he calls, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, in such a sense as *Atheism* may be called a false System thereof; the word *Intellectual* being added to distinguish it from the other, vulgarly so called, *Systems of the World* (that is, the *visible and corporeal World*) the *Ptolemaic*, *Tychonic*, and *Copernican*; the two former of which are now commonly accounted false, the latter true. And thus our Author's prospect being now enlarged into a *three-fold Fatalism*, or *spurious and false Hypothesis of the Intellectual System*, making all things necessary upon several grounds, he accordingly designed the confutation of them all in three several Books. The first against *Atheism*, (which is the *Democritic* fate) wherein all the Reason and Philosophy thereof is refuted, and the Existence of a God demonstrated, and so that *ἐκκὴ ἀνάγκη*, or material Necessity of all things, is overthrown. The second, for such a God as is not mere arbitrary Will omnipotent, decreeing, doing, and necessitating all actions, bad as well as good; but essentially moral, good, and just; and for a natural *Discrimen honestorum & turpium*, whereby another ground of the Necessity of all human actions will be removed. And the third and last, against *Necessity intrinsic and essential to all actions*, and for such a Liberty and *Sui-Potestas* in rational creatures, as may render them accountable, capable of rewards and punishments, and so objects of distributive or retributive Justice, by which the now only remaining ground of the fatal Necessity of all actions and events will be taken away. And all these three under that one general title of the *True Intellectual System of the Universe*; each book having besides, its own particular title. But the first of these books only appeared under the title abovementioned; our Author informing the reader in his preface, that tho' the other two books were and still are really intended by us, yet the compleat finishing and publication of them will notwithstanding depend upon many contingencies, not only of our life and health, the latter of which, as well as the former, is to us very uncertain; but also of our leisure or vacancy from other necessary employments. At the close of the preface he observes, that tho' some may think his work superfluous, upon pretence, that an Atheist is a chimera, no where to be found in the world, yet such persons are both unskilled in the monuments of antiquity, and unacquainted with the present age they live in, others having found too great an assurance from their own personal converse of the reality of them. "Nevertheless, continues he, this labour of ours is not intended only for the conversion of downright and professed Atheists (of which there is but little hope, they being sunk into so great a degree of fortiftness,) but for the

confirmation of weak, staggering, and sceptical Theists. And unless those exploders of Atheists will affirm also, that all men have constantly an unshaken faith and belief of the Existence of God without the least mixture of doubtful distrust or hesitancy, (which if it were so, the world could not possibly be so bad as now it is,) they must needs grant, such endeavours as these for the confirming and establishing of men's minds in the belief of a God by philosophic reasons, in an age so philosophical, not to be superfluous and useless (13)."

(13) *Ibid.* p. 485, 486, note F.

We shall add a farther account of Mr. Wise's Abridgment of the Intellectual System.

Mr. Wise in his introduction remarks, that Dr. Cudworth's book, which is the vastest magazine of reasoning and learning, that ever singly appeared against Atheism, is swelled with frequent repetitions, circumlocutions, and digressions, and the series and thread of it much interrupted by Greek and Latin quotations, so that hardly any writing will better admit of an abridgment; upon which account Mr. Wise undertook his work. He then proceeds to observe, that Dr. Cudworth, having laid down a general proposition, that the Heathens universally held but one unmade independent God, comes to shew that the Platonists in particular maintained an unity of the Godhead in their three divine Hypostases, viz. *Monad* or *Good*, *Mind*, and *Soul*; notwithstanding that they owned these three Hypostases to be numerically distinct, or to have distinct singular Essences of their own. To vindicate the Platonists in this point, he tells us, that the ancient orthodox Fathers of the Christian Church were generally of no other persuasion than this, that that Essence or Substance of the Godhead, which all the three Persons or Hypostases agree in, as each of them is God, was not singular or individual, but only one common or universal Essence or Substance. This and other assertions of the like nature in Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, have made so much noise in the world, that there was scarcely a pamphlet or book written for many years concerning the Trinity, especially in England, and in the heterodox way, which did not bring in the Doctor's authority; while on the other hand the orthodox treat his notion with the utmost severity. Mr. Wise therefore endeavours, as much as possible, to clear up and justify our Author's doctrine. He afterwards proceeds to consider Dr. Cudworth's opinion about the Resurrection, who, as appears from several passages of his *Intellectual System* thought, that the Resurrection-Body will not consist of the same substance with that, which was buried; and that it will not be a body of flesh, but an aetherial one; and that the present body is only a seed of the Resurrection. However Mr. Wise shews from some other passages in his works, that he has as plainly asserted the Resurrection of the same numerical Body, as in some places he denied it (14)."

(14) *Ibid.*

It is not easy to meet with a greater store-house of ancient literature than the "Intellectual System;" and various writers, we believe, have been indebted to it for an appearance of learning which they might not otherwise have been able to maintain. That Dr. Cudworth was fanciful in some of his opinions, and that he was too devoted a follower of Plato and the Platonists, will scarcely be denied even by those who are most sensible of his general merit. What he hath said concerning the Platonic Trinity has lately been remarked upon in the *Theological Repository* (15).

(15) *Theological Repository*, vol. iv. p. 95—97.

The reflections that have been cast upon such a man as our Author, by Mr. Turner, (mentioned in note [L]), and by other bigoted writers, are altogether contemptible. It is the lot of distinguished merit to be thus treated. Lord Shaftesbury, speaking on this subject, has given an honourable testimony to the memory of Dr. Cudworth. "You know," says his Lordship, "the common fate of those who dare to appear fair authors. What was that pious and learned man's case, who wrote the *Intellectual System of the Universe*? I confess it was pleasant enough to consider, that though the whole

"world

"world were no less satisfied with his capacity and learning, than with his sincerity in the cause of Deity; yet he was accused of giving the upper hand to the Atheist, for having only stated their reasons, and those of their adversaries, fairly together (16)."

(16) Characteristicks, vol. ii. p. 262.

It is observed by Dr. Birch, that Dr. Cudworth's Intellectual System of the Universe has raised him a reputation, to which nothing can add, but the publication of his other writings still extant in manuscript (17). That these writings are very valuable, cannot be doubted. We may be assured that they display a great compass of sentiment, and a great extent of learning. Nevertheless, from their voluminous quantity, from the abstruseness of the subjects they treat upon, and from the revolutions of literary taste and opinion, it is morally certain, that the publication of them would not be successful in the present age. The history of the fate of Dr. Cudworth's Posthumous Works is somewhat curious. Having been left to the care of his daughter, Lady Masham, they for a long time quietly reposed in the library at Oates, in Essex. But, about the year 1762, when the late Lord Masham married his second Lady, his Lordship thought proper to remove a number of volumes of ancient learning, which had been bequeathed to the family by Mr. Locke, and the manuscripts of Dr. Cudworth, to make room for books of polite amusement. For this purpose, he sold either the whole, or a considerable part of them, to Mr. Robert Davis, then a Bookseller in Piccadilly. Mr. Davis being told, or having concluded, that the manuscripts were the productions of Mr. Locke, it became an object of consideration with him, how to convert them, as a tradesman, to the best advantage. They contained, among other things, sundry notes on scripture. About the same time, a number of manuscript scriptural notes by Dr. Waterland came into the possession of the Booksellers. The business, therefore, was, by the aid of such celebrated names as Mr. Locke and Dr. Waterland, to fabricate a new Bible with Annotations. At a consultation, however, it was suggested, that, though these names were very important, it would be necessary, to the complete success of the design, to join with them some popular living character. Dr. Dodd was then in the height of his reputation as a preacher; and, accordingly, he was fixed upon to carry on the undertaking. This was the origin of Dr. Dodd's Bible. Part of the materials put into his hands the Doctor made use of in the Christian Magazine. When the manuscripts were returned to Mr. Davis, he carried them down to Barnes in Surry, which was his country retirement, and threw them into a garret, where they lay exposed to the dangers of such a situation. About the beginning of the year 1777, a Gentleman, who had a veneration for the name of Mr. Locke, and was concerned to hear that any of his writings were in danger of being lost, went to Barnes, to see these manuscripts; and being positively assured, by Mr. Davis, that they were the real compositions of that eminent man, he immediately purchased them for forty guineas. He

was, however, soon convinced, after an examination of them, that the authority of the bookseller was fallacious. This being the case, he remonstrated against the deception; and the vender condescended to take them again, upon being paid ten guineas for his disappointment in the negotiation. In the investigation of the manuscripts, the Gentleman having discovered, by many incontestable proofs, that they were the writings of Dr. Cudworth, he recommended them to the Curators of the British Museum, by whom they were purchased; and thus, at last, after many perils and mutilations, they are safely lodged in that noble repository (18).

Mr. Granger observes, that Dr. Ralph Cudworth held the same rank in Metaphysics that Dr. Barrow did in the Sublime Geometry; and his daughter he calls the learned and accomplished Lady Masham. Justly does her memory deserve to be held in honour, both for her own attainments and her unshaken friendship to Mr. Locke. Of her Treatise concerning the Love of God, which was published at London, in 1696, in 12mo. without her name, we shall subjoin some account, from the General Dictionary.

"She begins with observing, that whatever reproaches have been made by the Romanists, on the one hand, of the want of books of devotion in the Church of England; or by the Dissenters on the other, of a dead and lifeless way of preaching; it may be affirmed, that there cannot any where be found so good a collection of discourses upon Moral Subjects, as might be made of English Sermons and other Treatises of that nature written by the Divines of our Church; which books are certainly in themselves of the greatest and most general use of any, and do most conduce to that, which is the chief aim of Christianity, a good life." She then animadverts upon those, who undervalue Morality, and others, who strain the duties of it to an impracticable pitch, and pretend to ascend by it to something beyond or above it; and afterwards proceeds to consider the conduct of those, who build their practical and devotional Discourses upon principles, which not only will not bear the test, but which oblige them to lay down such assertions of Morality, as sober and well disposed Christians cannot understand to be practicable. And here she applies herself to the examination of Mr. John Norris's scheme in his Practical Discourses and other Treatises, wherein he maintains, that "mankind are obliged strictly, as their duty, to love with desire nothing but God only, every degree of desire of any creature whatsoever, being sinful." Which assertion Mr. Norris defends upon this ground, that God, not the Creature, is the immediate efficient cause of our sensations; for whatsoever gives us pleasure has a right to our love; but God only gives us pleasure; therefore he only has a right to our love. This hypothesis is considered with great accuracy and ingenuity by Lady Masham, and the bad consequences of it represented in a strong light. This Discourse was translated into French by Mr. Coste in 1705 (19)."]

(18) Combined from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1783, p. 1186, as extracted from the Critical Review; and from private information given to the Editor, by his late friends, Dr. Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and Dr. Joseph Jeffries, Professor of civil law, at Gresham College.

(19) Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 282, 283. Gen. Dict. ubi supra, p. 487. note H.

CUFF or CUFFE (HENRY), a celebrated wit, a famous scholar, and the unfortunate Secretary of the unhappy Earl of Essex, who suffered towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is by some said, or rather suggested, to have been but of low birth (a); but very unjustly, since there is good evidence to prove, that his ancestors had been reputed Gentlemen for several descents, and had lands to a considerable value about Creech and Taunton in Somersetshire (b). He was born at Hinton St. George in that county, about the year 1560 (c), was educated at a Grammar-school, and gave very early marks both of genius and application (d); insomuch that, in 1576, he was removed to Oxford, and entered there of Trinity College (e). His parts were so quick, and his diligence so great, that he very soon distinguished himself from most of his contemporaries, more especially in his knowledge of Greek, and his admirable faculty in disputing. He became, in due time, Fellow of his College, and would, without doubt, have gone through his academical studies with all the success and applause imaginable, if it had not been for a certain hastiness of temper, which induced him to speak his mind very freely on subjects and of persons, with whom he had little or nothing to do. A saying of his of Sir Thomas Pope, who was the Founder of the College in which he was educated, proved fatal to him, so that he was turned out of his Fellowship, and expelled the College (f). His

(b) Visitation-book of Somersetshire, Anno Dom. 1573. MS. in the Herald's office.

(c) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 28.

(d) Remarks upon the reign of Q. Elizabeth, p. 517.

(e) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 397.

(a) Sanderfon's Lives of Mary Queens of Scots and King James, p. 238.

(f) Liber niger Seaccarii, edit. T. H. p. 593.

(g) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. i. col. 466.

(i) *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* vol. i. col. 135.

(l) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. i. col. 307.
Fasti Oxon.
vol. i. p. 147.

(o) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex, published by authority, 4to. 1601.
(p) *Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family*, vol. ii. p. 122.

(1) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. i. col. 307.

(2) *Bacon's Works*, vol. iv. p. 395.

(3) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. i. col. 307.

(4) *Liber niger Scaccarii*, edit. T. H. p. 593.

merit, however, was so great, and his reputation for learning so extraordinary, that he was received into Merton-College by Sir Henry Savile, then Warden of it, and who was particularly remarkable for being a most disinterested patron of such as were truly scholars (g). In 1586 Mr. Cuff was elected Probationer-fellow of that College, and, being very intimate with many of the greatest men of those times who were bred at this University, he was looked upon as one capable of making a shining figure in the world (h); more especially as he was known to turn his thoughts to active life, and to apply himself with great vigour to the more polite as well as abstruser parts of learning. In 1588 he became Fellow of Merton-College, and, on the 20th of February following, he took the degree of Master of Arts (i). Amongst other persons of note with whom he had great intimacy, one was the learned Mr. Camden, in commendation of whose excellent *Britannia* he wrote a Greek epigram, that has been much admired (k). This indeed was the happiest part of his life, and it had been very fortunate for him if he had contented himself with that easy and honourable situation, which his own learning, and the assistance of his friends in this University, had procured him, notwithstanding the slip he had made in the earlier part of his life, from a vivacity of temper which never left him [A]. He was afterwards promoted to the Greek Professorship, and was chosen Proctor of the University April 10th, 1594 (l). At what time he left the University, or upon what occasion, does not appear; but there is great reason to believe, that it was for the sake of improving himself by travelling into foreign parts (m); for he was always inclined rather to a busy than a retired life, and held, that learning was of little service to any man, if it did not render him fitter for being employed in matters of importance. This disposition of his recommended him very much to the favour of Robert Earl of Essex, who was himself much of the same temper; that is, equally fond of knowledge and business, and strongly persuaded the former was of very little use but as it fitted men for the latter. His Lordship writing admirably well, and being an excellent judge of the writings of other men, thought it would be highly useful to himself, and the means of promoting Mr. Cuffe, if he took him into his service, as well as into his protection; and accordingly, about the time that he became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (n), Mr. Cuffe was appointed his Secretary. It appears, from the private as well as public histories of those times, that he was very much in his confidence; but, whether the Earl intrusted him with the dark designs he carried on with Tyrone, in order to make himself King of England, and Tyrone Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is as little certain, as whether his Lordship ever had any such designs, or was so unfortunate only as to have them imputed to him by his enemies (o). This, however, is out of dispute, that, when the Earl returned from his expedition, in August 1599, to Dublin, and resolved to send over an account to the Queen of what he had concluded with Tyrone, he made choice of Mr. Cuffe to be the bearer, and, perhaps, used his assistance in penning those letters. This was certainly both a dangerous and a disagreeable service; which, however, Mr. Cuffe undertook, and very happily performed, delivering his letters safely to her Majesty; and afterwards, upon some insinuations to his prejudice, upon which he was sent for to the Queen, he justified himself to her satisfaction (p) [B]. As he had naturally a very high spirit, was sincerely attached

(h) Bp. Mountague's Pref. to his *Diatriba* upon the first part of the *Hist. of Tythes*.

(k) It is prefixed in all the Latin editions, and in the two last English translations.

(m) See the note [J].

(n) *Camd. Ann.* ed. T. H. p. 792.

[A] *From a vivacity of temper which never left him.* It was certainly a mark of the candour, as well as care, of Mr. Wood, that he took so much pains as to search the Heralds Office, in order to find the grant of a coat of arms made to Job Cuffe, our author's ancestor, by Christopher Baker then King at Arms, in the 36th of Henry VIII (1). He was in the wrong however to fix upon a late, and in some respects a low, writer, as author of those detracting passages, that passed so currently in the world to his prejudice; whereas, most undoubtedly, these took rise from what was said of him by a noble author (2), who wrote indeed at that time under direction, and we may believe could not but be rude to his Secretary, after being roundly schooled by the Queen, for speaking with common decency of his master. It was from him therefore that succeeding writers copied, though there wanted not others, well acquainted with those times and with the man, who spoke of him with decency, pity, and even with respect. He was but a very young man when he went to Oxford, and it was by the pregnancy of his parts that he became so early a Fellow of Trinity College. Mr. Wood tells us, in one place, that he was forced to resign his Fellowship for saying somewhat that was true of the Founder (3). In another place, however, that is, in a Collection of Historical Passages, he has set down the whole story, and that upon good authority; which as it very fully justifies what we have said in the text, the reader shall have in his own words (4): 'Dr. Bathurst told

me, that our Cuffe was of Trinity College, and expelled from thence upon this account: the Founder, Sir Thomas Pope, would, wheresoever he went a visiting his friend, steal one thing or other that he could lay his hands on, put it in his pocket, or under his gown. This was supposed rather an humour than of dishonesty. Now Cuffe upon a time, with his fellows being merry, said, a pox this is a poor beggarly College indeed, the plate that our Founder stole would build such another. Which coming to the President's ears, was thereupon ejected, though afterwards elected into Merton College.' How dear he was to Sir Henry Savile, at that time Warden of Merton College, appears not only from his procuring him to be elected upon the very first occasion that offered after his own preferment, but also from a letter of his to the learned Camden, in which, in a very few words, he gives him the highest character, and styles him his own and Camden's intimate friend.

[B] *He justified himself to her satisfaction.* What we have to explain in this part of the work is, the share that Mr. Cuffe had in the Earl of Essex's proceedings; nor would this be of so much importance, if many of our Histories did not deliver things somewhat remote from truth in several instances, and directly contrary to it in others. It is generally set forth and believed, that the Earl went to Ireland with great joy and alacrity; whence it has been inferred, that he had dangerous designs in his head before he went

attached to the Earl of Essex, and looked upon the usage he met with from the court as effects rather of the power of the opposite faction, than the just punishment of the Earl's offences, he gave way to his resentments, and was one of those that dissuaded that unhappy Lord, after his emerging a little from that dark cloud of the Queen's displeasure, in which he had been involved, and suffered thereby severely, from prosecuting the recovery of her favour by those methods of humble duty, and deep submission, which others of his Lordship's friends advised (q). It is very possible, that both he and they might be prompted to the opposite counsels they gave, from certain views to their own interest, as well as those of the Earl; for Mr. Anthony Bacon, and Sir Francis his brother, had other friends at Court, and other means to trust to, than the countenance of the Earl of Essex, and might therefore advise him to what they thought best suited their own schemes. But it was quite otherwise with Mr. Cuffe: his sole dependance was upon the Earl, and, as he had no other hopes of attaining any considerable office than by his favour and protection, he was very desirous of seeing him quickly restored to the Queen's good graces, which he thought could not fail if he had once free access to the Court, which, therefore, he prompted him to obtain by any means, and at any rate (r) [C]. While the Earl of Essex followed the advice of the two Bacons, as well as during his Lordship's confinement after his precipitate return from Ireland, Mr. Cuffe had little or no access to him; but, after he recovered his liberty, and found that was not attended, as he expected, with a restitution of his power and credit, he began to recur to his old projects, and to converse once more with his old friends, by which means Mr. Cuffe was recalled again to his service, and to that measure of intimacy and confidence in which he had been formerly held (s). This, together with the great likeness of their tempers, was the source of both their misfortunes; for the Earl thenceforward began to dislike, and even to suspect, the representations made to him by those who were desirous that he should leave it to time,

(q) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 333.

(r) See Sir Francis
Bacon's Apo-
logy, Sir Henry
Wotton's Paral-
lel, and Cam-
den's Annals.

(s) Reliquæ Wot-
tonianæ, p. 28.

went thither, which he meant to ripen and bring to perfection there (5). However, the contrary of this is very fully proved (6), by a knowing and intelligent writer, who has brought to light many remarkable passages relating to these times. The truth seems to be, that the Earl of Essex found himself not able to perform any great matters in that kingdom, and was at the same time kept there by the Queen's express command. It is very likely that it was this that put him upon his treaty with Tyrone, and afterwards induced him to form that desperate design, of landing with two thousand men at Milford Haven, from which it was with some difficulty he was dissuaded by the Earl of Southampton and Sir Christopher Blount. It is not at all probable that Mr. Cuffe was so much as acquainted with, much less in any degree the author of, this scheme; for he was sent over in August with the Earl's letter to the Queen (7), a particular that seems to have been unknown to most of the writers upon this subject. But however he had not been long in London, before the zeal and diligence he expressed in his master's service drew upon him the resentment of some great persons, who gave bad impressions of him to the Queen, which occasioned his being sent for. This passage we learn from a letter written at that very time by Mr. Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, dated September 12, 1599, which runs thus (8): 'The unkindness between my Lord of Essex and Mr. Secretary is grown to extremity. I hear my Lord is infinitely discontented, and in his discontentment uses speeches that may be dangerous and hurtful to his safety. Mr. Cuffe hath had access to the Queen, who came of purpose marvellously well instructed to answer such objections as her Majesty could lay to his charge, and I hear that Cuffe hath very wisely behaved himself to her Majesty's better satisfaction.'

(5) See the declaration of the treasons of Robert Earl of Essex.
(6) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 133, in the notes.

(7) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 792.

(8) Memorials and State Papers of the Sidney family, vol. ii. p. 122.

(9) This is Cuffe's own account of the matter, at his trial, in his confessions, and at his death.

[C] By any means, and at any rate.] This was from first to last the great point which Mr. Cuffe had in view. He thought that the Earl of Essex's friends were so numerous, and some of them of such high quality, that the method which the Cecilian party took to maintain themselves in power, might be so represented as to raise a jealousy in the Queen, who was very tender of her authority, and that if the Earl once came to her presence, and represented these matters with his usual eloquence, and was supported by the testimonies of those who were prepared to make good his charge, their business would be done (9). But without doubt, when he first thought of this method, he had no design of accomplishing it by force: that fell in afterwards, when experience had discovered that access could be had no other way. It is true that something of this nature had been proposed to the Earl long before, when he was in Ireland: but he rejected it, and foreseeing that it might be objected to him when his conduct was called in question before the Privy Council, he set down an answer to this charge in the brief notes that he made for his defence, the substance of which is preserved by a grave Historian (10). It is therefore most probable, that when force came again to be thought of, it was originally moved by the same person that first hinted it, and that was Sir Christopher Blount, who had married the Earl of Essex's mother. This seems also to be clearly proved by the Earl of Essex's confession, who charged that Gentleman with giving him such advice (11). Upon the whole, therefore, we have good reason to believe, that at first these were two distinct designs, and that Mr. Cuffe founded all his hopes in the enlarging and increasing the Earl's faction, by taking in malecontents of all parties and of all religions, but more especially by drawing to him such great men and Ministers, as were known either to fear Secretary Cecil's resentment, or to envy his greatness; in pursuance of which scheme Mr. Cuffe not only acted vigorously himself, and engaged the Earl in the like schemes, but prevailed upon him to employ others in the prosecution of that design, which went so far as to alarm the Court very much: nor is it at all improbable, that if it had been managed with more temper and discretion, and without giving such visible occasions of questioning the Earl's dutiful intentions, it might have been brought to end otherwise than it did, the Earl having most part of the city, and not a few at Court, on his side. But it was that Nobleman's misfortune, that with very great parts he had very great weaknesses. He was certainly a man of principle, as well in regard to policy as religion; but as he had very strong passions, and those kept constantly inflamed by his followers on one side, and his enemies on the other, there was little of steadiness in his proceedings. He sometimes embraced the sentiments of Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and of his Court friends; but this method proving slow, he came, as it is said in the text, to dislike that, and fall in with Cuffe's counsels, who suspected the sincerity of the Courtiers, and thought to make his Lord formidable, by placing him at the head of a numerous party. But this too not answering in so short a time as his desires, and indeed his occasions, required, Sir Christopher Blount's project was brought again upon the carpet, and thus, by only approving the best, and pursuing the worst counsels, this Nobleman ruined himself and all who were attached to him.

(10) Camden.
Annals. p. 797.

(11) See the trial of Sir Christopher Blount, and others, in the State Trials, vol. vii. p. 47.

and

and the Queen's known regard for him, to overcome the ill impressions she had received; and not, by a hasty resuming of his former popularity, beget new grounds of distaste, and afford his enemies fresh opportunities of insinuating things to his prejudice, the only method which, as they persuaded him, could hinder his coming once more into favour and power (t). Yet, as much as the Earl liked the zeal and affection of his Secretary, and notwithstanding he delighted very much, as indeed he very well might, in his conversation, since he had a wonderful facility of applying all that he had learned from books to business, and of suiting the wise observations of ancient authors to the transactions of modern times (u); yet, his Lordship was but too well acquainted with the nature of Courts, and more especially that he had to deal with, to regard Mr. Cuffe's political reflections as oracles, which the other observed, and took amiss. This led him to shew the Earl, that he was not so far addicted to him as not to see his blind side; for that his submission, when called before the Lords of the Privy-Council, had sunk his character very much without raising his fortune at all; that, by admitting his own conduct in Ireland to be wrong, he, in effect, acknowledged all the proceedings against him to be right; and therefore, if he meant not to lead a life of dependance, he must think of recovering his reputation by some distinguished action (w). This roused the Earl, whose parts were certainly very good. He saw at once the danger of such advice, and the destruction that must attend his following it; for which reason he not only rejected it with disdain, but ordered Sir Gelly Merrick to discharge the Secretary immediately from his service, which, if he had done, some writers seem to think both their lives had been by it preserved. So it was however, that Sir Gelly Merrick took no notice of this order, which omission cost him his life also. The reason he gave for it was, that he was afraid Mr. Cuffe might be tempted to join with his Lord's enemies; but his real motive was, his agreeing in Cuffe's sentiments (x). However, this produced a coldness, which lasted for some time. But the Queen denying to renew the Earl's grant for farming the sweet wines, and some other mortifications which he received from Court having again soured his temper, he called Mr. Cuffe back to his Councils; to which he might be possibly induced for the sake of managing better a new design he was upon, which was interesting King James in his favour, or, rather, labouring to persuade that Prince of his cordial affection to his service: a thing not a little suspected before, as appeared by the Jesuit Parsons's dedicating to his Lordship his dangerous book about the Succession, which he had published under the name of Doleman (y). This scheme was certainly a better one than the former, and there is some reason to believe that this also was Cuffe's, and was, for some time, pretty well managed. But such was the heat of some of their associates tempers, that they would not suffer the Earl to wait for the good effects that project might have produced. On the contrary, they were continually infusing into him his danger of becoming a beggar, upon the expiration of his grant for the sweet wines; in consequence of which his friends would drop off, and he must entirely lose that credit and influence which had hitherto made him dreadful to his enemies, even under the weight of his misfortunes (z). By degrees these insinuations prevailed so far upon the Earl's mind, that he departed entirely from his scheme of submission, and returned to that sort of conduct which he had pursued in Ireland, directing, or at least allowing, Sir Gelly Merrick to keep a kind of open table for discontented and factious persons of all parties, though he did not appear in person, or converse with any of them, agreeably to one of Cuffe's maxims, *That it was good to have a multitude at his back, but few heads in his council* (a). Upon particular occasions, and to afford them necessary instructions for the management of their respective parts in the maintenance of his association, the Earl of Essex conferred personally, but generally in private, with the principal Lords and Gentlemen of his party; yet without disclosing the whole extent of his views, or the means he intended to employ in order to carry them into execution: those were reserved for his secret council, and these, as far as we can discern, were Sir Christopher Blount and Mr. Cuffe, who suggested and directed, or at least examined, and gave their approbation, to all his proceedings (b) [D]. Amongst other schemes set on

(t) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 834, 835.

(u) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 31.

(x) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 32.
Camd. Annal.
Eliz. p. 833.

(y) Wood's *Atb.*
Oxon. vol. i. col.
358.

(a) See the declaration of the Earl of Essex's treasons, Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 837.

(w) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 833.

(z) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 835, 837.

(b) This is collected from the declaration before-mentioned, and the proceedings against the Earl and his accomplices.

(12) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 833.

(13) *Reliquæ Wottonianæ*, p. 31.

[D] Or at least examined and directed, and gave their approbation to all his proceedings.] We have in the text, upon the authority of a grave and great Historian, given an account of the motives upon which the Earl of Essex dismissed Mr. Cuffe (12), and how the measure came to prove abortive; but the tale is quite otherwise told by a very polite writer, and one who asserts he had it from good authority. His story is worth the reading, it runs thus (13): 'There was amongst the Earl of Essex's nearest attendants, one Henry Cuffe, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels, smothered under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity. This person, not above five or six weeks before my Lord's fatal irruption into the

city, was, by the Earl's special command, suddenly discharged from all further attendance or access unto him, out of an inward displeasure then taken against his sharp and importunate insinuations, and out of a glimmering foresight, that he would prove the very instrument of his ruin. I must add hereunto, that about the same time my Lord had received from the Countess of Warwick (a Lady powerful in the Court, and indeed a virtuous user of her power) the best advice that I think was ever given from either sex, That when he was free from restraint he should closely take any out-lodgings at Greenwich, and sometimes, when the Queen went abroad in a good humour, whereof she would give him notice, he should come forth and humble himself before her in the field. This counsel sunk much into

foot at this time by Mr. Cuffe, for the support of the Earl's interest, there was one which shewed him a true politician, a great master in the knowledge of human nature, and a man equally capable of contriving with the utmost sagacity, and executing with the greatest address. Sir Henry Nevile, who had been the Queen's Ambassador in France, and who had shewn himself, in a long and troublesome negotiation, as active and able a Statesman as those times had produced, was then at home, and under a kind of a court cloud, which, though he was nearly related to Sir Robert Cecil, he had some cause to suspect was of his raising; or, at least, he thought he had good grounds to be displeased, that, by his known power and interest, it was not dispelled (c). Upon the discontents of this great and wise Minister, Mr. Cuffe thought it practicable to work; and, though he had never any nearness with the Earl of Essex in his greatest prosperity, or the least correspondence with him since his troubles began, yet Mr. Cuffe, who knew with how great efficacy the associating so great a person, and of such high reputation for his sagacity in their designs, would operate in favour of the Earl's cause, undertook to bring it about, and, against all shew of probability, succeeded (d). He took an opportunity of insinuating to Sir Henry, that, after the Queen, his mistress, the nation in general, and the Ministry in particular, had received many and great advantages from that vigilance and industry with which he had managed public affairs in France, and elsewhere; instead of receiving suitable rewards, exceptions were taken to his conduct, and himself put under difficulties and hardships, by the intrigues of Cecil, who was jealous of every man whose services were greater, and whose parts were better, than his own. By these suggestions he wrought himself so thoroughly into the confidence of Sir Henry Nevile, that he brought him to have a good opinion of the Earl his master's intentions for the public service; and this may be justly esteemed the most eminent stroke of Cuffe's politicks, and the highest proof of his abilities (e). His perfect intimacy with the Earl, the great likeness of their tempers, his entire knowledge of his affairs, might very well account for the ascendancy he had over him; but nothing of this, a very long acquaintance excepted, can be suggested with regard to Sir Henry Nevile; so that his interest with, and influence over him, could be ascribed to nothing but his abilities (f) [E]. We now come to the main point of the conspi-

(c) Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 271.

(d) See Sir Henry Nevile's case, in Winwood's Memorials.

(e) Collected from Sir Henry Nevile's own relations of this matter.

(f) Mr. Cuffe valued himself highly upon this at his trial.

into him, and for some days he resolved it; but, in the mean time, through the intercession of the Earl of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was restored to my Lord's ear, and so working advantage upon his disgraces, and the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, spun out the final destruction of his master and himself, and almost of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches. True it is that the Earl, in Westminster-Hall, did in general disclose the evil persuasions of this man: but the particulars which I have related, of his dismissal and restitution he buried in his own breast, for some reasons apparent enough. Indeed, as I conjecture, not to exasperate the case of my Lord of Southampton, though he might therewithal a little peradventure have mollified his own. The whole and true report I had by infallible means, from the person himself that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent Lady, and carried the discharge to Cuffe, who, in a private chamber, was stricken therewith into a swoon almost dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from some high steeple; such turrets of hope he had built in his own fancy! The noble Historian, who, in his junior years, considered the subject upon which the author wrote whom we have last mentioned, though he mentions him but very slightly, yet affords Mr. Cuffe quite another kind of character, and makes him to have been a much better Courtier than his master, one who observed it as a fault in him, i. e. the Earl of Essex, that he wore his passions in his countenance, that his affections or his anger were always to be read in his looks, and that he knew not how to conceal either. The noble writer's words deserve our notice. After shewing that there is a sort of dissimulation absolutely necessary in a Court, he proceeds to shew (14), how indifferently Essex was furnished in that particular; 'how ill, says he, the Earl was read in this philosophy, his servant Cuffe (whose observations were sharp enough, whatever Stoicisms raved in his nature) well discerned when he said, *Amorem* ' *odium, semper in fronte gessit, nec celare novit.*

[E] So that his interest and influence over him, could be ascribed to nothing but his abilities.] It was from a long and intimate acquaintance with Sir Henry Nevile, that Mr. Cuffe undertook to manage so dange-

rous and so intricate an affair with him. This we learn from Mr. Cuffe himself, who, at his trial, was very much provoked by the Attorney-General's treating him as a messenger from the Earl of Essex; and this induced him to tell the Court, that he was no such Mercury as Mr. Attorney was pleased to make him, but that in whatever he transacted with Sir Henry Nevile, he behaved as a principal, and as a common friend to the Earl and to the Knight (15). (15) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 59. Indeed this is sufficiently corroborated by the account given of this matter by Sir H. Nevile, which was read at Cuffe's trial, and what he had asserted is clearly confirmed. It was conceived in the following terms, allowing for the inaccuracy of the transcribers (16). (16) Ibid. p. 47. 'At his (Sir Henry Nevile's) arrival out of France, he was told that he had ill offices done him in Court by divers, and some of great place, and his actions at Bullen and carriage there greatly blamed, as causing the ill success of the peace. And by Cuffe it was told him, the Earl would have him know he was wronged, because he was one that loved him. After this Cuffe brought him a letter from the Earl, thereby desiring his love, and to hold it to him, besides many other words only of compliment. To which letter he returned an answer suitable to so kind provocations: but all this while he never went to him; and being in the country within ten miles of the Earl, yet never went to visit him. But Cuffe came to him from the Earl and told him, the Earl was then at liberty, and all the world that would might then freely come unto him: but still he put off his going, till, at one time, Cuffe came and told him, the Earl expected his coming to him, and such a day he would stay supper for him, and that if he came, and Cuffe chanced not to be in the way, a Gentleman of the Earl's should attend his coming, and bring him to the Earl's closet. About eight of the clock that night he went to the Earl's, and was met by a Gentleman who brought him to his Lord, who entertained him kindly, and after a while, after many questions of his hopes, but used no undutiful words of the Queen or State, he parted with the Earl, there having nothing but ordinary terms of compliment passed between them. Afterwards, Mr. Cuffe repairing often to him, he asked him at times how his Lord's matters stood in Court. At one time

(14) Disparity between the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Essex, written by the Earl of Clarendon.

conspiracy, or that design laid for restoring the Earl's power and greatness, which ended in his own, and in his followers ruin. Here it is necessary to distinguish between Mr. Cuffe's scheme, which was contrived and never executed, and the unfortunate Earl's project, which, if I may be allowed the expression, without being thought to play upon words, was executed without any contrivance. As to the first it was this: Mr. Cuffe perceiving that the Earl had many friends, some of them of great rank and quality, and that Cecil, and his associates in the Ministry, had likewise many enemies, who were also persons eminent by their birth, fortune, and influence, he thought that, by uniting these, and procuring, some way or other, access to the Queen, a change might be made in the management of public affairs, at least in her name, if not by her consent, and the Earl thereby raised to a degree of power equal to his friends wants, and his own wishes (g). Whether this sudden change for the present, was to have derived a future support, by a declaration in favour of the King of Scots claim to the succession, or whether that was to be left to farther consideration, is a point we want lights sufficient to determine; but, that this was really the basis of Cuffe's project, and that he flattered himself it would not come within the legal construction of treason, is what we have good grounds to believe, and, indeed, sufficient authorities to prove (h). When things were thus far brought into order, a resolution was taken, that a general and solemn meeting should be had at Drury-House, where the chiefs of the party might see each other, where they might have a full communication in reference to their strength, and come to some resolution as to the attempt that should be made, and the safest and most feasible method of making it. After much reflection and consideration, February 2d, 1601, was fixed upon, and, accordingly, upon that day, the Assembly was held at the place before-mentioned (i). It is very remarkable, that the Earl of Essex himself was not present, to prevent, as was said, any notice or umbrage being taken at Court; but, in reality, that there might be no evidence to affect him for holding such an assembly, or those who were present at it for consulting with him, in case any thing relating to it should take air. At this assembly Mr. Cuffe was likewise not present, but all his friends, and at his request, and upon his earnest intreaty amongst the rest, Sir Henry Nevile. It was propounded there, that a few persons had got the Queen and the Government into their hands; that such as they disliked were no longer safe; that they daily suffered wrongs and oppressions, without any hopes of redress; that these proceedings were against justice and common right, and that the only remedy was, to obtain an audience of the Queen, in which these grievances might be fairly laid before her (k). After these preliminaries, the main point, How such an audience should be obtained, came under deliberation, and a scheme was then laid down for the Earl of Essex gaining access to her Majesty, and power enough to remove his enemies; but nothing was resolved in this assembly, though a list was produced of one hundred and thirty Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of estates, that were ready to embark in the Earl's cause, and to hazard, as indeed many of them did, and lost too, for his sake, their lives and fortunes (l). Such was the design and issue of the conference at Drury-House, in which

(h) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 837, 838.

(k) See the case of Sir Henry Nevile, in Winwood's Mem.

(l) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 840. Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 396.

(g) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 395.

(i) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 396.

• he answered him, well; and told him of great hopes
• conceived: at some other time he answered him
• very discontentedly in these things, saying it made
• no matter, it would cause the Earl to take other
• courses, and said there was a pretext to lay up the
• Earl of Southampton, which was a warning that
• they meant to lay up Lord Essex after him, but that
• the Earl was resolved they should never curb him up
• any more. Cuffe then told him, his Lord had in
• purpose some matters, but he should not embark
• himself further in them than he listed, and desired
• him to give a meeting to the Earl of Southampton
• and Sir Charles Danvers: he said he would, but
• with this limitation, that nothing was intended
• against the Queen's person, which was promised.
• But he detained them at two meetings, which caus-
• ed them to make an ill judgment of his meaning
• towards them and the intendment. Monday, on
• Candlemas-day, standing in Serjeants-Inn Gate, the
• Earls of Essex, Southampton, and Sir Christopher
• Blount, passed by in a coach, whom he saluted pas-
• sing, and was the first time he had seen them of
• long. Anon after, Cuffe coming to him, told him
• he had a commission to deliver a secret unto him,
• which was, that the Earl finding his life sought by
• men potent about her Majesty, he was advised to
• make his appearance to the Queen, and go with
• strength for that purpose, describing the same man-
• ner of taking the Court, and making way to the
• Queen, as before is set down by others. This
• Cuffe said he was to impart to him, as one in whose

• love the Earl was confident. The matters being
• propounded unto him, he made many objections,
• and put great difficulties in the execution, easy
• perfecting of things being promised; my answer
• was, *Multa sunt quæ non laudantur nisi cum aguntur*.
• When some persons were named for the actors, he
• objected that if many knew it, it would not be con-
• cealed; if few were used, it would not be performed.
• The Earl of Rutland being named for one, said,
• they would not trust him long before-hand, for if he
• knew it but two hours before he would tell. In
• conclusion, he was desired to think of the things
• propounded in case they were shewed unto him.
• Afterward Cuffe came to him, to whom he related
• all the speeches used in that conference, and told
• him he would not allow it, except they would con-
• jure and take an oath to attempt nothing against the
• Queen's person and against Mr. Secretary, he would
• never do nor consent to any thing, for he was nearer
• unto him, therefore they must, *duce pudicè*, spare
• him in that. Cuffe said to him they would only
• have him present when things were doing, and if
• it fell out so, that he should be hastened to dispatch
• into France before that time, he might defer it by
• feigning sickness. By their appointment he should
• have been Secretary. Further it is required, that
• he should have sent a Minister into London to find
• how the city stood affected to the Earl. Cuffe fur-
• ther told him of a buz in many mens mouths in
• London, and that there had been warning given to
• the Mayor and Aldermen to look to the city, but
• of

which Mr. Cuffe had so deep a share, as well in the managing as in the contriving [F]. There was a second meeting some time after, to which Mr. Cuffe used many intreaties with Sir Henry Nevile to come, but he absolutely refused; nor would he listen to what was proposed, of an interview with the Earl of Essex, from a supposition that he was unwilling to trust himself where there were so many people present; but, in reality, he had already heard much more than he was inclined to hear, foresaw but too clearly the consequences of the former meeting, though he was unwilling, as a man of honour, to betray those who had trusted him, as well as a man of too much sense to trust himself in such a company again (m). Things were now so far advanced, that it was thought dangerous to go back, at the same time that there was no safety in going forward. A great resort of company there was to Essex-House, and, to cover this, the mask of religion was used, the Earl pretending that he sought no relief but from spiritual comforts; and, for this reason, he had frequent sermons there; and indeed many of the Clergy in the city ventured to pray for him, and for his preservation; which, all things considered, was a very strange thing (n). It is not to be supposed, that the Court was asleep all this while, or that Sir Robert Cecil, and his friends, should have so growing and dangerous an evil in their neighbourhood, without being apprised of it, or providing for their own safety. There is very good reason to believe, that they were not either inattentive or ill-informed, and that having mustered, in their own opinions, the whole force of the Lord Essex's party, they grew convinced, that any step, tending to open force, must end in his destruction. They therefore, to quicken him, took a variety of methods of shewing their contempt of his interest, and suffered those who had personal quarrels with his friends to insult them (o). Though this went to Essex's heart, yet he was irresolute, as not being able to draw together a number of persons sufficient to execute the scheme that had been talked over at Drury-House. But while he delayed, in hopes of collecting strength, his enemies, having provided for the total dissipation of his schemes, determined not to let him linger any longer; and therefore a message was sent him on Saturday the seventh day of February, from Secretary Herbert, to attend him, which he excused, on the score of his indisposition; and this, as it was foreseen it would, forced him to break out, as he did the next day, with all the force that he could collect; but being dissuaded from attempting the Court, and failing of that assistance he expected in the city, he, and all that were with him in Essex-House, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners (p). By this sudden reverse of fortune, Mr. Cuffe found himself in the most wretched condition possible; for the Earl of Essex being tried and condemned on the 19th of February, and being solicited by the Divines who attended him while under sentence, not only confessed matters that were prejudicial to Mr. Cuffe, and gave those confessions under his hand, but likewise charged him to his face with being the author of all his misfortunes, and the person who principally perswaded him to pursue violent measures (q). Sir Henry Nevile also being involved in this unhappy business, charged Mr. Cuffe with being the person who invited him to the meeting at Drury-House, but very modestly, and without any circumstances of aggravation (r). He was brought to his trial on the fifth of March following, and defended himself with great steadiness and spirit (s) [G]. He was, however, con-

victed;

‘ of twenty-four Aldermen he doubted not of twenty ‘ at least.’ It is evident enough that this narrative was but indistinctly taken. However it is the best we have, and comes home to the point it was brought to prove, that Sir Henry Nevile had a great confidence in Cuffe, and that it was chiefly from this he was drawn to meddle in the affair.

[F] *In which Mr. Cuffe had so deep a share, as well in the managing as in the contriving.* There is one point left much in the dark in the last note, which therefore should be explained in this. It is confessed that Sir Henry Nevile was privy to the proposals made, and the resolutions taken, in the consultation at Drury House, and it was for his knowledge of them, and for that only, that Cuffe died: it is requisite therefore that the reader should be acquainted with what those propositions were, and this he shall be told with all the succinctness possible (17). Sir Christopher Blount was, with a choice detachment, to possess himself of the Palace Gate; Davis was to seize the Hall; Danvers the Guard-Chamber, which was but slightly watched, and the Presence-Chamber; and Essex was to rush in from the Meuse, which were stables belonging to the Court, with a select party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his knees to remove his adversaries from her presence, to bring them upon their trial, and then to call a Parliament and make a change in the government. This most certainly was not originally Mr. Cuffe's scheme, but was made up of his and Sir Christopher Blount's blended together, and to which, in the end, Mr. Cuffe

was brought to assent, as the only one that was practicable. Of this it was that Sir Henry Nevile gave his opinion, that some things were not to be applauded till they were achieved, and of this it is not improbable, that he gave some hints to the Court, at least something like this was said by Secretary Cecil at Cuffe's trial. We now see the very depth of this affair, and in what manner, and by what degrees, Mr. Cuffe plunged into this treasonable abyss, out of which, though there were some who escaped, yet it is generally thought that they left the best part of their estates behind them.

[G] *And defended himself with great steadiness and spirit.* When the Attorney-General Coke opened a charge against Mr. Cuffe, he did it with all that violence which was so natural to him (18): he told him that he was the errantest traitor that ever came to the bar; he was *polypragma*, the very seducer of the Earl, and added, that, since he was a scholar and a sophister, he would frame him a syllogism, and bid him deny which part he would. The syllogism was this, Who-soever commits rebellion intends the Queen's death, but you committed rebellion, *ergo*, you intended the Queen's death. After abundance of other hard sayings he enters into the charge, but without producing any witness, or any kind of proof, excepting the confession of Sir Henry Nevile, and the stories that Secretary Cecil was pleased to tell upon the Bench, of the confessions of the Earl of Essex and of the Earl of Southampton, all which were in this general manner used as evidence that Cuffe was the great framer and

manager

(m) Sir Henry Nevile's case and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(n) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 839.

(o) See Osborn's Political Deductions from Essex's death.

(r) See his case and his narrative, printed in Cuffe's trial.

(p) Camd. Ann. p. 839. Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 401, 402.

(q) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 53.

(s) Fuller's Worthies in Somersetshire, p. 28. Camden. Annal Eliz. p. 866.

(17) Camd. Ann. Eliz. p. 839.

(18) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 47.

viſited; and, as he was looked upon as the principal author of this fatal buſineſs; conſidered as a man of dangerous capacity; and having had no ſort of intelligence with thoſe that were then in favour, he was, with Sir Gelly Merrick, executed at Tyburn, March 30th, 1601, and died with great conſtancy and courage (t) [H]. His character has been
harſhly (t) Stowe's Annals, p. 795.

manager of all theſe dangerous deſigns. At length, Mr. Cuffe being allowed to ſpeak for himſelf, ſaid, 'the matters objected againſt him were many, and urged againſt him with all force of wit; therefore, for the help of his weak memory, he would reduce all unto two heads, things plotted, and things acted. For the firſt of them, Mr. Attorney thinks he hath concluded me in mood and figure, but my answer is, that if a man may be excuſed of treaſon by committing nothing, I am clear. Yet the number of matters heaped upon me, and the inferences and enforcements of the ſame uſed againſt me, to make me odious, make me ſeem alſo as a monſter of many heads in this buſineſs. But ſince by the law all accuſations are to be believed, and facts weighed, as by evidence they are proved, and things are beſt proved being ſingled; I will beſeech Mr. Attorney, that we may inſiſt upon ſome point certain, and not, as in a ſtream, have all things at once brought upon me with violence. For my being in Eſſex Houſe the Sunday, I hope it ſhall be conſtrued as in the caſe of others. Then, if thoſe who only had their being within the walls of that houſe, and no hand nor head in that action, were not traitors, I hope, that in favour and in charity, you will accordingly judge of me, who ſpent all that day locked up in my chamber amongſt my books, and never appeared unto any man till all was yielded up to my Lord Admiral. To conclude me to be a traitor, becauſe I was in the houſe where treaſon was committed, by the ſame reaſon, if a lion had been there locked up in a grate, he had been in caſe of treaſon. But whereas your argument, Mr. Attorney, is this, that whoſoever intends treaſon, and the ſame is afterwards acted by others, there the intender, as well as the actor, is a traitor; but I intended treaſon, and others acted it, *ergo*. Mr. Attorney it is not your *major* that I deny, becauſe my Lords the Judges have determined that, but I deny your *minor*. For if the thing intended was the going to the Court, yet the thing acted was the going into London.' But Mr. Attorney-General taking him ſhort upon his own confeſſion, concluded him a traitor, for in treaſon the very intent is treaſon, if the ſame can be proved. Now it is confeſſed by Mr. Cuffe, that he intended the taking of the Court, which in itſelf is treaſon. Mr. Cuffe ſaid, 'My Lords, the matters forced upon me ſo amaze me, as I know not what to ſay: but I beſeech you, even as yourſelves ſhall be judged, judge ſo of me both by my words and deeds, for this is the law both of God and man; and let not the accuſations of others, or arguments now forced ſo far, have power againſt me, as to take from me my juſt defence. I am further charged with contriving plots for reſtoring the Earl to greatneſs. True, I muſt confeſs, as a ſervant that longed for the honour of his maſter, I have often wiſhed to ſee his recalling to the Court, and reſtoring to her Maſteſty's former favour, but beyond the limits of theſe deſires my thoughts never carried me, nor aſpired to other greatneſs, than to ſee him again in place of a ſervant and worthy ſubject as before he had been. And whereas I ſtand accuſed to be as one that turned the wheel, which elſe had ſtood, and to be the ſtirrer of his mind, which otherwiſe had ſettled to another courſe; to clear this I had written two lines, which you, Mr. Secretary, knew the Earl would have ſubſcribed if he might have been ſuffered.' But Mr. Secretary affirmed, he perceived no ſuch purpoſe in the Earl, neither remembered any ſuch matter in that which was written. Said Cuffe, 'You know, Mr. Secretary, my paper being read to the Earl as he read, he ſaid, ſtill as he went, *true, true*.' At the importunity of Mr. Cuffe, Mr. Secretary willed the paper ſhould be read, but it tended only unto this, that if he knew of the Earl's intent to go to the Court, it was with ſuch limitations as the Earl had propounded, otherwiſe not, for he had not ſuggeſted any

of theſe new practices. Mr. Attorney, to cut ſhort this defence, began his reply with telling him, 'Come Mr. Cuffe, I will give you a cuff ſhall ſet you down;' and then ordered part of the Earl's and Sir Henry Nevile's confeſſion, to be read. Mr. Secretary Cecil then queſtioned Mr. Cuffe, What was meant with reſpect to a Parliament? to which he answered that if theſe ſchemes had ſucceeded, many alterations would have followed, and that, for the ſettling of things, a Parliament might then have become neceſſary. Mr. Attorney-General was pleaſed to inform the Court, that, in that Parliament, Mr. Cuffe was to have been Speaker. The Jury found him guilty, in which Mr. Cuffe ſaid that they had done but right in diſcharging their conſciences; he took notice, that when he was ſeized he had but two ſhillings about him, but that there were three hundred and fifty pounds in ready money taken in his chamber; he ſaid, that, upon his being firſt carried to the Tower, he was put into a very bad place, but that he was afterwards removed into a better, where he deſired to continue, which was afterwards granted; he farther requested, that he might have a Divine ſent him, and be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, which were alſo promiſed. Mr. Camden, in his account of Cuffe's trial, ſays (19), that the Lord Chief Juſtice Anderſon, told both the Attorney General and Mr. Cuffe, that they were but indifferent diſputants, and preſſed the ſtatute of treaſon, by which Cuffe was concluded, ſince it appeared that he was acquainted with what paſſed in the conference at Drury Houſe, and the propoſal of putting the Queen under a force, and ſhewed his approbation of it by citing, in converſation, to Sir Henry Nevile, a paſſage from the poet Lucan, implying, that where juſtice is denied, it might be obtained by force:

— Arma tenenti
Omnia dat, qui juſta negat.

Mr. Fuller, who affects to treat every ſubject merrily, ſays (20), humorouſly enough, that this might be ſtiled Mr. Cuffe's *neck-verſe*, in which how improperly ſoever he ſhews his wit, yet certainly he ſhews his judgment at the ſame time, for without doubt the quoting theſe verſes was the higheſt treaſon that Cuffe committed, and the only proof that he conſented to the project of putting a force upon the Queen, which, in the conſtruction of the law, was treaſon; yet this is ſo far from being proved by two witneſſes, that it could only have been proved by one, and even he was not produced. Such, in compariſon of thoſe in which we live, was the juſtice, or rather ſeverity, of former times.

[H] And died with great conſtancy and courage.] It was an obſervation of Secretary Cecil's, that Cuffe was as ſilent under his miſfortunes, as his maſter was open. Indeed there was ſomething very extraordinary in the Earl of Eſſex's behaviour; for, when he once began to confeſs, he charged every body that had any kindneſs for him, as having a hand in his plot; ſuch as the Lord Montjoy, his ſucceſſor in Ireland, and many others; ſo that the very number of them rendered a proſecution unſafe, which is a farther proof that Cuffe's original ſcheme might have ſucceeded, had it been coolly and carefully purſued. The Earl, to prove his ſincerity, deſired to ſee Mr. Cuffe, whom he exhorted to confeſs, as he did, with many paſſionate expreſſions, adding at laſt (21), 'I muſt tell you plainly, that this inſtance of diſloyalty is purely owing to your advice.' Mr. Camden tells us, that Mr. Cuffe was ſurprized at this, and in few words, but to the purpoſe, charged the Earl with weakneſs and levity in betraying his friends (22). This was before Mr. Cuffe's trial, and how handſomely he acted thereat has been already ſhewn. At the place of execution all writers agree, that he behaved with the utmoſt reſolution, and the moſt ſteady compoſure.

(19) Camd. Annals, p. 866.

(20) Worthies in Somerſetſhire, p. 28.

(21) State Trials, vol. vii. p. 59.

(22) Annals. Eliz. p. 859.

(u) See his
Works, vol. iv.
p. 395.

(x) Fuller's Wor-
thies in Somers-
setshire, p. 28.
Atten. Oxon.
vol. i. col. 303.

harshly treated by Lord Bacon (u) and Sir Henry Wotton (w), and some other writers. Camden also, who knew him intimately, and had lived for many years in great friendship with him, bestows on him a short but bitter reflection. Others are milder in their censures, and all allow him to have been a very learned and very able man. He wrote a book in English, that was printed after his death several times, and has been much commended (x): and, besides this, there is another work of his that was never printed, of both which we shall give some account in the notes [I]. The course of his life, as well

(w) Reliquiae
Wottonianae,
p. 31.

(24) Atten. Oxon.
vol. i. col. 308.

(25) Bibliotheca
Cotton. Nero
D. X.

(26) Bibliotheca
Britannica Hi-
bernica, p. 211.

(27) Osborn's
Advice to his
Son, P. i. cap. iv.

He delivered himself, upon this melancholy occasion, in the following words: 'I am brought hither to pay my last debt to nature, and to suffer for crimes committed against God, my Prince, and my country; and as I cannot but discern the infinite justice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my offences, so can I as little doubt but the severity of my punishment will make way for my admission into the embraces of his mercy. We are exposed here as sad spectacles, and instances of human frailty: the death we are to undergo carries a frightful aspect, (for even the best of men desire life), besides that 'tis as full of ignominy as terror. However, 'tis the portion of the best of saints, with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ. Not that I would be thought by any one to depend upon my own merits, which I absolutely discard, but I place my entire trust and dependance in the atonement of my Saviour's blood. I am fully persuaded, that, whoever feels a secret consolation within himself whilst he groans under the infliction of any earthly punishment, is chastised by God with a paternal tenderness, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cause of my death. There is nobody here can be possibly ignorant, what a wild commotion was raised on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadvised, Earl. I do here call God, his angels, and my own conscience, to witness, that I was not in the least concerned therein, but was shut up on that whole day within the house, where I spent my time in very melancholy reflections.' Here he was interrupted, and advised not to disguise the truth by distinctions, nor palliate his crime by specious pretences. Then he proceeded in these words: 'I confess 'tis a crime as black as treason, for a subject, who has lost his Prince's favour, to force his way to the royal presence. For my own part, I never persuaded any man to take up arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concerned, for being an instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir Henry Nevile, into danger; and do most earnestly intreat his pardon: and whereas I said, that one and twenty Algermen out of the twenty-four were devoted to the Earl's interest, I only meant that they were his friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open rebellion.' Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his devotions, which he managed with a great deal of fervour, and then, making a solemn profession of his creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatched by the executioner. A man, says Camden, of most exquisite learning, and of a penetrating, but seditious and crooked, wit (23). *Ver exquissima doctrina, ingenioque acerrimo, sed turbido & tortuoso.*

(23) Camd. Ann.
Eliz. p. 868.

[I] Of both which we shall give some account in the notes.] As for Mr. Cuff's book, it was, for some time after his decease, handed about at Oxford in manuscript, and considered as a very great curiosity. Mr. Anthony Wood tells us, he wrote it in the year 1600, that is, a very little before his death. About six years after it was printed under this title:

The Differences of the Ages of Man's Life, together with the original Causes, Progress, and End, thereof. Written by the learned Henry Cuffe, some time Fellow of Merton-college in Oxford. Lond. 1607, 1638, 8vo; 1640, 12mo. There is something in this piece very curious and philosophical; and though, at this time of day, what between our proficiency in experimental philosophy, in which he was but a beginner, and the uncouthness of his stile, which was the fault of his time, much of the beauty of his work is lost; yet the strength of his thoughts, the accuracy

VOL. IV.

of his method, and his connected manner of reasoning, leave no reason at all to doubt, that he deserved the commendations that have been bestowed upon him. Mr. Wood says (24), that he left behind him many other things ready for the press, which were never published; but he does not think fit to tell us any of their titles. All that we can supply from the enquiries of the indefatigable Bishop Tanner, is the following title of one piece, and the place where it is, or at least was once, to be found (25):

De rebus gestis in sancto concilio Nicæno, or, 'The Transactions in the Holy Council of Nice, translated out of Greek into Latin,' and is believed to have been the work of Gelasius Cyricenus, which was transcribed from the original in the Vatican Library, by Henry Cuffe (26). We will conclude this note with the judicious and salutary reflection of a celebrated author, upon the uneasy life, and unfortunate death, of this extraordinary person of whom we have been speaking, which teaches the use of these kind of Histories, and shews, that we may borrow as beneficial improvements from contemplating the lives of unhappy men, as from the perusal of the swelling memoirs of persons more indebted to Fortune for her favours (27). 'Mingle not, says he, your interest with a great man's, made desperate by debts or Court injuries, whose breakings out prove fatal to their wisest followers and friends, averred in the last Earl of Essex but one, where Merrick his Steward, and Cuffe his Secretary, though of excellent parts, were both hanged. For such unconcocted rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any but the parties that promote them, being commonly guided by the directions of their enemies, as this was by Cecil, whose creatures persuaded Essex to this inconsiderate attempt.' C.

[*] From Dr. Birch's memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth it appears, that Mr. Cuff was one of the Secretaries to the Earl of Essex so early as in 1606, and that he accompanied the Earl in his expedition against Cadiz. After the successful event of the expedition, Cuff was dispatched with his Lordship's letters to England, and, when he had landed, endeavoured, with the utmost speed, to arrive with them at the Court. Being, however, unfortunately taken ill on the road, he was obliged to send up the letters, inclosed in one of his own, to Mr. Reynoldes, another of the Earl's Secretaries. Mr. Cuff, agreeably to large instructions which he had received from his Lordship, had drawn up a discourse concerning the great action at Cadiz, which the Earl purposed to be published as soon as possible, both to stop all vagrant rumours, and to inform those, that were well affected, of the truth of the whole. It was, at the same time, to be so contrived, that neither his Lordship's name, nor Cuff's, nor any other person's, connected with the Earl, should either be openly mentioned, used, or in such a manner insinuated, as that the most slender guesses could be made, who was the penman. The publication was to have the appearance of a letter that came from Cadiz, and the title of it was to be, "A true relation of the action at Cadiz, the 21st of June, under the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, sent to a Gentleman in Court from one that served there in good place." Sir Anthony Ashley, who was entrusted with the design, acted a treacherous part on this occasion. He betrayed the secret to the Queen, and the Lords of her Council; the consequence of which was, that Mr. Fulke Grevill was charged by her Majesty to command Mr. Cuff, upon pain of death, not to set forth any discourse concerning the expedition with-

7 C

out

(y) Fuller's Worthies, p. 28.
(z) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 303.
(a) Bibliotheca Britannica Hi-bernica, p. 211.

(b) Owen, Epigram. lib. v. nu. 107.

well as the manner of his death, rendered him the theme of much discourse in his own times; and our general Historians have mentioned him in such a manner, as might have raised the curiosity of their readers, to be more particularly informed. The Reverend Mr. Fuller (y) has given him a place amongst his Worthies in Somersetshire; honest Anthony Wood (z) has treated him with great fairness and freedom; and the learned and industrious Bishop Tanner (a) has spoken of him, as indeed he does of every body, with great candour, accuracy, and decency. These authorities will sufficiently justify the giving his Memoirs a place in this collection, more especially as it has afforded an opportunity of setting several historical circumstances relating to a very dark and intricate affair, in a clear and true light. His death hindered not his limbs from being interred, though we are not able to say where; though the manner of it did, as it well might, deprive him of a monument. An old friend of his, however, ventured to embalm his memory in an Epigram (b), with which, being very short, we shall conclude:

Doctus eras Græce felixque tibi fuit Alpha
At fuit infelix Omega Cuffe tuum.

Which has been thus translated:

*Thou wast, indeed, well read in Greek!
Thy Alpha too was crown'd with hope;
But, oh! tho' sad the truth I speak,
Thy Omega proved but a rope.*

(28) Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 81, 82, 95.

out her privacy. Such was the state of the liberty of the press in those days. Nevertheless, matters were so managed by Mr. Anthony Bacon, that copies of the discourse were sent abroad, for the purpose of doing justice to the honour and reputation of the Earl of Essex (28).

In the first volume of the Annual Register, and the forty-third of the Gentleman's Magazine, the following remarkable speech is given, as the dying speech of Mr. Cuff. "I am here adjudged to die, for acting an act never plotted, for plotting a plot never acted. Justice will have her course; accusers must be heard; greatness will have the victory. Scholars and Martialists (though learning and valour should have the pre-eminence) in England must die like dogs, and be hanged. To mislike this were but folly: to dispute it, but time lost: to alter it, impossible. But to endure it, is manly; and to scorn it, magnanimity. The Queen is displeased, the Lawyers injurious, and Death terrible. But I crave pardon of the Queen; forgive the Lawyers, and the World; desire to be

"forgiven; and welcome death (29)."

There is a concise energy and spirit in this speech, which cannot fail of exciting the admiration of our readers; and, from its being so excellently suited to the genius and character of Cuff, it carries in it no small degree of internal evidence that it was actually delivered by him. We could have wished, however, that its authenticity had been particularly ascertained. This was the more desirable, as it does not accord with the speech that is given in note [H], and which appears to be founded on the best authority.

In the Epistolæ Francisci et Johannis Hotomorum, Patris et Filii, et clarorum Virorum ad eos, are several letters by Cuff, to John Hotman. These are said to exhibit distinguished marks of genius and learning; to be written in elegant Latin; and to contain some curious particulars. It was, therefore, our earnest desire to avail ourselves of them; but, after much enquiry, we were not fortunate enough to obtain a copy of the work. We hope to supply the defect on a future occasion.] K.

(29) Annual Register, vol. i. p. 377. Gentleman's Mag. vol. xliii. p. 112.

(a) From the Rev. Mr. Payne's Preface to Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hist. p. 3.

(d) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 4, 5, 6.

(e) See the following dates, and those of his two dedications.
(2) Extract from the University Register.
(b) Kennet's Chron. ubi supra.
(i) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. col. 118.

CUMBERLAND (RICHARD), a very learned Divine, and Bishop of Peterborough in the close of the last and beginning of the present century. He was the son of an honest citizen of London, who, by his industry, acquired a competent, though not a great fortune (a). This Reverend Prelate was born in the parish of St. Ann near Aldersgate, July 15th, 1632, though his father lived afterwards in Fleet-street (b). He received the first tincture of letters in St. Paul's School, under the care of Mr. John Langley (c), and was removed from thence to Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was contemporary with some very worthy and learned persons; such as Dr. Hezekiah Burton, his intimate friend and acquaintance, a very learned and pious Divine; Dr. Hollings, an eminent Physician at Shrewsbury; Sir Samuel Moreland, admired for his skill in the Mathematics; the celebrated Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty; and the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, to whom himself, and his friend Dr. Burton, were Chaplains at the same time (d). He was very remarkable, while Fellow of his College, for his diligent application to his studies, as well as for the unaffected piety, and unblemished probity, of his life. It does not appear in what year this excellent person came to the University, but from circumstances it may be very easily collected, and we have reason to think it was in 1649 (e). He took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1653 (f), and in 1656 he became Master of Arts (g), at which time he had thoughts of applying himself to Physic, which he actually studied for some time (h). He was incorporated Master of Arts in the University of Oxford, July 14th, 1657 (i). He went out Bachelor of Divinity at a public commencement at his own University, A. D. 1663, with universal applause (k). His first preferment was the Rectory of Brampton in the Deanery of Haddon, in the Archdeaconry and county of Northampton, which was given him by Sir John Norwich. The Patron was not disappointed in having a Clerk, who, in all respects, answered his highest expectations, and they lived together in the greatest unanimity (l). This worthy Gentleman was descended of a most antient and noble family, and was advanced to the dignity of a Baronet

(b) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. iii. p. 510.
(c) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(f) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(k) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(l) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 7.

(m) Baronetage
of England, vol.
ii. p. 216.
Kenner's Chron.
p. 555.

ronet by King Charles the First. Brampton was his own parish, where he lived in great privacy and retirement. Mr. Cumberland was admitted December 3d, 1658, upon the demise of the Reverend Mr. John Ward (m); and after the Restoration, having never had the least scruple to the authority of the Church, he had a legal institution, and read the Thirty-nine Articles, as directed by law, November 24th, 1661 (n), and was, the same year, appointed one of the twelve Preachers in the University of Cambridge. This, however, was a temporary avocation only, owing to the high character he had raised by the masterly manner in which he had performed all academical exercises, and from which he quickly returned to the duties of his parochial charge. In this rural retirement he minded little else than the duties of his function, and his studies. His relaxations from these were very few besides his journies to Cambridge, which he made frequently, to preserve a correspondence with his learned acquaintance in that place. Here he thought to have remained, and here he might have remained during the course of his whole life, if his intimate friend and kind benefactor Sir Orlando Bridgeman, upon his receiving the Seals in 1667, had not sent for him up to London, made him his Chaplain, and soon after bestowed upon him the living of Alhallows in Stamford (o). He discharged the functions of his ministry in that great town with indefatigable diligence; for, besides the duties incumbent upon him by his parochial charge, he accepted of the weekly lecture, and, by this means, was obliged to preach three times every week in the same church (p). This difficult province he went through constantly and assiduously; and though this alone would have been a burthen too heavy for an ordinary man, he discharged it with so much ease, that he carried on at the same time great designs in his Philosophical, Mathematical, and Philological Studies. He gave a noble proof of this, and one which equally demonstrated the soundness of his morals, and the solidity of his parts, in publishing his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature*; a book deserving universal applause, and received with the applause that it deserved [A]. He was not in the least elevated with the praises

(n) Regist. Laney
Petriburg.

(o) Payne's Pref.
to Sanchonia-
tho's Hist. p. 8.
But Mr. Willis
says that he was
Vicar of St. Mar-
tin's, Stamford.
(p) Payne's Pref.
to Sanchonia-
tho's Hist. p. 9.

[A] And received with the applause that it deserved.] The title of this work at large runs thus: *De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica, in qua earum forma, summa Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio rerum naturæ investigantur; quin etiam Elementa Philosophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis tum civilis, considerantur & refutantur.* Londini 1672, 4to. i. e. 'A Philosophical Enquiry into the Laws of Nature, in which their Form, principal Heads, Order, Promulgation, and Obligation, are investigated from the nature of things; and in which also the Philosophical Elements of Hobbes, moral as well as civil, are considered and refuted.' This book was written while he was Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, to whom it was dedicated, and there is prefixed to it a short Preface to the reader, by the author's friend and fellow Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Dr. Hezekiah Burton. Dr. Cumberland being at a distance from the press when this book was published, it came into the world very incorrectly printed, and in subsequent editions these faults were multiplied in a very surprizing manner (1). We may hence form an idea of the excellency of a work, that could, notwithstanding, support its author's reputation both at home and abroad, and be constantly esteemed one of the best performances that ever appeared, and that too upon one of the nicest and most important subjects. Mr. Payne says very justly, that it was one of the first pieces written in a demonstrative way on a moral subject, and at the same time the perfectest (2). It is indeed on all hands admitted, that the Philosopher of Malmesbury was never so closely handled, or his notions so thoroughly sifted, as by Dr. Cumberland. He has however taken a new road, very different from Grotius, Puffendorff, and other writers, more difficult, and less entertaining indeed, but, at the same time, much more convincing. It was desired that a piece of such general utility should be made better known by being put into an easier method, and translated into the English language. This the author would not oppose, though he did not undertake it; being very sensible that the obscurity complained of by some, was really in the subject itself, and would be found so by those who meddled with it. The project however was pursued by James Tyrrel, Esq; grandson to the famous Archbishop Usher, who published his performance under the following title: *A brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature, according to the principles and method laid down in the Reverend Dr. Cumberland's (now Lord*

Bishop of Peterborough) Latin Treatise on that Subject; as also his Confutations of Mr. Hobbes's Principles, put into another Method, with the author's approbation (3). Mr. Payne, whom we have so often quoted, gives us a very honest and fair account of a design that he also had of the same nature. After mentioning the prejudice that this work had received from its ill usage at the press, he proceeds thus: 'This may have been some discouragement to the reading it, though the difficulty of the subject, and the closeness of the reasoning, has been a greater. Hardly any men hitherto have made themselves acquainted with the argument of it, but such as are in the uppermost form of learning. I have sometimes wished that his Lordship would have been pleased to have revised it, and tried to make it more easy and intelligible; but it had lain so long out of his hands, that he did not care to take it up again. He gave me leave to attempt any thing of that kind if I would, and as a help he gave me his own interleaved book, which has here and there a little addition. I read his book over and over diligently with this view, but never found where I could well alter any thing, where I could leave out, or where I could add. All I can think on to give a little advantage to common readers, is to print the book correctly, to give an Analysis of the argumentation, to add contents to each paragraph, and to divide them oftener. This I may perhaps find leisure to do (4).' It is not impossible, that the Rev. Mr. Payne might be diverted from this purpose of his, which certainly would have been very welcome to the learned world, by a like attempt made some few years after, while he was employed in publishing the Bishop's Posthumous Works, by a Reverend Divine of the kingdom of Ireland, who very probably never heard of his intention, or of the singular advantages he had, and which must have enabled him to perform it better than any other man. This last mentioned gentleman printed an English translation of our Prelate's book by subscription, under the following title: 'A Treatise of the Laws of Nature, by the Right Reverend Father in God Richard Cumberland, Lord Bishop of Peterborough; made English from the Latin by John Maxwell, A. M. Prebendary of Connor, and Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: To which is prefixed, an Introduction concerning the mistaken notions which the Heathens had of the Deity, and the defects in their Mora-

(3) Lond. 1692.
8vo.

(4) Payne's Pref.
to Sanchonia-
tho's Hist. p. 27.

(1) See the Rev.
Mr. Maxwell's
Preface to his
Translation.

(2) Payne's Pref.
to Sanchonia-
tho's Hist. p. 26.

(r) Payne's Pref. to Sanchionia-
tho's Hist. p. 9.

(r) Payne's Pref. to Sanchionia-
tho's Hist. p. 27.

praises bestowed upon him, not only by the world in general, but by persons of the most distinguished merit and learning, upon the score of this excellent performance (q). He went on doing his duty with the same calmness and cheerfulness as before; and, in this station of a private Clergyman, so great was his reputation, that he was importuned by the University, and by other acquaintance, to take upon him the weighty exercise of responding at the public Commencement. Nothing but the earnest solicitation of his friends could have prevailed with a man, void not only of ambition but of even the desire of applause, to appear so publicly. This he did in the year 1680, in so masterly a manner, that, for many years after, the memory of his performance remained fresh in that University (r) [B]. The next specimen of his great abilities and profound learning appeared in the year 1686, in his *ESSAY on Jewish MEASURES and WEIGHTS*; a work written with the utmost sagacity, and in which qualities are discovered that seldom are found in the same mind, a deep penetration, extensive reading, a strong and accurate judgment, together with a candour seldom to be met with, and an unaffected humility, which, in conjunction with such talents, is truly admirable (s). It was a work not only highly useful in its nature, but very much wanted, and was therefore received with the highest applause by the best judges, who were equally pleased with the method and matter, as well as the manner and conciseness, of the performance. It was afterwards reprinted, and will continue to support the reputation of its author, as long as this kind of literature is either encouraged or understood (t) [C]. His sincere attachment to the Protestant Religion

(q) See this thoroughly explained in the notes.

(s) See this fully explained in the notes.

'Morality, whence the usefulness of Revelation may appear. At the end is subjoined an Appendix containing two Discourses, 1. Concerning the Immateriality of thinking Substance. 2. Concerning the Obligation, Promulgation, and Observance, of the Law of Nature; by the Translator. Lond. 1727, 4to.'

[B] *Remained fresh in that university.* These kind of exercises are common in the university, which, however, does not hinder their being performed with great strictness and punctuality; and, as this is always done before a numerous audience, composed of persons who are all of them proper judges, we may be satisfied, that whenever discourses are not only received with a temporary applause, but dwell upon the memory of such as hear them, and are talked of for many years after, they must have an extraordinary degree of merit to recommend them. The topics that were now handled by our learned and accomplished author, were equally weighty and important in themselves, and, at the same time, of a no less nice and delicate a nature, such as, demonstrating his zeal for the Church of England, must, at the same time, deprive him of any assistance from either of the two opposite factions, each of which, at that time, was known to have a considerable influence. The theses maintained by him were (5), 1. *Sancto Petro nulla data est jurisdictio in cæteros Apostolos; i. e. St. Peter had no jurisdiction granted him over the rest of the Apostles.* 2. *Separatio ab Ecclesia Anglicana est schismatica; i. e. The separation from the Church of England is schismatical.*

(5) *Item. ibid.*
p. 9, 10.

[C] *Is either encouraged or understood.* The title of his book at large runs thus: *An Essay towards the recovery of the Jewish Measures and Weights, comprehending their Monies, by help of an ancient Standard, compared with ours of England, useful also to state many of those of the Greeks, Romans, and Eastern Nations.* Lond. 1686, 8vo. The Dedication of this book to Samuel Pepys, Esq; then President of the Royal Society, is dated October 28, 1685, and from thence it may not be amiss to transcribe a paragraph or two, because they shew the reason why this piece was written. 'Because, Sir, the improvement of natural knowledge, for which the Royal Society was founded, may be attained, in some degree, by recovering some parts thereof which the Antients had, but are now unknown, I thought it not improper to present to you, who deservedly preside in that illustrious Society, this attempt to restore those eldest standards of measures and weights, which are mentioned in the most antient records, the Sacred Scriptures, as commonly known when they were written. But such hath been the ignorance and carelessness in these matters, of many intervening ages, by whose care these things should have been transmitted to us their posterity, that most of our late diligent enquirers have declared

their opinion to be, that though the retrieving of them be highly desirable, yet that success in such an endeavour is scarce to be hoped. Nevertheless, being desired by some learned Divines of our Church, in subserviency to some brief Annotations on the Bible, by them intended, to do the best I could in this affair, I have, by this treatise, attempted to rescue this most antient and useful piece of learning from the grave of oblivion and neglect, into which many despairing men were casting it, before it was quite dead, or past recovery. Learning I call this knowledge of weights and measures, because the first constitution of them, and the reason and proportions contained in their mutual correspondencies, do import not only prudent observation which is learning's foundation, but also some elements of Geometry, Arithmetick, and Staticks, which are essential parts of its superstructure, thence peculiarly called *μάθημα*, or, The Learning. And for this cause I have been forced, in the prosecution of this enquiry, to call in to my assistance some of the easiest mathematical notions, which are as old almost as mankind, associating thereunto some observations of nature, whose constancy, from the beginning, gives reason to believe, that they were known early by men, together with the eldest works of art, remaining in the pyramids, shekels, and other remains of Eastern and Western antiquity; that, from the concurrent evidence of these aged witnesses, I might be enabled to give this my verdict, which is now brought in before you.' We have no account any where of the Annotations, for the furtherance of which this discourse was written; but, from the friendship between their authors, and some other circumstances, I am inclined to think they were the Commentaries of Dr. Patrick, Bishop of Ely (6). In another part of his Dedication, our author observes to his patron, that nothing pleased him better, or gave him greater comfort in the prosecution of the difficult task he had undertaken, than that it related not to any quarrelsome interest, but the peaceable doctrine of measures and weights, which in their general nature are the common concern of all mankind, as being the necessary instruments of just dealing and fair commerce between all nations. He mentions also his own industry in avoiding all appearance of contention, which had led him so far as not to name the known diversities of opinion amongst men about this matter. All this, however, did not secure him from contradiction; for a certain writer attacked him, though without naming him (7), and our author wrote some sheets to justify his calculations: but his affection for peace was so great, that after all he laid them aside, and left his book to shift for itself, which it has done very well. A celebrated Journalist has given a very large extract of this work (8), which shews how much he esteemed it; as, on the other hand, that certainly

(6) Whose sentiments he mentions and defends in his posthumous works, in several places.

(7) Bernard de Mensuris & ponderibus Antiquis. Oxon. 1688, 8vo.

(8) Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle & Historique, tom. v. p. 149—192.

does

made him very apprehensive of its danger; and the melancholy prospect of affairs in the reign of King James made so deep an impression on this excellent person, as to contribute to a dangerous fit of sickness, one of the severest fevers from which ever man recovered. He continued after the Revolution in the same situation as before, and without any thoughts of soliciting for better preferment. Indeed, through the whole course of his life, this seems never to have entered into his head: he was always content with the lot that befel him, and applied himself, with the utmost vigour and diligence, to discharge his duty in that station where Providence had placed him (u). It was, therefore, a greater surprize to himself than to any-body else, when walking, after his usual manner, on a post day to the coffee-house, he read there in a newspaper, that one Dr. Cumberland, of Stamford, was named to the Bishopric of Peterborough. This piece of intelligence however proved true, and he had the singular satisfaction of finding himself raised to a Bishopric, not only without pains or anxiety, but without having so much as sought for it (w). This accidental, we ought rather to say providential, promotion, was highly honourable for him. It was looked upon, at that time, as a thing necessary to the establishment of the new government, that men, who were to be raised to such high stations in the Church, should be such only as had been most eminent for their learning, most exemplary in their lives, and firmest to the Protestant interest. Whilst these qualifications were only considered, such a man could not easily be overlooked, though he himself did least of any man look for such a promotion. The King was told, that Dr. Cumberland was the fittest man he could nominate to the bishopric of Peterborough. Thus a private country Clergyman, without posting to Court, a place he had rarely seen, without suing to great men, without taking the least step towards soliciting for it, was pitched upon to fill so great a trust, only because he was fittest for it [D]. He was elected in the room of Dr. Thomas White, who refused the new oath, May 15th; was consecrated, with other Bishops, July 5th; and enthronized September 12th, 1691, in the Cathedral of Peterborough (x). Thus in the sixtieth year of his age, when his parts were as strong as ever, his body unbroken with infirmities, and his experience at a just height, he entered on a new scene. He now applied himself to the work of a Bishop. Studious men acquire habits, that make them not overforward to put themselves out into action. The speculations of their minds employ the whole man. The natural calmness of his Lordship's temper added still to this disposition: yet no man took more care not to be defective in his proper duty. He made no omissions to consult his own ease, or to spare his pains; and the desires of his mind, that all under him should do their duty, were very earnest and sincere. His composition had no alloy of vain glory. He never did any thing to court applause, or gain the praise of men. He never acted a part, never put on a mask. His tongue and heart always went together. If he ran into any extreme, it was the excess of humility, the safest side for every Christian to err on. He lived with the simplicity and plainness of a primitive Bishop, conversed and looked like a private man, hardly maintaining, as the world calls it, the dignity of his character. He was not one that loved to have the pre-eminence, and he contended with nobody for prerogative and precedence. He used hospitality without grudging: no man's house was more open to his friends, and the ease and freedom with which they always found themselves entertained, was peculiar to it. The poor had substantial relief at his door, and his neighbours and acquaintance a hearty

(u) Compleat Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 642.

(w) Payne's Pref. to Sanchonia-tho's Hist. p. 12.

(x) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. iii. p. 510.

does our author great honour, since, besides his being a very bold and free Critick, there was hardly any subject with which he was more thoroughly acquainted.

[D] Only because he was fittest for it.] What has been delivered in the text upon this subject is founded upon the authority, and expressed in the very words, of the Reverend Mr. Payne, a very competent and unsuspected witness to the truth of the facts which he has preserved, and which, but for his duty and gratitude, might have been lost to posterity. But notwithstanding the circumstances which relate to Bishop Cumberland rest upon his testimony solely, yet, as to his promotion in general, a certain Prelate, well acquainted with the politicks of those times, has given us a large account, which it may be the reader will not be displeased to see. The Bishop of Ely's (Dr. Turner's) Letters to St. Germans (9), says he, 'gave so fair an occasion of filling those Sees (whose Bishops would not take the oaths) at this time, that the King resolved to lay hold on it; and Tillotson, with great uneasiness to himself, submitted to the King's command: and soon after the See of York falling void, Dr. Sharp was promoted to it, so that those two Sees were filled with the two best preachers that had sat in them in our time; only Sharp did not know the world so well, and was not so steady

as Tillotson was. Dr. Patrick was advanced to Ely, Dr. More was made Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester, Ironside was promoted to Hereford, Grove to Chichester, and Hall to Bristol, as Hough (the President of Magdalen's) was the year before this made Bishop of Oxford; so that in two years time the King had named fifteen Bishops, and they were generally looked on as the learnedest, the wisest, and the best men, that were in the Church. It was visible, that in all these nominations, and the filling the inferior dignities that became void by their promotion, no ambition nor Court favour had appeared; men were not scrambling for preferment, nor using arts, or employing friends, to set them forward; on the contrary, men were sought for, and brought out of their retirements, and most of them very much against their own inclinations. They were men both of moderate principles, and of calm tempers. This great promotion was such a discovery of the King and Queen's designs, with relation to the Church, that it served much to remove the jealousies, that some other steps the King had made were beginning to raise in the Whigs, and very much softened the ill humour that was spread among them.'

(9) Burnet's Hist. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 76.

welcome to his table, after the plentiful and plain manner in which he lived. Every thing in his house served for friendly entertainment, nothing for luxury or pomp. His desire was to make every body easy, and to do them good. He dispensed with a liberal hand to the necessities of others, though his contented mind made him require little for his own. His kindness to his relations and acquaintance that wanted it, the sums he parted with to such as were indigent, are deeds not proper to be proclaimed. Half such sums, distributed with ostentation by those who desire to have glory of men, would have gained the fame of great liberality and generosity. In these cases he truly observed our Saviour's precepts, to do his alms in secret, and even *not to let his left-hand know what his right-hand did*. His speeches to the Clergy at his visitations, and his exhortations to the Catechumens before his confirmations, though they had not the embellishments of oratory, yet they were fervent expressions of the inward desires of his soul to do what good he was able, and to excite others to be influenced by it; the pious breathings of a plain and good mind. On all occasions he treated his Clergy with singular regard and indulgence. An expression, that often came from him, was, *I love always to make my Clergy easy*. This was his rule on all applications made to him by them, and if he erred, it was always on this side. When the duties of his office required it, he never spared himself. To the last month of his life it was impossible to dissuade him from undertaking fatigues, that every body about him feared were superior to his strength. He was inflexible to their intreaties, and his answer and resolution was, *I will do my duty as long as I can* (y). He had acted by a maxim like this in his vigour. When his friends represented to him, that, by his studies and labours, he would injure his health, his usual reply was, *A man had better wear out than rust out*. The last time he visited his Diocese, he was in the eightieth year of his age: it was apprehended that he could not but suffer through the fatigues of it, though it pleased God he had no inconvenience from it. At his next triennial, when he was in the eighty-third year of his age, it was with the utmost difficulty that he could be dissuaded from undertaking again the visitation of his Diocese. To draw the Clergy nearer than the usual decanal meetings, to make his visitations easier to himself, was a thing he would not hear of. He would never take a burthen from his own shoulders to lay it on other peoples (z). Such were the public acts of this great Prelate, in the discharge of his duty as a Father of the Church. In respect to his temporal concerns, and his management of the revenue arising from his See, an account will be found in the notes [E]. His natural parts were not quick, but strong and retentive. He was a perfect master of every subject he studied. Every thing he read staid with him. The ideas in many mens minds are too like the impressions made in soft wax; they never are distinct and clear, and are soon effaced: in his mind they were like impressions cut in steel: they took some time in

(y) Payne's Pref. to Sanchonia-
tho's Hist. p. 14.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(10) Payne's
Pref. to Sanchonia-
tho's Hist.
p. 18.

(11) *Idem, ibid.*
p. 22.

[E] *An account will be found in the notes.* Every body concerned with him, says the ingenious Mr. Payne (10), 'felt the advantage of his benevolence and goodness of his temper. He had a paternal estate, the lessees of which found him a landlord kind indeed. He never raised his rents, or hardly changed a tenant; they grew old in his farms, and were afterward succeeded by their children. Such was he also to them that held under him, as he was a Bishop, good natured I am almost tempted to say to a fault. They were sure to find no pressure from him: the point in question always was, his preserving the just rights of his See. If he could be prevailed on to raise a fine, where the reason and equity of it was most apparent, it was always with great difficulty, and never his own voluntary act. In renewing some of his leases he shewed great instances of kindness and compassion, I wish they who received the obligation were sensible enough of it: For indeed, tenants under Bishops are generally a thankless sort of men; they consider not the estate they hold as another man's, but look upon it as their own, and part grudgingly with what goes out of it, as a hardship on themselves. As the great Christian graces in which he excelled were humility and meekness, and these concurring with a sedentary and studious habit, it is not to be expected that there should be in the same man any great degree of warmth and activity. God almighty gives not perfection to any man in this mortal state.' As to his modesty, condescension, and good nature in private life, he observes (11), — 'Learned men often love and affect to be silent. His Lordship was so humble, that he thought nobody too low to be conversed with; and so benevolent, that he was willing every body that came near him should partake of his knowledge. As he was the most learned, so he was the most communicative man I ever knew. No

conversation pleased him so well as what turned upon some point of learning. The first experience I had of this, continues Mr. Payne, was while I was under-graduate in the university, soon after his Lordship's promotion. I was then studying some parts of the Mathematical sciences. He did me the honour to talk with me on those subjects. It struck me with surprize to see so much condescension, familiarity of conversation, and love to inform a young man, in a person of his learning, age, and station. The years I since have spent in greater freedom with him, have been the happy part of my life; a blessing that by me can never be sufficiently valued. He was my oracle to consult on any author, or whatever subject I read. Whatever was difficult I was sure to have resolved by him. He was unacquainted with nothing I could ask him, even in small matters, in low authors, which it might be expected, by a man whose mind was taken up with so much higher speculations, should have been passed over unheeded. — His soul was through his whole life in a constant calm and serenity, hardly ever ruffled with any passion. Having thus a mind friendly to his body, and being exactly regular and temperate in his way of living, he attained to a good old age with perfect soundness of mind and body. He was not afflicted with, or subject to, any ailing or disorder; never complained that he was ill or out of order, came almost constantly from his chamber in a morning with a smile in his countenance (12). Such great, and such amiable qualities as these, more especially when they are testified to the world by evidence that cannot be suspected, much less disbelieved, do honour, not only to our Church and nation, but to human nature, and may be the more freely insisted upon when they do occur, because such as are best acquainted with mankind know well, that they occur but very rarely.

(12) *Idem, ibid.*
p. 23.

forming,

forming, but they were clear, distinct, and durable (a). The things he had chiefly studied were searches into the most antient times, Mathematics in all its parts, and the Scripture in its original languages: these were the great works of his life; but he had, by the bye, diverted into almost all other studies. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of Philosophy; he had good judgment in Physic, knew every thing that was curious in Anatomy, had an intimacy with the Classics. Indeed he was a stranger to no part of learning, but every subject he had occasion to talk of he was as much a master of it, as if the direction of his studies had chiefly lain that way. He was thoroughly conversant in Scripture, and had laid up that treasure in his mind. No hard passage ever occurred, either occasionally or in reading, but he could readily give the meaning of it, and the several interpretations, without needing to consult his books (b). He sometimes had thoughts of writing an exposition of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. It was a misfortune to the world, that he wanted that spur so necessary to excite men to action, the desire of praise. It is believed, that if he had proceeded in this design, he would have set the doctrine of Justification in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto considered by most Divines. But the great business of his life was the examination of SANCHONIATHO'S *Phœnician History*, about which the greatest men had been most mistaken, and in relation to which none had entered into so strict an examination as our learned Prelate thought it deserved (c). He spent many years in these speculations; for he began to write several years before the Revolution, and he continued improving his design down to 1702. It may be justly wondered, that, after taking so much pains, and carrying a work of such difficulty to so high a degree of perfection, he should never judge it expedient to publish it; for, though his Bookseller refused to print the first part, at a critical season, yet afterwards both might have seen the light; and for this the most probable reason that can be assigned is, that thorough dislike he had to controversy. His son-in-law however, the Reverend Mr. Payne, has done justice to his memory, and published that work, which, by all competent judges, has been received with the utmost esteem and respect (d) [F]. After he had once engaged his thoughts upon this subject, fresh matter was continually rising, for the distribution of which into a proper method, so as to render a very perplexed subject intelligible, he found himself under the necessity of undertaking a yet more extensive work than the former, in which he made some progress in the space of above twenty years, during which we are assured that it employed his thoughts. To this piece, when finished, he proposed to have given the title of *Origines Antiquissimæ* (e), which were transcribed in his life-time, and, by his direction, through the care of the same person, who, from a most laudable sense of duty and gratitude, published the other work. This treatise also is now likewise in print, and justifies, in every respect, all that we have said of this learned and venerable Prelate, upon the credit chiefly of the editor. This last piece is properly a supplement to the first,

(a) These facts are rendered highly probable, if not incontrovertibly proved by his writings.

(b) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 21, 22.

(c) This fully appears from our Prelate's whole work, but more especially from his Review of the Cosmogony and History.

(d) Printed at Lond. 1720. 8vo.

(e) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

[F] *With the utmost esteem and respect.* The title of this work at large will give the reader some notion of it's contents. It runs thus: 'SANCHONIATHO'S *Phœnician History*, translated from the first book of Eusebius *de Preparatione Evangelica*. With a Continuation of Sanchoniatho's History by Eratosthenes Cyrenensis Canon, which Dicaearchus connects with the first Olympiad. These authors are illustrated with many Historical and Chronological Remarks, proving them to contain a Series of Phœnician and Egyptian Chronology, from the first man to the first Olympiad, agreeable to the Scripture accounts. By the Right Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough. With a Preface, giving a brief account of the Life, Character, and Writings, of the Author. By S. Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in Northamptonshire, his Lordship's domestick Chaplain (13).' Mr. Payne observes, that our author had a quicker sense than many other men of the advances Popery was making upon us, and was affected with the apprehension of it to the last degree. This made him turn his thoughts to the enquiry, by what steps and methods idolatry got ground in the world. The oldest account of this he believed he found in Sanchoniatho's fragment. This he saw was a professed apology for idolatry, and owned openly what other Heathens would have made a secret of, that the gods of the Gentile world had been all mortal men. He studied this fragment with no other view, than as it led to the discovery of the original of idolatry. He spent some time upon it, before ever he had a thought of extracting from it footsteps of the history of the world preceding the flood. While other Divines of the Church of England were engaged in the controversy

with the Papists, in which they gained over them so compleat a victory, our author was endeavouring to strike at the root of their idolatrous religion (14). Such are the sentiments of this gentleman concerning our Prelate's work, which is in truth full of the most abstruse learning, and shews a sagacity and penetration equally singular and admirable. These fragments have exercised the talents of some of the ablest scholars that foreign nations have produced, and several of these, being able to make nothing clear or consistent out of them, incline to think they were forgeries, and consequently not worthy of notice. Our Prelate was not only of a different sentiment, but, with great knowledge and great labour, has made it very evident that these fragments are genuine, and that he thoroughly understood them. He has proved, that they contain the most antient system of atheism and idolatry, that very system which took place in Egypt, and was set up against the true religion contained in the writings of Moses. It cannot be expected that we should, in the compass of a note, enter into the plan of so large and so compact a performance, for our author was not a diffuse writer, but expressed himself clearly in few words, and has brought into a very narrow compass, what an author, covetous of fame, would have extended into a very large volume. But this great man aimed only at truth, and though the discovery of it cost him much time and pains, yet he was willing to conduct his reader to it by the shortest road possible. He saw indeed, that many useful deductions might be made from this discovery, and it was this that put him upon composing a second volume, of which we shall speak in the next note.

(14) Payne's Pref. to Sanchoniatho's Hist. p. 17.

and

(13) At London, 1720. 8vo.

and equally valuable in every respect [G]. We have now done with his History as a Father of the Church, and an ornament of the Republic of Letters: we will conclude with some account of his private life and disposition when in the decline of his days, a season in which the weaknesses even of the greatest men are frequent and excusable. In him, however, there was no need of any apology of this sort. His Lordship lived beyond what Horace called old age; but never were characters more unsuitable to any man, than those bestowed by that Poet on old men were to him: it is literally true, that he was, in every respect, the very reverse of them. A person, who would have retired from every thing that was censorious, querulous, uneasy, or disquieting, must have gone into his company, and the room where he sat. The easiness and sweetness of his temper were such as is not to be described by words: nothing but conversation with him, and the experience of it, could give a man a just idea of it. This happy disposition was become a habit to him, and continued to the last day of his life. His senses and bodily strength lasted better than could well be expected, in a man whose course of life had been studious and sedentary. Yet I, who conversed every day with him, says Mr. Payne, thought that the faculties of his mind were less impaired than those of his body (f). He remained a master of all the parts of learning he had studied when he was young. He ever loved the Classics, and, to the last week of his life, would quote them readily and appositely. When Dr. Wilkins had published his Coptic Testament, he made a present of one of them to his Lordship, who sat down to study this when he was past eighty three. At this age he mastered the language, and went through great part of this version, and would often give excellent hints and remarks as he proceeded in reading it. At length, in the autumn of the year 1718, he was struck in an afternoon with a dead palsy, from which he could not be recovered (g). He had no previous notice of this at all, for he rose in the morning rather better, and more vigorous, than usual. He breathed his last in his Palace at Peterborough on the ninth of October, in the same year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. His corps was interred in his own Cathedral, where a plain tomb has been erected, with a modest inscription, to his memory (h) [H]. The turn of his studies did not

(f) Payne's Pref. to Sanchonia- tho's Hist. p. 24, 25.

(h) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. iii. p. 510.

(g) Kennet's Chron. p. 555.

(15) At London, 1784. 8vo.

[G] *And equally valuable in every respect.* The title of this book was: '*Origines Gentium antiquissimæ: or, Attempts for discovering the times of the first planting of Nations; in several tracts.* By the Right Reverend R. Cumberland, D. D. late Bishop of Peterborough. Published from his Lordship's manuscript, by S. Payne, M. A. Rector of Barnack in Northamptonshire (15).' This work consists of the following tracts, 1. A Discourse on Gen. xxxvi. concerning the settlement of Esau's family from Mount Seir to Elparan, the antient seat of the Horites, and of the government of that land before and after their settlement; with an enquiry about the times thereof. 2. A Discourse on Deut. ii. 23. The Avims which dwelt in Hazarim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorim, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead. 3. Notes on the Synchronisms of Canaan and Egypt. 4. Concerning the possibility of a sufficient increase of men, from the three sons of Noah, to a number large enough to found all the nations mentioned in the oldest credible Histories; and that, in the times assigned to their foundations, agreeably with the Hebrew accounts. With some suggestions about the dispersion of men to plant in several parts of the earth, particularly the building of Nineveh, the metropolis of the Assyrian monarchy. 5. An appendix to the preceding chapter, in an Essay towards the better stating of the interval between the founding of Nineveh and the fall of Sardanapalus, which broke from the antient Assyrian empire two monarchies: I. That of the Babylonians, beginning with Nabonassar. II. That of the Medes, begun in Dejoces, yet left to Tiglath Pilezer and his successors, an Assyrian empire, which recovered good strength, so as to conquer Syria, and to captivate the ten tribes of Israel. 6. Proofs from Scripture, and from Heathens, of the Assyrian empire before Nabonassar. 7. A Discourse, endeavouring to connect the Greek and Roman Antiquities, with those of the eldest Eastern monarchies in Asia and Egypt, and, consequently, with the dispersion from Babel, which came near the great flood; in two chapters, 1. Concerning Greece, especially the Pelasgi. 2. Concerning Italy, particularly the Tyrrheni, or, as the elder Greeks call them, the Tyrsni; these, besides the Egyptians, being colonies from the Assyrian empire, and the beginning of the Greek and Roman empires.

8. *Appendix de Cabiris, addenda Disquisitioni de Pelasgi.* i. e. An Appendix as to the Cabiri, to which is added, a Disquisition concerning the Pelasgis. 9. *Appendicula de Legibus quibus tenebantur Patriarchæ tam ante, quam post diluvium, usque ad tempus quo solemniter sancitum est Fœdus Mosaicum, quod leges continet præcipuas quibus tenebatur populus Judaicus post Exodum ex Ægypto;* that is, 'A succinct Dissertation concerning the Laws observed by the Patriarchs, as well before as after the Flood, down to the solemn settlement of the Law of Moses, more especially those under which the People of Israel lived, after going out of Egypt.' To pretend adding any farther explication of this work, would be a needless presumption; since, to competent judges, this short table of contents will prove more satisfactory, than any thing we could offer upon the subject. All therefore that we shall take the liberty to say more is only this, that notwithstanding our Prelate treats of the most antient History, it is in a manner entirely new. His learning, though deep and sound, has nothing in it harsh or unpleasant; and, amongst other advantages to which this work may put in a just claim, there is in it this singularity, that, notwithstanding all the points treated therein are remarkably perplexed, the author has handled them with the utmost perspicuity, made all of them plainer than they were, and many of them as plain as it is possible.

[H] *With a modest inscription to his memory.* As this is very short, we thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader, that it found a place with a translation in the notes (16).

(16) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, p. 510.

Juxta jacet doctissimus sanctissimusque præsul Richardus Cumberland, hujus Civitatis Episcopus, qui cum Ecclesiæ & Republicæ diu & feliciter invigilaverat migratus ad aliam quam solam quærebat Civitatem, Honorum & Dierum sator, obdormivit in Domino Anno Christi 1718, ætatis 86.

Maeste, malæ fraudis Domitor Defensor Honesti
Legum Naturæ Justitiæque Pugil:
O quantum debent quas læserat Hobbius ambas
Recta simul Ratio Religioque tibi!

Duport in Hobbium à Cumberlandio Confutatum.

In

at all conduce to make our Prelate eminent in his life-time. There were a great variety of books written against Hobbes; but, amongst this crowd of refuters, each of their books was not considered as a refutation. On the contrary, Hobbes maintained his notions very well against most of them, not through the justice of his cause, or the superiority of his understanding, but because he understood his ground perfectly well, and, like a skilful fencer, kept that advantage, and made the most of it. But our author was not to be so treated: he considered the ground well before he engaged, discerned his antagonist's advantage, and drove him from it; but as this was a hard and laborious task to himself, so his method of arguing was not to be understood but by close application in his readers, so that it was a long while before the merit of his performance was fully known (i). At present, indeed, his reputation is very great at home, and much greater abroad; for foreign writers, of all nations, have been very ready to do him justice, and to speak of him with the praises he deserves [I].

(i) See the Rev. Mr. Maxwell's Preface to his translation of our author's works, as also Dr. Hezekiah Burton's Short Discourse prefixed to the original.

In English thus:

Near this place lies interred, that most learned and holy Prelate, Richard Cumberland Bishop of this city, who, when he had long and faithfully watched for the Church and State, was translated to that other city, which alone he sought: full of days and of honour he slept in the Lord, in the year of Christ 1718, of his age 86.

*Proceed foul error's scourge, and friend to right,
Champion of Nature's laws, and Justice too;
How much! the assassin Hobbes now put to flight,
To thy sharp pen, do faith and reason owe?*

From Dupont's poem upon the confutation of Hobbes by Cumberland.

Underneath two books, with these words engraven on the leaves:

Biblia Sacra. Legibus Naturæ.
The Holy Bible. Of the Laws of Nature.

[I] *With the praises he deserves.* We find the Life of our Prelate very exactly written from his son-

in-law Mr. Payne's Memoirs, by Father Nicéron (17), who commends highly his book against Hobbes. The learned Morhoff mentions that work of his twice (18), and tells us, that in his judgment it was written with great labour and no less diligence; and observes farther, that he goes to the bottom in detecting the false reasoning of Mr. Hobbes. Another German author, who has written expressly upon the same subject, gives a great character of our author's book (19); and the learned Stollus gives likewise a fair character, and a very good account, of our author and his writings (20). His sentiments, with regard to Sanchoniatho's History, are greatly applauded by a gentleman (21) who had studied these matters with much care, and who, it is very certain, was far enough from being disposed to commend others without reason. It does not appear, that hitherto his Posthumous Works have been translated into Latin, or into any modern language. Whenever that shall happen, the fame of Dr. Cumberland will extend much farther than it has done hitherto; for whether his particular opinions be approved or not, it is impossible that his extensive learning, his profound sagacity, and his perfect acquaintance with the best authors of antiquity, should not procure him just reverence and esteem. C.

(17) *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des hommes illustres*, tom. v. p. 328.
(18) *Danielis Morhoffii Polyhistor*, ii. 1. 15. 15.—iii. 6. 1. 4.
(19) *Thomasi Hist.* p. 84.
(20) *Introduct. Hist. Litterariæ*, p. 762, 763.
(21) *Fourmont Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des anciens peuples*, &c.

* * [CUNNINGHAM (ALEXANDER), Author of a History of Great Britain, from the Revolution to the Accession of King George I. was a native of Scotland; but we have not been able to ascertain either the time or place of his birth. It appears, however, that his father was minister of the parish of Ettrick, in the presbytery of Selkirk (a). He is said to have received part of his education in Holland; and he passed some of the earlier years of his life as a travelling governor. He was a friend to the principles of the Revolution; was much with the Scottish refugees at the Hague previously to that event; and it has been conjectured, that he was in Holland in 1688, and that he even embarked on board the fleet with the Prince of Orange; but of this there is not sufficient evidence. He travelled with James, afterwards Earl of Hyndford, and with the Hon. Mr. William Carmichael, father of the present Earl, who was younger brother to that Nobleman. They passed two winters at Utrecht and Franeker, between the years 1692 and 1695, and travelled together for some time afterwards (b). Mr. Cunningham was also much connected with the family of Archibald, Earl of Argyle: he appears to have had a considerable share in the education of that Nobleman's son, Lord Lorne, afterwards well known under the name of John Duke of Argyle (c); and he afterwards travelled with him abroad [A]. In 1701, he was in France, and was employed in some negotiations relative

(a) *Introduction to Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain*, by William Thomson, LL.D. p. xxiv.

(b) *Ibid.* p. xv.

(c) *Ibid.* p. xxii.

[A] *Travelled with him abroad.* In a letter from the Earl of Argyle to Mr. Carstares, dated Edinburgh, July 10, 1697, and published in that Gentleman's State Papers, is the following passage: 'I have writ to Mr. Cunningham to lay aside any thoughts he had for some time yet of leaving my son (1).' And in a letter of Mr. Cunningham's to Mr. Carstares, printed in the same collection, dated Bruges, Oct. 20, 1697, Mr. Cunningham says, 'I do not yet know whether I shall go to Paris, or not, before I return to London. My Lord Argyle has not yet written any thing concerning his son. He was gone from this place to his regiment before I came here, which I am glad of; for I know his lieutenant-colonel will take care of him. He is mightily concerned for his regiment: every body tells him it will be broken. I have assured

(1) Carstares's State Papers, p. 318.

him, that you will do your utmost for him. I must presume to give you the trouble to carry over a few books of mine, which I have ordered to be sent to your brother's. You will be pleased to pass them as your own, else the custom would amount to the fourth part they are worth; but am confident that what books any of the King's Chaplains takes over will be free; because it may be said that they are the books he carried abroad with himself for his own use.'—As for the project, I know you will not only use all your credit with Secretary Ogilvy, but will also recommend the thing to all the Scots Nobility and Gentry you shall meet with at London (2). At the time when Mr. Cunningham wrote this letter, Lord Lorne was Colonel of a regiment, which his father, the Earl of Argyle, had raised, and which was sent over for the King's service

(2) *Ibid.* p. 360, 361.

relative to the Scottish trade with that kingdom [B]. About this time he appears also to have had the care of some other person of rank, whom he carried with him into Italy (d).

(e) *Id. ibid.*

In 1703, he was at Hanover, in company with Mr. Addison [C]; and returned to England in that year (e). By this time he appears to have formed some important political connexions; for, after his arrival in England, the same year, we find him, through the intervention of Dr. Moore, then Bishop of Norwich, engaged in a secret negotiation for the purpose of reconciling Lord Somers and Mr. Harley; in which he succeeded, at least for a time; the reconciliation between these statesmen being perfected, as he informs

(f) *History of Great Britain from the Revolution, vol. i. p. 353, 354, and Thomson's Introduction, p. xviii.*

(g) *Hist. uli supra, p. 361, and Thomson's Introduction, ibid. ut supra.*

us, at the house of Lord Halifax (f). About this time also he was consulted at London concerning the appointment of a new ministry for Scotland. He recommended the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Roxburgh; but if their youth were considered as an objection to these Noblemen, he pointed out, as the fittest minister for that kingdom, next to them, the Marquis of Tweeddale (g). In 1704, he was so much in the confidence of the English ministry, as to be consulted by them, at London, whether the royal assent should be given to the Scotch Act of Security (h). It appears that he was still in London in the following year, from a passage which occurs in his History, wherein he mentions his having had a conversation with Sir Isaac Newton about attacking Toulon [D], two years before the attack, which was made in 1707 (i).

(d) Dr. Thomson's Introduction, *ubi supra*, p. xviii.

(i) *Ibid. p. xix.*

(k) *Id. ibid.*

In 1706, Mr. Cunningham appears to have gone abroad again; and it is supposed, that during that year he was in Holland, and that the following year he travelled into Italy (k). But before the close of the year 1707, he was again in London, and took a very active part in promoting the Bill for the abolition of the Scotch Privy-council [E]; as he did also the following year in support of a Bill relative to collegiate and cathedral churches, and for subjecting deans and prebendaries to their diocesans (l). He likewise exerted all his influence, that the Members of the House of Commons, chosen for Scotland, should be strenuous assertors of the principles of the Revolution (m).

(l) *Introduct. p. xx. Hist. vol. ii. p. 161.*

(m) *Introduct. p. xxi. Hist. vol. ii. p. 356.*

vice in Flanders. Lord Lorne was appointed to the command of this regiment in 1694, when he was not quite seventeen years of age. But Dr. Thomson is mistaken in saying, that Lord Lorne was not seventeen at the time when Mr. Cunningham wrote this letter. His Lordship was born in 1678.

(3) *Introduction to Cunningham's History, p. xiv.*

The literary project referred to by Mr. Cunningham, in this letter (3), is supposed, by Dr. Thomson, to have been an intended edition of the Pandects of Justinian. And 'if we suppose,' says that Gentleman, 'that the literary project to which Cunningham alludes, was an intended edition of Justinian's Pandects, obvious reasons are not wanting why he should collect books, and why he should solicit the countenance and aid of the Scotch nation. The civil is the grand basis of the Scotch law; and he might receive assistance from the advocates pecuniary fund, as well as from their famous library, which is one of the best in the world. And, in fact, it appears from the records of the faculty of advocates, that, in order to enable him to accomplish this design, he was allowed from that fund an allowance of fifteen pounds a year, a sum towards the close of last century not inconsiderable (4).'

(4) *Ibid. p. xlvii.*

[B] *Some negotiations relative to the Scottish trade with that kingdom.* Two of Mr. Cunningham's letters upon this subject are published in Mr. Carstairs's State Papers (5), in one of which he gives an account of an interview which he had relative to that business with the Count de Torcy. He is supposed also to have been employed at this time in procuring intelligence, for the English ministry, relative to the military preparations then making throughout France (6); but of this there appears not sufficient evidence.

(6) *Thomson's Introduction, ubi supra, p. 13, 14.*

[C] *In 1703, he was at Hanover, &c.* In his History, speaking of the Court of Hanover in that year, he says, 'Mr. Joseph Addison also, and Mr. Alexander Cunningham, came thither, who, happening to have travelled through those countries, as well as to have made themselves well acquainted with all the secret Counsels in England, were as superciliously treated by the Germans, as they were graciously received by the Elector and the Princess Sophia (7).'

(7) *Vol. i. p. 307, 308.*

[D] *A conversation with Sir Isaac Newton about attacking Toulon.* The passage in his History is as follows: 'I remember well, that the excellent Sir Isaac Newton, who was no lover of war, had some discourses with me about attacking Toulon, two years before the attempt was made upon it: but

there appeared so many and so great difficulties to Alexander Cunningham, who knew the place and the roads about it, that he differed in opinion from Sir Isaac, not only on account of the difficulties of the place itself, but also of the disinclination of the rest of the confederates, which he always suspected in relation to that affair: forasmuch as by this one action, all the maritime power of the Popish Princes would be lost, and the whole dominion of the Mediterranean sea thereupon would also fall into the hands of the English and Dutch; from which the Emperor Joseph was as much averse, as he was ambitious to gain the sovereignty of Italy (8).'

(8) *Hist. vol. ii. p. 103.*

Dr. Thomson remarks, that we find Mr. Cunningham, in another part of his History, uniting his advice with that of Mr. Isaac Newton, relating to the coin of Great Britain; and that, on sundry occasions, he mentions the person, genius, and discoveries of Newton, with distinguished respect and admiration: an honour the greater to our author, that Sir Isaac had not, at that time, attained to the unrivalled celebrity which his name has since justly obtained in the world (9).'

(9) *Introduction, p. xix.*

[E] *Promoting the Bill for the Abolition of the Scotch Privy Council.* He says in his History, that, 'from his youth, he had borne a just hate against the Privy Council of Scotland (10)', which he represents as extremely arbitrary. In his account of the debates in parliament on this subject, he says, that Mr. George Baillie 'elegantly and briefly exposed the immoderate power of the Privy Council in former times, the rigorous exercise of their authority, and what dreadful examples they had exhibited of all sorts of cruelty.' He afterwards adds, that 'the courtiers, who were for protracting the time, made many and great delays, and proposed expedients, but to no purpose; for Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Peter King, and Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Wortley, Mr. Aislaby, and others of both parties, celebrated for their eloquence in parliament, insisted strenuously, that now a Privy Council could be of no other use in Scotland, than that the Court might thereby govern every thing at pleasure, and by their own direction procure whomsoever they thought fit to be returned to serve in parliament; against which it was the common interest, both of the Scots and English, now united into one people, carefully to guard (11).'

(10) *Vol. ii. p. 135.*

(11) *Ibid. p. 137.*

When

When a new ministry was about to be formed, and the Tories began to acquire an ascendancy, Mr. Cunningham again went abroad [F]; and in October, 1711, he was at Milan, in company with Richard Lord Lonsdale, with whom he was introduced to the Emperor Charles VI. [G] then in that city, and just raised to the imperial throne. He appears

[F] *Mr. Cunningham again went abroad.* Before he quitted the kingdom, he appears to have had a conference with Mr. Harley, of which he has related the following particulars in his History: 'At this time a certain private Gentleman of the Whig party (by which he is understood to mean himself), but who had long kept an acquaintance with Mr. Harley, seeing a cloud gathering over his country, resolved to travel abroad. Before he set out, Mr. Harley desired a conference with him, and invited him to dine with him alone. Many things were freely discoursed of, according to their wonted familiarity and long acquaintance, concerning the inclinations of the people, and the perverse disposition of the allies; and the other shewed Mr. Harley, how hard and difficult a task he had undertaken. But they both persisted in their own opinions. After Mr. Harley had entreated him to stay here, the Gentleman said, Tell me, I pray, Sir, is the parliament to be dissolved? for this was very much suspected; but Mr. Harley was not willing to answer him. Then, said the Gentleman, When you tell me that, I shall easily grant all you can say of the happy times to come: but consider well that saying of Virgil,

'Fertur equis auriga, nec audit currus habenas

(12) *Hist.* vol. ii.
p. 303, 304.

(12)'

Mr. Cunningham says in another place, 'Mr. Harley, to whom it was natural to give fair words to every body, gained upon many people by his address, who were far from being of his sentiments (13)'. And he also says, 'Mr. Harley judged it most prudent to proceed with moderation: and it is said he persuaded his friends, and the Queen herself, to dissemble many things concerning the Pretender, on account of the Duke of Marlborough's forces, and his extraordinary power both at home and abroad. He was also afraid of the authority and inconsistency of the parliament. The Tories therefore resolved, that the present parliament should be dissolved, and another called. Mr. Harley, who had formed this whole scheme, gave many instructions to divers men of different parties, how to reconcile the minds of the people to him, and to render them subservient to his measures. Many were inquisitive to know his design. Nay, some said, he either had no design at all, or else that it was most artfully concealed, lest by the dissent of any one, the whole combination should be broken. Those who supposed they knew him thoroughly, own that he was averse to the Pretender: but, if we may judge of him by his actions, men of all parties agreed in concluding, that his designs were in his favour. And it is certain, that he affected to have it thought so (14)'.
(13) *Ibid.* p. 308.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 303.

Of the calling a new parliament, and the use made of Sacheverell, and his reception in the country, Mr. Cunningham gives the following account: 'When the proclamation was issued for a new parliament, all England was in an uproar; and so enflamed by the churchmen, that their fury was to determine of the Members for the House of Commons, and their elections, without any regard to the rights of the electors. For the canvassings and elections were carried on with such feuds, as had never before been known in England. In many places they were carried by open violence. That firebrand of sedition, Dr. Sacheverell, employed his whole time and pains to this purpose. Religion was therefore looked upon as the only popular cause: in the support of which all the furies were raised to procure votes, and ran together, as it were, to the funeral of the government and the public liberty.'—Dr. Sacheverell, making a progress around the country, was looked upon as another Hercules for

the church militant. Wherever he went, his emissaries were sent before with his pictures; pompous entertainments were made for him, and a mixed multitude of country fiddlers, priests and sextons, and a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded together to meet and congratulate him; among whom, drunkenness, darkness, and a furious zeal for religion, extinguished all regard to modesty. When this guest drew near with his guards, he found open houses, lodging and entertainment ready provided for him, in many country towns, as if he had been a demi-god: and days and nights were spent every where in shews, and the clamorous noise of those religious furies. In order to gain the more upon the minds of the multitude, wine, and the pleasures of banquetting, were consecrated, as it were, to religious uses: whence arose such a contagion of evils, that, in the country elections, some matters were carried on by deceit, and many by open force. For money was publickly bestowed, and free treats, more than usual, given to the voters. In many places, the Doctor's pictures passed for ready money; but in a short time they became of little value. For, when they ceased to be a novelty, people began to despise them; and the Doctor himself, as an enemy to the government, and a contemptible tool of a party, was either rudely treated, or utterly refused admittance, in many places and companies. When he was coming towards Ely, the people there were so provoked, that they threatened to do him a mischief. And in many places they pursued him, both with violent hands, and with curses. This so alarmed him, that he suddenly turned short, and more desirous of money than the honour of martyrdom, made the best of his way to London; and his pictures, which were of late so highly prized, and pompously handed about, were now contemptuously applied to the basest uses, and pasted upon band-boxes (15)'.
(15) *Ibid.* p. 305, 306, 307.

[G] *He was introduced to the Emperor Charles VI.* The allies had been for some time labouring to establish this Prince on the throne of Spain, and he had accordingly been proclaimed King at Madrid; but he was afterwards obliged to relinquish the Spanish Crown. When Mr. Cunningham was at Milan, many Princes, Ambassadors, and persons of rank, came there to congratulate the new Emperor on his accession to the imperial throne; but it was at this time that suspicions first began to be entertained, that the English ministry were about to abandon the allies. Mr. Cunningham, in his History, after observing, that "all Italy crowded to" Milan, to congratulate the Emperor on his accession, says, 'The Duke of Savoy went to meet him, as did also the Dukes of Parma and Modena. These, and many other Princes, sent their Ambassadors to compliment him as Emperor. The great Duke of Tuscany's younger son came to salute him. The republics of Venice and Lucca sent a splendid embassy. And the Pope himself sent Cardinal Imperiali, a man of great celebrity, and highly acceptable to him, as his legate à latere.'—Amidst this great course of all the Italian and German Princes and Ambassadors, Richard Lord Viscount Lonsdale, and Mr. Alexander Cunningham, his fellow traveller, who were the only men of the British nation at that time in those parts, came to Milan. And as they were no strangers to what was then privately transacted in England, they immediately desired to be admitted to pay their duty to his Majesty, which was granted. His Majesty gave them a gracious audience. For he was well assured of the fidelity and zeal which both of them had for his service, and how much they abhorred all thoughts of having any concern in the base measures which were then carrying on in England. His Majesty spake much in commendation of the civility of the private

appears to have continued abroad the following year, and at Venice met with the Duke of Argyle [H], with whom he spent a week in that city. When he returned to England, we do not find, nor are any farther particulars related of him during this reign; but in the reign of King George I. he was appointed minister from the Court of Great Britain to the republic of Venice. He arrived in that city in 1715, and continued there, in the character of resident, till the year 1720, when he returned again to London. He lived many years after, which he seems chiefly to have passed in a studious retirement. In 1735, he was visited in London by Lord Hyndford, by the direction of his Lordship's father, to whom he had been tutor, when he appeared to be very old (n). He seems to have lived about two years after; for the body of an Alexander Cunningham lies interred

(n) Thomson's
Introd. p. xxxviii.

' private subjects in England, and of the good offices done to him there; but said not a word of the Queen or her Counsels. And in this, indeed, he shewed his great wisdom, as they were only private persons, and far from having any share either in her Majesty's Counsels, or in the administration of the public affairs. He also commanded his Ministers to entertain them with the utmost civility and respect, and to furnish them with all sorts of accommodation. Though they were not in want of any thing, yet they were invited to many entertainments. Being invited to sup that night with Count Wratislaw, as they were coming to supper, they were overwhelmed, as it were with a sudden tempest, by the news brought by an express from Count Gallas, that the cause of the confederates was betrayed in England. On this they were so struck with astonishment, that they crowded about the two Englishmen in the Palace, asking them questions; but all to no purpose.

' The young Lord Lonsdale, alarmed at the novelty of his situation, and the tumult of the Germans, whispered to Cunningham, that it would be prudent for them to withdraw from the Palace. But Cunningham refused to do this, and dissembling his fear, inquired, What was the matter? The Germans told them every thing: that the Queen had entered into a treaty with the French King; that the confederates were betrayed; and that Count Gallas was ordered to leave England in two days, and was now actually come over to Holland. To this Cunningham replied, "These are strange times! This is strange news! I have been afraid, indeed, ever since the beginning of this confederate war, and especially within the two last years, of some unhappy effects of a female government: I therefore resolved voluntarily to travel abroad, rather than to stay at home to be a spectator of such things; even now to bear a share with you in your injuries, than to have any thing to do with those works of iniquity. Do not think that the English nation are so stupid; as after so many victories obtained, when the prize is now just ready to fall into their hands, to suffer it to escape them. Ye tell me ye are betrayed: but it is incredible. Do but look back upon the fidelity of the English, of which ye have had so much experience hitherto; and then ye will rather confide in them still, than suspect them to be capable of deceiving you now." He added, a great many other arguments and words of course, that both himself and fellow-traveller might the more readily escape the frowns of the Germans.'

' In the mean time, Count Wratislaw conducted them to supper. There the Germans again asked many questions about the Queen, and about her Ministers. Cunningham confessed, that the loss of reputation and credit was greater than could be imagined, and made such other answers as he thought proper: but he laid the chief blame upon the clergy, whose blindness and influence in the parliament was at that time incredibly great; and desired them not to be too hasty to give credit to any reports, till they should first see how these things would end.

' After supper, the two Englishmen returned to their own apartments. Soon after this the Earl of Peterborough arrived suddenly in that city, and received the compliments of Count Wratislaw, and others of his Majesty's Ministers, the same night. They inquired of him, What was the reason of the

' change of measures in England? Which of the confederates had offended the Queen? And why her Majesty would now give up her allies as a sacrifice, and betray their glorious cause to the common enemy? The Earl of Peterborough, with great promptitude and presence of mind, invented ingenious apologies, and made such answers as he thought fit, without much inward concern, however, at that alteration of affairs, which gave them so much uneasiness and displeasure.

' The next day the Lord Viscount Lonsdale and Mr. Cunningham took an opportunity to visit his Lordship, and to congratulate him on his arrival. After their mutual compliments, the Earl of Peterborough said, "What is the matter here? I perceive his Majesty's Ministers to be full of uneasiness. I had scarcely come into town before they fell upon me, and teased me with a thousand questions; so that I had neither a wink of sleep last night, nor any rest this morning. Tell me, therefore, I pray you, what is the meaning of it?" Mr. Cunningham made him this answer: "It is very well for us that your Lordship is come. It is impossible to relate what we went through the last night. But as your Lordship is acquainted with all her Majesty's Counsels, you must needs know every thing that is doing in England: and since you are able to answer all their questions, and to satisfy all their desires, be pleased, my Lord, to impart that satisfaction, which they desire so eagerly, to us. They tell us here very strange things; that the Queen is secretly treating with the French King about a peace; and that Count Gallas, the Ambassador, was ordered to depart the kingdom; and what not. That any unjustifiable measures are carrying on in England, is a sad thing to be reported, and most afflicting to us to hear. If this be true, you must know it; and for my part, if they ask me any more questions about it, I shall refer them to your Lordship."

' The Earl of Peterborough replied, "I have a very weighty affair to negotiate here; not less than twenty thousand pounds payable to me by King Charles." "That is, indeed," says the other, "a weighty affair. Your Lordship must, therefore, suit yourself to their humour, dissemble your own sentiments of the peace, and consult the glory and welfare of our nation, as you would have others consult your own interest." He also added many other things concerning the dishonour this peace would reflect upon England; concluding with a wish, that the Queen would continue this one year firm to her alliance with the new Emperor, and once more try his fortune in the field (16).'

[H] *At Venice met with the Duke of Argyle.* He says in his History, "In these gloomy times, the Duke of Argyle, returning from Spain, though not yet perfectly recovered of his tertian ague, came to Venice. There he was met by Mr. Alexander Cunningham, whom, on account of old acquaintance, the Duke honoured with great friendship and familiarity for a whole week. They laid aside all party disputes, and conversed at great length with perfect freedom. The Duke of Argyle expressed his sense of the dangers to which the interests of Great Britain, and the common safety of the confederates, were exposed; and declared his resolution, as soon as he could possibly return to England, to oppose the ministry, and the peace, and to join the Whigs (17).'

(16) Hist. vol. ii.
p. 386—390.

(17) Vol. ii. p.
409, 410.

in the vicar chancel of St. Martin's church, who died in the eighty-third of his age, on the 15th day of May, 1737 (o); and who was probably the same person.

(o) *Ibid.* p. xli.

His "History of Great Britain, from the Revolution in 1688, to the accession of George the First," was published in two volumes, 4to. in 1787. It was written by Mr. Cunningham in Latin, but was translated into English by the Rev. William Thomson, L. L. D. The original manuscript came into the possession of the Rev. Dr. Hollingbery, Archdeacon of Chichester, some of whose relations had been connected with the author. He communicated it to the Earl of Hardwicke, and to the Rev. Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Carlisle, both of whom recommended the publication. In a short preface to the work, the Archdeacon says, "My first design was to have produced it in the original; but knowing how few are sufficiently learned to understand, and how many are indisposed to read two quarto volumes in Latin, however interesting and entertaining the subject may be, I altered my purpose, and intended to have sent it into the world in a translation. A nervous fever depriving me of the power, defeated the scheme." But he afterwards transferred the undertaking to Dr. Thomson; and Dr. Hollingbery observes, that Dr. Thomson "has expressed the sense of the author with fidelity." The work was undoubtedly well deserving of publication. It contains the history of a very interesting period, written by a man who had a considerable degree of authentic information, and his book contains many curious particulars not to be found in other histories. His characters are often drawn with judgment and impartiality: at other times they are somewhat tinged with prejudice. This is particularly the case with respect to Bishop Burnet, against whom he appears to have conceived a strong personal dislike. But he was manifestly a very attentive observer of the transactions of his own time; his work contains many just political remarks; and the facts which he relates are exhibited with great perspicuity, and often with much animation. Throughout his book he frequently intersperses some account of the literature, and of the most eminent persons of the age concerning which he writes; and he has also adorned his work with many allusions to the classics, and to ancient history.

Alexander Cunningham, the author of the History of Great Britain, has been supposed to be the same person with Alexander Cunningham, who published an edition of Horace at the Hague, in two volumes, 8vo. in 1721, which is highly esteemed. But, from the best information we have been able to collect, they were certainly different persons; though they were both of the same name, lived at the same time, had both been travelling tutors, were both said to have been eminent for their skill at the game of chess [I], and both lived to a very advanced age. The editor of Horace is generally said to have died in Holland, where he taught both the civil and canon laws (p), and where he had collected a very large library, which was sold in that country.]

T.

[I] *Eminent for their skill at the game of chess.* The editor of Horace was very particularly celebrated for his skill as a chess-player; and of one of the Cunninghams the following story is related. "When Lord Sunderland was at the Hague, he contracted a particular intimacy with Mr. Cunningham, as they were both remarkable chess-players. Whenever his Lordship was at leisure, he either drove to Cunningham's lodgings, which were at some distance, or sent his carriage for him. After playing for a course of time, Lord Sunderland discovered, that he who was jolted in the carriage before they sat down, was always sure to lose every game: for which reason, he gave over going to Cunningham's, but always sent for him, and always beat him, to his no small astonishment, as he was conscious that he understood the game as well as his adversary. At last, when he was very much out of humour, Lord Sunderland told him

the trick, and Cunningham insisted, that they should drive to one another's lodging alternately; which confirmed his Lordship's observation, and restored Cunningham to his former level: for, from that time, they won and lost alternately (18).—"This fact," says Dr. Thomson, "which appears not at all incredible, for the streets of the Hague were not, in the last century, so smooth as those of London are at present, proves how nicely the capacities of Sunderland and Cunningham were balanced against each other: but it is more curious and interesting on another account; it shews the intimate connection between our corporeal frame and the faculty of thinking (19)." It seems to be the editor of Horace of which this story is related; but which ever of the Cunninghams it was, the story seems not sufficiently authenticated to ground upon it much philosophical reasoning.]

(18) Thomson's *Intro.* p. xxvii.

(19) *Id. ibid.*

* * [CUTTS (JOHN Lord), a soldier of most hardy bravery in King William's wars, was a younger son of Richard Cutts, Esq (a); of an ancient and distinguished family, settled about the time of Henry VI. at Matching in Essex, where they had considerable property. His father removed to Childerley in Cambridgeshire, on a good estate being given him by Sir John Cutts, Bart. who died without issue. This estate, after the decease of an elder brother, devolved on John; who sold it, to pay incumbrances, to equip himself as a soldier, and to enable himself to travel (b). After an academical education at Cambridge, he entered early into the service of the Duke of Monmouth, and followed his fortunes abroad; was Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Lorraine in Hungary, and signalized himself in a very extraordinary manner at the taking of Buda by the Imperialists in 1686; which important place had been for nearly a century and a half in the hands of the Turks. Mr. Addison, in a Latin poem (c) worthy of the Augustan age, plainly hints at Mr. Cutts's

VOL. IV.

7 F

distin-

(a) Morant's *Essex*, vol. ii. p. 497.

(b) Harl. MSS. 3625.

(c) *Musæ Anglicana*, vol. ii. p. 20.

(d) London Gazette.

(e) Collins's Peerage, art. HAMFDEN.

(f) Harl. MSS. ubi supra.

distinguished bravery [A] at that siege. He was afterwards Colonel of a regiment in Holland under the States, and accompanied King William to England, who "being graciously pleased (d) to confer a mark of his royal favour upon Colonel John Cutts, for his faithful services, and zealous affection to his royal person and government, thought fit to create him a Baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the style and title of Baron Cutts of Gowran in the said kingdom, December 6, 1690." He was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, April 14, 1693; made a Major-General; and, when the assassination-project was discovered, 1695-6, was Captain of the King's Guard. He was twice married; first, to Elizabeth (e), daughter of George Clark of London, Merchant, (relict of John Morley, of Glynd, in Suffex, and after, of John Trevor, Esq; eldest brother to the first Lord Trevor). This Lady died in Feb. 1692; and that same year he had both his legs hurt in the battle of Steenkirk (f). His second wife, an amiable young woman, was educated under the care of her grandmother, the Lady Pickering [B], of Cambridgehire. She was brought to bed of a son, September 1, 1697, and died in a few days after, aged only 18 years and as many days. Her character has been admirably delineated by Bishop Atterbury [C], who thus inscribes a Sermon to her surviving Lord.

"MY LORD,

Dec. . . . 1697.

"AT your command I preached this Discourse; but upon so short a warning, that nothing less than your repeated commands could have excused me for publishing it [D]. The

[A] *Mr. Cutts's distinguished bravery.*

"Hic, ubi saxa jacent disperso infecta cerebro,
Atque interruptis hincunt divortia muris,
Vexillum intrepidus fixit, cui tempora dudum
Budenfes palmarum, peregrinaque laurus obumbrat (1)."

(1) See the whole poem, intitled, "Pax Gulielmi auspiciis Europæ reddita, 1697," in Addison's Works.

[B] *Care of her grandmother, the Lady Pickering.* For an ingenious conjecture concerning Lady Pickering, see the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. liv. p. 120.

[C] *Admirably delineated by Bishop Atterbury.* The whole of this character is well worth transcribing, if our limits would allow it. The conclusion of it we cannot omit.

"Soon after her marriage, she declared to several friends her thoughts, that every woman of quality was as much more obliged, as she was more enabled than other women, to do good in the world; and that the shortest and surest way of doing this was, to endeavour by all means to be as good a Christian, and as good a wife, and as good a friend, as was possible.

"She endeavoured to be all this, and she fell not far short of it: for she excelled in all the characters that belonged to her, and was in a great measure equal to all the obligations that she lay under: she was devout, without superstition; strict, without ill-humour; good-natured, without weakness; chearful, without levity; regular, without affectation. She was to her husband the best of wives, the most agreeable of companions, and most faithful of friends; to her servants, the best of mistresses; to her relations, extremely respectful; to her inferiors, very obliging; and by all that knew her, either nearly or at a distance, she was reckoned, and confessed to be, one of the best of women.

"And yet all this goodness, and all this excellence, was bounded within the compass of eighteen years, and as many days: for no longer was she allowed to live among us. She was snatched out of the world as soon almost as she made her appearance in it; like a jewel of high price, just shewn a little, and then put up again; and we were deprived of her by that time we had learnt to value her. But circles may be complete, though small; the perfection of life doth not consist in the length of it: if it did, our Saviour, to be sure, would not have died so soon after thirty.

"Short as her life was, she had time enough to adorn the several states of virginity and marriage; and to experience the sadness of a kind of widowhood too: for such she accounted it, when her Lord was long absent from her, mourned as much, and refused as much to be comforted, till his return.

"As her life was short, so her death was sudden; she was called away in haste, and without any warning. One day she drooped, and the next she died: nor was there the distance of many hours between her

being very easy in this world, and very happy in another.

"However, though she was seized thus suddenly by death, yet she was not surprized; for she was ever in preparation for it; 'her loins girt' (as the Scripture speaks), 'and her lamp ready trimmed,' 'and burning.' The moment almost that she was taken ill, she was just risen from her knees, and had made an end of her morning devotions. And to such an one a sudden death could be no misfortune. We pray indeed against it, because few, very few, are fit for it; and the Church is to proportion her forms to the generality of Christians: but where a good soul is in perfect readiness, there the sooner the fatal stroke is struck the better; all delays in this case are uncomfortable to the dying, as well as to those friends who survive them.

"In truth, she could not be called away more hastily than she was willing to go. She had been used so much to have 'her conversation in Heaven,' and her soul had been so often upon the wing thither, that it readily left its earthly station upon the least notice from above; and took the very first opportunity of quitting her body, without lingering, or expecting a second summons. She stayed no longer after she was called, than to assure her Lord of her entire resignation to the Divine Will, and of her having no manner of uneasiness upon her mind; and to take her leave of him with all the expressions of tenderness. When this was over, she had nothing more to do with her senses; she sunk immediately under her illness, and, after a short unquiet slumber, slept in peace.

"Thus lived, and thus died, this excellent Lady, whose character I have so far represented, as my time, and the measure of such discourses as these, would suffer me; and endeavoured to renew a faint image of her several virtues and perfections upon your minds. I have done it in a confused manner, and without the nice divisions of art; for grief is not methodical: it is enough, if I have been able to set before you some resemblance of her, though I should not have done it after the best and liveliest manner: when the life is gone, a picture, drawn even by an unskilful hand, hath its use and value; and those who loved what it doth (however unequally) represent, will be touched at the sight of it (2)."

[D] *That nothing less than your repeated commands could have excused me for publishing it.* Two other Sermons were published on the same occasion; one by John Provoste, M. A. with an account of her most pious life and lamented death, and a dedication to Lord Cutts; the other, preached at Kensington Church, Dec. 5, 1697, by W. Wigan, M. A. Vicar of Kensington. Wigan and Atterbury were both at this time Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty. Atterbury's Sermon was probably also preached at Kensington.

(2) Atterbury's Miscellaneous Works, 1739, p. 120—123.

subject

subject of it is death; a thing which you, my Lord, have very familiarly conversed with, and seen in all its shapes; but never, I believe, found it so truly terrible as in the face of my Lady. All that were about you were witnesses with how sensible a concern you bore the loss of her: and indeed it was such a loss, as even all your courage was but little enough to bear. I pray God, it may turn to account to your Lordship another way; and may furnish you with such reflections, and inspire you with such resolutions, as, if well pursued, will make you amends for any loss on this side Heaven. Your Lordship has chosen to express some part of your grief this way, by giving the world an opportunity of grieving with you; which it will certainly do, wherever my Lady Cutts's character is truly known; and I have endeavoured to make it known in the following pages, with all the sincerity that becomes my profession; a quality which, I must own to your Lordship, I would not forfeit upon any account; no, not though I were sure of doing the greatest good by it. Some part of what is there written I know, and the rest I do in my conscience believe to be true, after a very strict and particular enquiry. If I may be so happy, in what I have said, as to contribute any ways towards fixing a true opinion of my Lady's merit, and spreading the interests of virtue and piety by the means of it, I have all the ends I proposed to myself in this discourse; beside the honour of publishing to the world, that

"I am your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant;

"FRANCIS ATTERBURY."

In 1695, and the three following parliaments, Lord Cutts was regularly elected one of the representatives both for the county of Cambridge, and for the borough of Newport in the Isle of Wight; but made his election for the former. In two parliaments which followed (1702 and 1705) he represented Newport (*b*). In 1698 he was complimented by Mr. John Hopkins (*i*), as one to whom "a double crown was due," as a hero and as a poet. In 1699, he is thus introduced (*k*) in a compliment to King William on his conquests:

"The warlike Cutts the welcome tidings brings;
"The true brave servant of the best of Kings;
"Cutts, whose known worth no herald needs proclaim;
"His wounds and his own worth can speak his fame."

(*b*) Cave's Parliamentary Register, 1741.
(*i*) Nichols's Select Collection of Poems, vol. ii. p. 327.
(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 194.

He was Colonel of the Coldstream, or second regiment of guards, in 1701; when Steele, who was indebted to his interest for a Captain's commission in the Lord Lucas's regiment of fusileers, inscribed to him his first work, "The Christian Hero [*E*]." On the accession of Queen Anne, he was made a Lieutenant-General of the forces in Holland. Feb. 13, 1702-3, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the English forces on the Continent

[*E*] *The Christian Hero.*]

To the Right Honourable the Lord Cutts, Colonel of his Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of Guards, &c.

"My Lord, Tower Guard, March 23, 1701.

"The address of the following papers is so very much due to your Lordship, that they are but a mere report of what has passed upon my guard to my Commander; for they were writ upon duty, when the mind was perfectly disengaged, and at leisure, in the silent watch of the night, to run over the busy dream of the day; and the vigilance which obliges us to suppose an enemy always near us, has awakened a sense that there is a restless and subtle one, which constantly attends our sleep, and meditates our ruin.

"Thoughts of this nature a man may with freedom acknowledge to your Lordship, who have ever been so far from running into the fashionable vice of exploding religion, that your early valour first appeared against the professed enemies of Christianity; and Buda had transmitted you to late posterity, but that you yourself have obliterated your part in that glorious scene by the fresher memory of you at Lime-rick and Namur.

"With one honest purpose of life, and constant service of one interest and one cause, in what country have you not fought? in what field have you not bled? But I know I here offend you, nor will you allow warmth in commendation to be like a friend; but if, my Lord, to speak you generous, honest, and brave, be not friendly, I do assure you it is the only thing I will ever do in common with your enemies.

"I said your enemies; but if there are any who have ignorance or malice enough to be such, their little hates must be lost in the distinction the better

world allow you; and that county (*3*) (whose discerning is refined by a learned and elegant university) has done you so great an honour in making you unanimously their representative in parliament, that they who would oppose your reputation, do but confess they are unacquainted with what passes in the world, and strangers to the residence of knowledge and virtue. It was there you received those rudiments of honour, which have rendered your life conspicuous enough to make you appear a worthy descendant of an ancient and distinguished family, which has served the Crown in the most eminent stations, and been equally favourites of their country. It was there you imbibed those impressions which inspire that true use of your being, which so justly divides your time between labour and diversion, that the one does but recreate for the other, and which give a generous contempt of both when in competition with the service of that country which you love, and that God whom you worship.

"Go on, my Lord, thus to contend, and thus to enjoy life; and, if some great English day does not call for that sacrifice which you are always ready to offer, may you in a mature age go to sleep with your ancestors, in expectation, not of an imaginary fame, but a real and sensible immortality.

"As for the present I now make you, if you will accept it with your usual goodness and affection to me, I shall entertain no farther hopes; for as your favour is my fortune, so your approbation is my fame.

"I am, my Lord,
"your Lordship's most obedient,
"most faithful, and most humble servant,

"RICHARD STEELE."

during

during the absence of the Duke of Marlborough; Commander in Chief of the forces in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond, March 23, 1704-5; and afterwards one of the Lords Justices of that kingdom, to keep him out of the way of action, a circumstance which broke his heart. He died at Dublin, Jan. 26, 1706-7, and was buried there on the 29th, in the Cathedral of Christ-church (l). He was a person of eminent natural parts, well cultivated by study and conversation; of a free, unreserved temper; and of undaunted bravery and resolution. As he was a servant to Queen Mary when Princess of Orange, and learned the trade of war under her Consort, he was early devoted to them both, and a warm supporter of the Revolution (m). He was an absolute stranger to fear; and, on all occasions, gave distinguishing proofs of his intrepidity, particularly at the siege of Limerick in 1691, at the memorable attack of the Castle of Namur in 1695, and at the siege of Venlo [F] in 1702. Macky (n) says of him, in 1703, "He hath abundance of wit, but too much seized with vanity and self-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and very brave. Few considerable actions happened in this as well as the last war, in which he was not, and hath been wounded in all the actions where he served; is esteemed to be a mighty vigilant officer, and for putting the military orders in execution; he is pretty tall, lusty, well-shaped, and an agreeable companion; hath great revenues, yet so very expensive, as always to be in debt; towards fifty years old." Swift, in a MS. note on the above passage, with his usual laconic cruelty, calls Lord Cutts, "The vainest old fool alive." He wrote a poem on the death of Queen Mary (o); and published, in 1687, "Poetical Exercises, written upon several Occasions, and dedicated to her Royal

(l) Le Neve, *Numer. Anglic.* i. 120.

(m) Annals of Q. Anne, 1706, p. 498.

(n) Memoirs of Secret Sources, &c. 1733, p. 155.

(o) Printed among the Court Poems.

[F] Particularly at the siege of Limerick in 1691, at the memorable attack of the Castle of Namur in 1695, and at the siege of Venlo in 1702.]

"In the Netherlands, the Earl of Marlborough not being able to bring the French to an engagement, the Deputies of the States in the army represented to him, that it would be much to the advantage of Holland, to dispossess the enemy of the places they held in the Spanish Guelderland, whereby the navigation of the Maese would be opened. And accordingly preparations were made for the siege of Venlo, which was invested the 29th of August, and on the 7th of September the trenches were opened. I shall not take upon me to give a diary of every siege during this long war, but there are some heroic actions that must not be passed by: such was that performed by my Lord Cutts before this place. On the 18th of September his Lordship was commanded to attack Fort St. Michael, between the Bastion that is next the plain, and the Ravelin that lies on the North side of it, having under his command Brigadier General Hamilton, with the Royal Regiment of Ireland, and General Hukelem's regiment, 172 Grenadiers, and 100 Fusileers, most English, under a Lieutenant Colonel; as also 300 workmen, with a competent number of Engineers under Colonel Blood. His Lordship's orders were to make a lodgment from the point of the Ravelin to the Bastion, leaving him at liberty to proceed farther if he found it practicable. And at the same time the Prince of Anhalt, with the same number of troops, was to make an attack between the Bastion and the Ravelin on the North side, with the like discretionary orders, either to lodge himself, or to advance as he should see occasion. The signal for both attacks, which was to be the blowing up a tun of powder, and the discharge of all the batteries of the besiegers, both cannon and mortars, was accordingly made a little before six in the evening. The Lord Cutts had given orders on this attack to the Officers that led the Grenadiers, first to clear the covered way of the enemy, and if they saw it practicable when that was done, to attack the Ravelin sword in hand; assuring them, in the hearing of all the Grenadiers, that as soon as he saw fifty of the latter on the top of the Ravelin, he would sacrifice himself and his troops rather than not sustain them; and that therefore they might go on with undauntedness if they found it possible to pass. His Lordship heightened their courage and alacrity by promising rewards in her Majesty's name to all such who should signalize themselves. His Lordship's orders were executed with inexpressible vigour and cheerfulness; and as soon as the Grenadiers, whom his Lordship with distinguished intrepidity and admirable presence of mind sustained with fresh numbers, had cleared the Counter-scarp with their fire, and avoided a Mine which was

unsuccessfully sprung by the enemy, they boldly attacked the Ravelin with sword in hand, encouraging and assisting one another upon the assurance of being seconded; which the Lord Cutts perceiving, he marched with all his forces, engaged the enemy, and was soon master of the Ravelin. The French then made a great fire upon the English from the rampart of the Fort; whereupon the Lord Cutts sent orders to the Officers that were at the head of the Grenadiers, to throw in their granadoes and attack the Fort sword in hand, if it were possible to find a passage; which they did, by charging and following the enemy so close, that they had not time to break the bridge, though it was hotly disputed by fire and push of pike, and especially by the enemy's Grenadiers from the flank of one of their Bastions. But the bravery of the English Grenadiers, by the example of their Officers, and some Volunteers of distinction, (as the Earl of Huntington, my Lord Lorn, my Lord Marckar, the Prince D'Avergne, Sir Richard Temple, Colonel Webb, and Mr. Dalrymple,) was inexpressible: some of them attacked the bridge, and some clambered up the ramparts, after having thrown in their granadoes, and forced their way into the Fort. The enemy continued to defend themselves, till the English poured in so fast upon them, that they were no longer able to resist; which as soon as the Lord Cutts perceived, he checked the fury of the soldiers, and put a stop to the slaughter. The English took above 200 prisoners, whereof 30 were Officers, with a Brigadier General and the Governor; but all the rest that were in the Fort, to the number of 600 were killed or drowned, endeavouring to escape, except 12 who happily passed the Maese in small boats.

"When the Lord Cutts found himself entirely in possession of the Forts, having left 400 men in the outworks, he posted a guard at the great Port towards the town, and a small guard at each Sally Port, seized the Magazines, sent out 100 Grenadiers to discover on the side of the Maese, if any of the enemy were there drawn up; the rest of his troops upon the rampart, towards the town, turned the enemies cannon upon them, made a discharge to give notice to the camp that all was well, and continued under arms all night. Of the English in this action two Captains were wounded, two Lieutenants and one Ensign killed, and three wounded, one Serjeant killed, and three wounded, 130 men killed, and 132 wounded: And the Lord Cutts's Aid de Camp, Captain Bolas, with Mr. Eley, an English Volunteer, killed on the spot. The loss of the Dutch was no less than that of the English.

"On the 25th of September the town of Venlo beat a parley, and the garrison surrendered upon honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp (4)."

(4) Life of Queen Anne, p. 114—120.

"Highness

"Highness Mary Princess of Orange; licensed March 23, 1686-7, Roger L'Estrange." It contains, besides the dedication signed "J. Cutts," verses to that Princess; a poem on Wisdom; another to Mr. Waller on his commending it; seven more copies of verses (one of them called "La Muse Cavalier," which had been ascribed to Lord Peterborough, and as such mentioned by Mr. Walpole in the list of that Nobleman's writings), and eleven songs; the whole composing but a very thin volume; which is by no means so scarce as Mr. Walpole supposes it to be (p). The author speaks of having more pieces by him. A specimen of his poetry (of which the five first lines are quoted by Steele in his fifth Tatler) is added in the note below [G].

[G] *Is added in the note below.*

"Only tell her that I love,
Leave the rest to Her and Fate;
Some kind planet from above
May perhaps her pity move;
Lovers on their stars must wait;
Only tell her that I love.

Why, oh, why should I despair?
Mercy's pictur'd in her eye:
If she once vouchsafe to hear,
Welcome Hope, and welcome Fear.
She's too good to let me die;
Why, oh, why should I despair?"

APPENDIX TO LETTER C. No. I.

VOL. III. Page 450.

* * [CHATTERTON (THOMAS), a youth of a very extraordinary genius, was born of a family in no respect illustrious; but which is more nearly connected with some of the circumstances of his literary history than that of most other votaries of the Muses. It appears that the office of Sexton of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Bristol, had continued in different branches of this family for more than one hundred and fifty years; and that John Chatterton, the last of the name who enjoyed that office, was elected in March 1725, and continued Sexton till his death, which happened in the year 1748 (a). Thomas Chatterton, the nephew of the preceding, and father to the extraordinary person who is the subject of these memoirs, had, we are informed, been in the early part of life in the station of a writing usher to a classical school (b), was afterwards engaged as a singing man of the Cathedral of Bristol, and latterly was Master of the Free School in Pyle-street in the same city (c). He died in August 1752, leaving his wife then pregnant of a son, who was born on the twentieth of November, and baptized the first of January following, by the name of THOMAS, at St. Mary Redcliffe, by the Rev. Mr. Gibbs, Vicar of that Church.

The life of Chatterton, though short, was eventful: it commenced as it ended, in indigence and misfortune. By the premature loss of his father he was deprived of that careful attention which would probably have conducted his early years through all the difficulties that circumstances or disposition might oppose to the attainment of knowledge; and by the unpromising aspect of his infant faculties he was excluded a seminary, which might have afforded advantages superior to those he afterwards enjoyed. His father had been succeeded in the school at Pyle-street by a Mr. Love, and to his care Chatterton was committed at the age of five years. But either his faculties were not yet opened, or the waywardness of genius, which will pursue only such objects as are self-approved, incapacitated him from receiving instruction in the ordinary methods; and he was remanded to his mother as a dull boy, and incapable of improvement (e). Nothing is more fallacious than the judgments which are formed during infancy of the future abilities of youth. Mrs. Chatterton was rendered extremely unhappy by the apparently tardy understanding of her son, till *he fell in love*, as she expressed herself, with the illuminated capitals of an old musical manuscript, in French, which enabled her, by taking advantage of the momentary passion, to initiate him in the alphabet (f). She taught him afterwards to read from an old black-lettered Testament, or Bible (g). Perhaps the bent of most men's studies may, in some measure, be determined by accident, and frequently in very early life; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that his peculiar attachment to antiquities may, in a considerable degree, have resulted from this little circumstance.

We are not informed by what means or by what recommendation he gained admission into Colston's Charity-school; but doubtless, in the situation of his mother at the time, it must have been a most desirable event; however unsuitable such a course of discipline might be to the improvement of Chatterton's peculiar talents. Most of those prodigies of genius, who had hitherto astonished mankind, by the early display of abilities and learning, had been aided by the advantage of able instructors, or had at least been left at liberty to pursue the impulse of their superior understandings. It was the lot of Chatterton to be confined to the mechanical drudgery of a charity-school; and the little ordinary portions of leisure, with which boys in his situation are indulged, was the only time allowed him to lay the foundation of that extensive and abstruse erudition which decorated even his early years. This seminary, founded by Edward Colston, Esq; is situate at St. Augustine's Back in Bristol, and is much upon the same plan with Christ's Hospital in London, (the only plan perhaps on which a charity-school can be generally useful,) the boys being *boarded* in the house, clothed, and taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Chatterton, at this period, wanted a few months of eight years of age, being admitted on the third of

VOL. IV.

7 G

August

(b) *Ibid.*(c) *Ibid.* Mr. Bryant's Obs. p. 514.(d) *Ibid.*

(e) Bryant's Obs. p. 519.

(f) *Ibid.* Milles's Prelim. Diss. p. 5.
(g) Milles's Prelim. Diss. p. 5.

(a) Dr. Milles's Preliminary Dissertation to Rowley's Poems, page 6.

(b) On the authority of a letter signed G. B. dated Bristol, Aug. 30, 1778, printed in the St. James's Chron. In Dr. Milles's Prelim. Diff. it is 1761; but this must be a misprint, as all agree that he was between seven and eight years old when admitted.

August 1760 (b). The rules of this institution are strict. The school hours in summer are from seven o'clock till twelve in the morning, and from one till five in the afternoon; and in winter, from eight to twelve, and from one to four. The boys are obliged to be in bed every night in the year at eight o'clock, and are never permitted to be absent from school, except on Saturdays and Saints days, and then only from between one and two in the afternoon till between seven and eight in the evening. The detail of these apparently trivial particulars may at present favour of a culpable minuteness; but their importance will be experienced before I have concluded.

The first years of his residence at this seminary passed without notice, and perhaps without effort. His sister, indeed, in her letter to Mr. Croft, remarks, that he very early discovered a thirst for pre-eminence, and that even before he was five years old he was accustomed to preside over his play-mates [A]. There is a curious letter from Mr. Thistlethwaite of Bristol, published by Dr. Milles in his edition of Rowley's Poems, which contains many interesting particulars concerning Chatterton. In the summer of 1763, Mr. Thistlethwaite, who was then very young, contracted an intimacy with one Thomas Philips [B], an Usher or Assistant-master at Colston's school. Though the education of Philips, had not been the most liberal, he yet possessed a taste for history and poetry; and by his attempts in verse, excited a degree of literary emulation among the elder boys. It is very remarkable, that Chatterton is said to have appeared altogether as an idle spectator of these poetical contests: he simply contented himself with the sports and pastimes which appeared more immediately adapted to his age; he apparently possessed neither inclination nor ability for literary pursuits, nor does Mr. Thistlethwaite believe that he attempted a single couplet during the first three years of his acquaintance with him (k). Whatever grounds Mr. Thistlethwaite might have for this opinion, it, however, only serves to furnish an additional proof of the deceitfulness of those conjectures which are formed concerning the abilities of youth. The pert and forward boy, of active, but superficial talents, generally bears away the palm from the modesty and pensiveness of genius. Such a disposition, which is in reality the result of insensibility, too frequently meets with encouragement, which produces indolence, impudence, and dissipation; while the less shewy, but more excellent understandings, are depressed by neglect, or disheartened by discouragement. Chatterton, doubtless, at that very period, was possessed of a vigour of understanding, of a quickness of penetration, a boldness of imagination, far superior to the talents of his companions. But that penetration itself led him, perhaps, to feel more strongly his own deficiencies. Those delicate, yet vivid feelings which usually accompany real abilities, induced him to decline a contest, in which there was a danger of experiencing the mortification of being inferior. If he produced any compositions, his exquisite taste led him to suppress them. In the mean time he was laying in stores of information, and improving both his imagination and his judgment. About his tenth year he acquired a taste for reading; and out of the trifle, which was allowed him by his mother for pocket-money, he began to hire books from a circulating library. As his taste was different from children of his age, his dispositions were also different. Instead of the thoughtless levity of childhood, he possessed the gravity, pensiveness, and melancholy of maturer life. His spirits were uneven: he was frequently so lost in contemplation, that for many days together he would say very little, and apparently by constraint. His intimates in the school were few, and those of the most serious cast. Between his eleventh and twelfth year, he wrote a Catalogue of the Books he had read, to the number of seventy. It is rather unfortunate that this Catalogue was not preserved: his sister only informs us that they principally consisted of history and divinity (l). At the hours allotted him for play, he generally retired to read, and he was particularly solicitous to borrow books (m). Though he does not appear to have manifested any violent inclination to display his abilities, yet we have undoubted proofs that very early in life, he did not fail to exercise himself in composition. His sister having made him a present of a pocket-book as a New-Year's gift, he returned it to her at the end of the year filled with writing, chiefly poetry (n). It was probably from the remains of this pocket-book, that the author of Love and Madness transcribed a poem, which appears by the date (April 14th, 1764) to have been written at the age of eleven years and a half [C]. This fact is certainly

(k) Milles's Rowley, p. 454.

(l) Mrs. Newton's Letter in Love and Madness.

(m) Dr. Milles's Prelim. Diff. p. 5.

(n) Mrs. Newton's Letter.

[A] *He was accustomed to preside over his play-mates.* There is an anecdote of Chatterton (it is given, however, only on a vague and indistinct report) partly to the same purpose. When very young, a manufacturer promised to make Mrs. Chatterton's children a present of some earthen-ware. On asking the boy what device he would have painted on his—"Paint me (said he) an angel, with wings, and a trumpet, to trumpet my name over the world (1)."

(1) Love and Madness, p. 161.

[B] *With one Thomas Philips.* In all probability the person on whose death Chatterton composed an Elegy. I wish we were possessed of more perfect memoirs of Philips. His taste for poetry excited a similar flame in several young men, who made no mean figure in the periodical publications of that

day, in Chatterton, Thistlethwaite, Cary, Fowler, and others.

[C] *Which appears to have been written at the age of eleven years and a half.* It may not be improper to produce this Poem, not only as it is the earliest existing specimen of Chatterton's compositions, but also for the sake of some remarks, which will probably throw some light on the genius and character of its author.

APOSTATE WILL, by T. C.

In days of old, when Wesley's pow'r
Gather'd new strength by every hour;
Apostate Will just sunk in trade,
Resolv'd his bargain should be made;

Then

tainly a strong contradiction to Mr. Thistlethwaite's assertion; yet perhaps it is not on the whole so difficult to be reconciled as may at first be suspected. In the registers of the memory, a few months is but a trifling anachronism. Besides, though Chatterton might compose at that time, it does not follow that he was under any necessity of imparting his compositions to Mr. Thistlethwaite or Mr. Philips. Indeed, he was the less likely to make them public, as they were of the satirical kind, and consequently, if discovered, the boy might be apprehensive of exposing himself to punishment.

(o) Mrs. Newton's Letter.

At twelve years old he was confirmed by the Bishop: His sister adds, that he made very sensible and serious remarks on the awfulness of the ceremony, and on his own feelings preparatory to it (o). Happy had it been for him if these sentiments, so congenial to the amiable dispositions of youth, had continued to influence his conduct during his maturer years. He soon after, during the week in which he was door-keeper, made some verses on the last day, paraphrased the ninth chapter of Job, and some chapters of Isaiah. The bent of his genius, however, more strongly inclined him to satire, of which he was tolerably lavish on his school-fellows; nor did the Upper-master, Mr. Warner, escape the rod of his reprehension. The first poetical essays of most young authors are in the pastoral style, when the imagination is luxuriant, the hopes and contemplations romantic, and when the mind is better acquainted with the objects of nature and of the fight than with any other. But Chatterton, without the advantages of education or encouragement, and, on these accounts, diffident perhaps of his own powers, wanted the stimulative of indignation to prompt him to action; and a quickness of resentment appears through life to have been one of his most distinguishing characteristics [D]. From what has been related, it is probable that Chatterton was no great favourite with Mr. Warner: he, however, found a

Then strait to Wesley he repairs,
And puts on grave and solemn airs;
Then thus the pious man address'd,
Good Sir, I think your doctrine best,
Your servant will a Wesley be,
Therefore the principles teach me.
The preacher then instructions gave,
How he in this world should behave,
He hears, assents, and gives a nod,
Says every word's the word of God.
Then lifting his dissembling eyes,
How blessed is the sect he cries,
Nor Bingham, Young, nor Stillingfleet
Shall make me from this sect retreat.
He then his circumstance declar'd,
How hardly with him matters far'd,
Begg'd him next meeting for to make
A small collection for his sake;
The preacher said, do not repine,
The whole collection shall be thine.
With looks demure and cringing bows,
About his business strait he goes;
His outward acts were grave and prim,
The Methodist appear'd in him.
But, be his outward what it will,
His heart was an Apostate's still;
He'd oft profess an hallow'd flame,
And every where preach'd Wesley's name;
He was a preacher and what not,
As long as money could be got;
He'd oft profess with holy fire,
The labourer's worthy of his hire.

It happen'd once upon a time,
When all his works were in their prime,
A noble place appear'd in view,
Then—to the Methodists, adieu:
A Methodist no more he'll be,
The Protestants serve best for *he*:
Then to the curate strait he ran,
And thus address'd the rev'rend man;
I was a Methodist, 'tis true,
With penitence I turn to you;
O that it were your bounteous will
That I the vacant place might fill!
With justice I'd myself acquit,
Do every thing that's right and fit.
The curate straitway gave consent—
To take the place he quickly went.
Accordingly he took the place,
And keeps it with dissembled grace.

April 14, 1764.

In the first place, this Poem shews the early turn and bent of his genius to satire, which predominated throughout his short life, and with which he began and ended his literary career. Not only his school-fellows and his instructors became the subjects of it at this early period, but his acquaintance and his friends felt its force.

In the next place, it appears that he was then no stranger to the works of Bingham, Young, and Stillingfleet, which were probably among the books of divinity that composed the list of those he had read or consulted, as mentioned in Mrs. Newton's Letter.

Lastly, let it be observed, that the person he satirizes is supposed to have turned methodist for mercenary motives, and to have preached the gospel merely to put money in his purse.—Now Mr. Thistlethwaite, in his letter to Dean Milles, after mentioning Chatterton's intentions of leaving his master's service and going to London, says—"I interrogated him as to the objects of his views and expectations, and what mode of life he intended to pursue on his arrival at London. The answer I received was a memorable one: My first attempt, said he, shall be in the literary way; the promises I have received are sufficient to dispel doubt; but should I, contrary to my expectations, find myself deceived, I will in that case turn Methodist preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and a new sect may easily be devised," &c.

(2) Milles's Rowley, p. 459.

Chatterton might in some measure have in view the character which he had before so successfully depicted, when he thus expressed himself to Mr. Thistlethwaite. As his genius was versatile, and his reading extensive, it is possible this profession might not be without some serious foundation. Indeed, if we are to believe that the fragment of a sermon, which he produced as Rowley's, was really his own composition, certainly many a quack preacher sets out upon a much slenderer stock of divinity than Chatterton was master of at that time. The imagination, however, forms many schemes which the heart wants fortitude to reduce to action; and perhaps, after all, his declaration to Mr. T. might be no more than a temporary piece of gaiety, and that he might still, though released from religious scruples, abhor the dishonourable character of a hypocrite.

[D] *Appears through life to have been one of his most distinguishing characteristics.* A late French writer, in his Memoirs of the Poet De la Harpe, who had manifested a like turn for satire in his early years, says—"La satire est la premiere qualité qui se developpe ordinairement dans un jeune poete. Celui se l'exerce d'une façon ridicule envers ses maitres & meme envers M. Assalin."

friend in the Under-master, Mr. Haynes, who conceived for him, I have been informed, a strong and affectionate attachment.

"A very remarkable fact is recorded by Mr. Thistlethwaite in the letter already quoted. "Going down Horse-street, near the school, one day," says he, "I accidentally met with Chatterton. Entering into conversation with him, the subject of which I do not now recollect, he informed me that he was in the possession of certain old manuscripts, which had been found deposited in a chest in Redcliffe church, and that he had lent some or one of them to Philips. Within a day or two after this I saw Philips, and repeated to him the information I had received from Chatterton. Philips produced a manuscript on parchment or vellum, which I am confident was Elenoure and Juga (*p*), a kind of pastoral eclogue, afterwards published in the Town and Country Magazine for May 1769. The parchment or vellum appeared to have been closely pared round the margin; for what purpose, or by what accident, I know not, but the words were evidently entire and unmutated. As the writing was yellow and pale, manifestly (as I conceive) occasioned by age, and consequently difficult to decypher, Philips had with his pen traced and gone over several of the lines, (which, as far as my recollection serves, were written in the manner of prose, and without any regard to punctuation,) and by that means laboured to attain the object of his pursuit, an investigation of their meaning. I endeavoured to assist him: but from an almost total ignorance of the characters, manners, language, and orthography of the age in which the lines were written, all our efforts were unprofitably exerted; and though we arrived at the explanation of, and connected many of the words, still the sense was notoriously deficient (*q*)."

If this narrative may be depended on, Chatterton had discovered these manuscripts before he was twelve years of age. It is, however, scarcely consistent with other accounts, since both Mrs. Chatterton and her daughter seem to be of opinion, that he knew nothing of the parchments brought from Redcliffe Church, which were supposed to contain Rowley's poems, till after he had left school (*r*). Under all the disadvantages of education, the acquisitions of Chatterton were surprising. Besides the variety of reading which he had gone through, the author of *Love and Madness* remarks, that he had some knowledge of music (*s*). Is it not probable that a few of the rudiments of vocal music made a part of the education of a charity boy? He had also acquired a taste for drawing, which afterwards he greatly improved; and the Usher of the school asserted he had made a rapid progress in arithmetic (*t*). Soon after he left school, he corresponded with a boy, who had been his bed-fellow while at Colston's, and was bound apprentice to a Merchant at New-York [*D*]. Mrs. Newton says, he read a letter at home, which he wrote to this friend: it consisted of a collection of all the hard words in the English language, and he requested his friend to answer it in the same style. An extraordinary effect of his discovering an employment adapted to his genius is remarked in the same letter. He had been gloomy from the time he began to learn, but it was observed that he became more cheerful after he began to write poetry (*u*).

(*p*) See Rowley's Poems, p. 19, 3d edit.

(*q*) Milles's Rowley.

(*r*) Milles's Prelim. Diss. p. 5. There appears good reason for suspecting some mistake in Mr. Thistlethwaite's narrative, either as to the date, or some other circumstance.
(*s*) *Love and Madness*, p. 167.
(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 161.

(*u*) Milles's Prelim. Diss. p. 5.

On the first of July 1767, he left the Charity-school, and was bound apprentice to Mr. John Lambert, Attorney, of Bristol, for seven years, to learn the art and mystery of a scrivener. The apprentice fee was ten pounds; the master was to find him in meat, drink, lodging, and clothes; the mother in washing and mending. He slept in the same room with the foot-boy, and went every morning at eight o'clock to the office, which was at some distance, and, except the usual time for dinner, continued there till eight o'clock at night, after which he was at liberty till ten, when he was always expected to be at home. Mr. Lambert affords the most honourable testimony in Chatterton's favour, with respect to the regularity of his attendance, as he never exceeded the limited hours but once, when he had leave to spend the evening with his mother and some friends (*w*). His hours of leisure also Mr. Lambert had no reason to suspect were spent in improper company, but generally with his mother, Mr. Clayfield, Mr. Barrett, or Mr. Catcott. He never had occasion to charge him with neglect of business, or any ill behaviour whatever. Once, and but once, he thought himself under the necessity of correcting him, and that was the pure effect of his disposition for satire. A short time after he was bound to Mr. Lambert, his old School-master received a very abusive anonymous letter, which he suspected came from Chatterton, and he complained of it to his master, who was soon convinced of the justice of the complaint, not only from the hand-writing, which was ill-disguised [*F*], but from the letter being written on the same paper with that which was used in the office. On this occasion Mr. Lambert corrected the boy with a blow or two. He, however, accuses him of a fullen and gloomy temper, which particularly displayed itself among the servants (*x*). Chatterton's superior abilities, and superior information, with the pride which usually accom-

(*w*) Mrs. Newton's Letter above quoted.

(*x*) From the information of Mr. Lambert to a friend of the author.

[*E*] *Bound Apprentice to a Merchant at New-York.* At the desire of this friend, he wrote love verses to be transmitted to him, and exhibited as his own. It is remarkable, that when first questioned concerning the old poems, he said he was engaged to transcribe them for a Gentleman, who also employed him to write verses on a Lady with whom he was in love.

[*F*] *Which was ill-disguised.* This circumstance is not unworthy of notice. If Chatterton was really the forger of the MSS. attributed to Rowley, how came he in this instance to be unable to disguise his own hand-writing?

panies

panies these qualities, doubtless rendered him an unfit inhabitant of the kitchen, where his ignorant associates would naturally be inclined to envy, and would affect to despise those accomplishments, which he held in the highest estimation: and even the familiarity of vulgar and illiterate persons, must undoubtedly be rather disgusting than agreeable to a mind like his.

(y) Mrs. Newton's Letter above quoted.

Mr. Lambert's was a situation not unfavourable to the cultivation of his genius. Though much confined, he had much leisure. His master's business consumed a very small portion of his time: frequently, his sister says, it did not engage him about two hours in a day (y). While Mr. Lambert was from home, and no particular business interfered, his stated employment was to copy precedents; a book of which, containing 344 large folio pages, closely written by Chatterton while he remained in the office, is, I believe, still in the possession of Mr. Lambert, as well as another of about thirty pages. The office library contained nothing but law books; except an old edition of Camden's Britannia. There is no doubt, however, but Chatterton took care amply to supply his mental wants from his old acquaintance at the circulating libraries.

He had continued this course of life for upwards of a year; not, however, without some symptoms of an aversion for his profession, before he began to attract the notice of the literary world. In the beginning of October 1768, the new bridge at Bristol was finished. At that time there appeared, in Farley's Bristol Journal, an account of the ceremonies on opening the old bridge, introduced by a letter to the printer, intimating that "The following description of *the Fryars first passing over the old bridge*, was taken from an ancient manuscript," and signed "Dunhelmus Bristolienfis [G]." The paper, if it be allowed to be the fabrication of modern times, demonstrates strong powers of invention, and an uncommon knowledge of ancient customs. So singular a memoir could not fail to excite curiosity, and many persons became anxious to see the original. The printer, Mr. Farley, could give no account of it, nor of the person who brought the copy; but after much inquiry, it was discovered that the manuscript was brought by a youth between fifteen and sixteen years of age, of the name of Thomas Chatterton (z). "To the threats of those who treated him (agreeably to his appearance) as a child, he returned nothing but haughtiness, and a refusal to give any account (a)." By milder usage he was somewhat softened, and appeared inclined to give all the information in his power. He at first alledged, that he was employed to transcribe the contents of certain ancient manuscripts by a Gentleman, who also had engaged him to furnish complimentary verses, inscribed to a Lady with whom that Gentleman was in love. On being farther pressed, he at last informed the inquirers, that he had received the paper in question, together with many other manuscripts, from his father, who had found them in a large chest in the upper room over the chapel, on the North side of Redcliffe Church (b). But a still more circumstantial account of the discovery of these manuscripts, is preserved in Mr. Bryant's Observations on Rowley's Poems. Over the North porch of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, which was founded, or at least rebuilt, by Mr. W. Canynge, (an eminent Merchant of Bristol in the fifteenth century, and in the reign of Edward the Fourth), there is a kind of monument room, in which were deposited six or seven chests, one of which in particular was called

(z) Preface to Rowley's Poems.

(a) Croft's Love and Madness, p. 145.

(b) See Mr. Catcott's account in the preface to Rowley's poems.

[G] And signed "Dunhelmus Bristolienfis."

"Description of the Fryars passing over the Old Bridge, taken from an ancient manuscript.

"On Fridaie was the time fixed for passing the new-brydge. About the time of tollynge the tenth clocke, Master Greggoire Dalbenye mounted on a fergreyne horse, informed Master Maier all thynges were prepared, when two Beadils went first streying stre. Next came a manne dressed up as follows, hose of gootskyne crinepart outwards, doublette & waicot, also over which a white robe without sleeves, much like an albe but not so long, reachinge but to his hands. A girdle of azure over his left shoullder, rechede also to his hands on the right & doubled back to his left, bucklynge with a goulden buckle dangled to his knee, thereby representinge a Saxon earlderman.

"In his hands he bare a shield, the maistre of Gille a Brogton, who painted the same, representing Sainte Warburgh crossing the soorde; then a mickle strong man in armour, carried a huge anlace, after whom came six claryons and six minstrels, who song the song of Sainte Warburgh. Then came Master Maier mounted on a white horse dyght with sable trappynge wrought about by the Nunnes of Saint Kenna, with gould and silver, his hayre braded with ribbons & a chaperon with the auntient armes of Bristowe fastened on

his forehead. Master Maier bare in his hande a goulden rodde, & a congean squire bare in his hande his helmet, waulkinge by the syde of the horse. Then came the earlderman & city broders, mounted on sabyell horses dyght with white trappynge & plumes & scarlet caps & chaperons having thereon sable plumes; after them, the preefts & frears, parish mendicant & secular, some syngynge Sainte Warburghs songe, others soundynge clarions thereto & others some citrallles.

"In thilke manner reachynge the brydge the manne with the anlace stode on the fyrst top of a mounde, yreed in the midst of the brydge, then went up the manne with the sheelde, after him the minstrels & clarions; and then the preefts & freeres all in white albes, making a most goodly shewe, the maier & earldermen standinge rounde, they songe with the sound of claryons, the songe of Sainte Baldwyne, which being done, the manne on the top threw with great myght his anlace into the sea & the clarions founded an auncient charge & forloyne. Then theie song again the song of Sainte Warburge, & proceeded up Xts hill to the crosse, where a Latin sermon was preached by Ralph de Blunderville, & with sound of clarion theye againe went to the brydge and there dined, spendynge the rest of the daye in sports and plaies, the freers of Sainte Augustyne doing the play of the knights of Bristow meekynge a great fire at night on Kynslate hill."

Mr. Canynge's cofre [H]. This chest, it is said, was secured by six keys, two of which were entrusted to the Minister and Procurator of the Church, two to the Mayor, and one to each of the Church-wardens. In process of time, however, the six keys appear to have been lost; and about the year 1727, a notion prevailed that some title deeds, and other writings of value, were contained in Mr. Canynge's cofre. In consequence of this opinion, an order of vestry was made, that the chest should be opened under the inspection of an attorney; and that those writings which appeared of consequence, should be removed to the south porch of the church. The locks were therefore forced, and not only the principal chest, but the others, which were also supposed to contain writings, were all broken open. The deeds immediately relating to the church were removed, and the other manuscripts were left exposed as of no value. Considerable depredations had, from time to time, been committed upon them, by different persons; but the most insatiate of these plunderers was the father of Chatterton. His uncle's being Sexton of St. Mary Redcliffe gave him free access to the church. He carried off, from time to time, parcels of the parchments, and one time alone, with the assistance of his boy, is known to have filled a large basket with them. They were deposited in a cupboard in the school, and employed for different purposes, such as the covering of copy books, &c. In particular, Mr. Gibbs, the Minister of the parish, having presented the boys with twenty Bibles, Mr. Chatterton, in order to preserve these books from being damaged, covered them with some of the parchments. At his death, the widow being under a necessity of removing, carried the remainder of them to her own habitation. Of the discovery of their value by the younger Chatterton, the account of Mr. Smith, a very intimate acquaintance, which he gave to Dr. Glynn of Cambridge, is too interesting to be omitted. "When young Chatterton was first articled to Mr. Lambert, he used frequently to come home to his mother, by way of a short visit. There, one day, his eye was caught by one of these parchments, which had been converted into a thread-paper. He found not only the writing to be very old, the characters very different from common characters, but that the subject therein treated was different from common subjects. Being naturally of an inquisitive and curious turn, he was very much struck with their appearance, and, as might be expected, began to question his mother what those thread-papers were, how she got them, and whence they came. Upon farther enquiry, he was led to a full discovery of all the parchments which remained (c)." The bulk of them consisted of poetical and other compositions, by Mr. Canynge, and a particular friend of his, Thomas Rowley, whom Chatterton at first called a Monk, and afterwards a Secular Priest of the fifteenth century. Such, at least, appears to be the account which Chatterton thought proper to give, and which he wished to be believed. It is, indeed, confirmed by the testimony of his mother and sister. Mrs. Chatterton informed a friend of the Dean of Exeter, that on her removal from Pyle-street, she emptied the cupboard of its contents, partly into a large long deal box, where her husband used to keep his clothes, and partly into a square oak box of a smaller size; carrying both with their contents to her lodgings, where, according to her account, they continued neglected and undisturbed, till her son first discovered their value; who having examined their contents, told his mother, 'that he had found a treasure, and was so glad nothing could be like it:' that he then removed all these parchments out of the large long deal box, in which his father used to keep his clothes, into the square oak box: that he was perpetually ransacking every corner of the house for more parchments, and, from time to time, carried away those he had already found by pockets full: that one day happening to see Clarke's History of the Bible covered with one of those parchments, he swore a great oath, and stripping the book, put the cover into his pocket, and carried it away; at the same time stripping a common little Bible, but finding no writing upon the cover, replaced it again very leisurely (d). "Upon being informed of the manner in which his father had procured the parchments, he went himself to the place, and picked up four more, which, if Mrs. Chatterton rightly remembers, Mr. Barrett has at this time in his possession (e)." "Mrs. Newton, his sister, being asked, if she remembers his having mentioned Rowley's poems, after the discovery of the parchments; says, that he was perpetually talking on that subject, and once in particular, (about two years before he left Bristol) when a relation, one Mr. Stephens of Salisbury, made them a visit, he talked of nothing else (f)." Nearly about the time when the paper in Farley's Journal, concerning the old bridge, became the subject of conversation, as Mr. Catcott of Bristol, a Gentleman of an inquisitive turn, and fond of reading, was walking with a friend in Redcliffe church, he was informed by him of several ancient pieces of poetry, which had been found there, and which were in the possession of a young person with whom he was acquainted. This person proved to be Chatterton, to whom Mr. Catcott desired to be introduced. He accordingly had an interview; and soon after obtained from him, very readily, without any reward, the Bristow

(c) Bryant's Obs.
p. 511—529.

(d) Milles's
Prelim. Diss. p. 7.
It does not appear
that any of the
parchments ex-
hibited to Mr.
Barrett, or Mr.
Catcott, were of a
size sufficient for
a covering for an
octavo book,
much less for a
quarto or folio.
O.

(e) Milles's
Prelim. Diss. p. 7.

(f) Ibid.

[H] Was called *Mr. Canynge's cofre*.] When rents were received and kept in specie, it was usual for corporate bodies to keep the writings and rents of estates left for particular purposes, in chests appro-

priated to each particular benefaction, and called by the benefactor's name. Several old chests of this kind are still existing in the University of Cambridge. O.

Tragedy,

(g) See Rowley's Poems, p. 44.

Tragedy (g), Rowley's Epitaph upon Mr. Canynge's ancestor (b), with some other smaller pieces. In a few days he brought some more, among which was *the Yellow Roll*. About this period, Mr. Barrett, a respectable Surgeon in Bristol, and a man of letters, had projected a history of his native city, and was anxiously collecting materials for that work. Such a discovery, therefore, as that of Chatterton, could scarcely escape the vigilance of Mr. Barrett's friends. The pieces in Mr. Catcott's possession, of which some were copies and some originals, were immediately communicated to Mr. Barrett, whose friendship and patronage by these means our young literary adventurer was fortunate enough to secure. During the first conversations which Mr. Catcott had with him, he heard him mention the names of most of the poems since printed, as being in his possession. He afterwards grew more suspicious and reserved; and it was but rarely, and with difficulty, that any more originals could be obtained from him. He confessed to Mr. Catcott that he had destroyed several; and some which he owned to have been in his possession, were never afterwards seen. One of these was the tragedy of the Apostate, of which a small part only has been preserved by Mr. Barrett. The subject of it was the apostatizing of a person from the Christian to the Jewish faith (i). Mr. Barrett, however, obtained from him at different times several fragments, some of them of a considerable length. They are all written upon vellum, and he asserted them to be a part of the original manuscripts, which he had obtained in the manner which has been already related. A *fac simile* of one of these fragments is published in Mr. Tyrwhitt's and Dr. Milles's editions of Rowley's Poems; and the fragments in prose, which are considerably larger, we are taught to expect in Mr. Barrett's History of Bristol. In the same work we are also promised "*A Discourse on Bristowe*," and the other historical pieces in prose, which Chatterton at different times delivered out, as copied from Rowley's manuscripts (k)."

(i) Bryant's Obs. p. 517.

The friendship of Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcott was of considerable advantage to Chatterton. They supplied him occasionally with money, as a compensation for some of the fragments of Rowley, with which he gratified them [I]. He spent many agreeable hours in their company; and their acquaintance introduced him into a more respectable line than he could easily have attained without it. His sister remarks, that after he was introduced to these Gentlemen, his ambition daily and perceptibly encreased; and he would frequently speak in raptures of the undoubted success of his plan for future life. "When in spirits, he would enjoy his rising fame; and, confident of advancement, he would promise his mother and I should be partakers of his success (l)." Both these Gentlemen also lent him books. Mr. Barrett lent him several medical authors (m), and, at his request, gave him some instructions in surgery. His taste was versatile, and his studies various. In the course of the years 1768 and 1769, Mr. Thistlethwaite frequently saw him, and describes in a lively manner the employment of his leisure hours. "One day," says Mr. T. "he might be found busily employed in the study of heraldry and English antiquities, both of which are numbered among the most favourite of his pursuits; the next discovered him deeply engaged, confounded and perplexed amidst the subtleties of metaphysical disquisition, or lost and bewildered in the abstruse labyrinth of mathematical researches; and these in an instant again neglected and thrown aside, to make room for music and astronomy, of both which sciences his knowledge was entirely confined to theory. Even physic was not without a charm to allure his imagination, and he would talk of Galen, Hippocrates, and Paracelsus, with all the confidence and familiarity of a modern empirick (n)." It may naturally be supposed, that his acquaintance with most of these sciences was very superficial; but his knowledge of antiquities was extensive, and we might perhaps say profound. With a view of perfecting himself in these favourite studies, he borrowed Skinner's Etymologicon of Mr. Barrett, but returned it in a few days as useless, most of the interpretations being in Latin. He also borrowed Benson's Saxon Vocabulary, but returned it immediately on the same account (o). His disappointment was partly compensated by the acquisition of Kersey's Dictionary, and Speght's Chaucer, (the Glossary to which he carefully transcribed (p)). With these books he was furnished by Mr. Green, a Bookseller in Bristol. Probably the mortification he received at not being able to make that use which he desired of Skinner and of Benson, might be an additional stimulative to the great inclination which he manifested to acquaint himself with Latin, and his design to attempt it without a master. From this project his friend, Mr. Smith, took great pains to dissuade him, and advised him rather to apply to French, a competent knowledge of which might be sooner attained, and which promised to be of more essential service (q). Whatever plan he adopted, he entered upon it with an earnestness and fervour almost unexampled. Indeed, the poetic enthusiasm was never more strongly exhibited than in Chatterton. Like Milton, he fancied he was more capable of writing well at some particular times than at others, and the full of the moon was the season when he imagined his genius to be in per-

(k) Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. 11. It is now said that Mr. B. does not mean to insert any of these pieces in his History.

(l) Mrs. Newton's letter before quoted. (m) Ibid.

(n) Milles's Rowley, p. 456.

(o) Bryant's Obs. p. 532.

(p) Milles's Prelim. Diss. p. 5, and 17.

(q) Bryant's Obs. p. 532.

[I] *With which he gratified them.* Some of his later compositions, however, demonstrate, that he was not thoroughly satisfied with his Bristol patrons; and Mr. Thistlethwaite does not hesitate to assert,

that he felt himself greatly disappointed in his expectations of pecuniary rewards for his communications. K.

fection;

fection; at which period, as if the immediate presence of that luminary added to the inspiration, he frequently devoted a considerable portion of the night to composition (r).—“He was always,” says Mr. Smith, “extremely fond of walking in the fields, particularly in Redcliffe meadows, and of talking about these (Rowley’s) manuscripts, and sometimes reading them there. “Come (he would say) you and I will take a walk in the meadow. I have got the cleverest thing for you imaginable. It is worth half-a-crown merely to have a sight of it, and to hear me read it to you.” When we arrived at the place proposed, he would produce his parchment, shew it and read it to me. There was one spot in particular, full in view of the church, in which he seemed to take a peculiar delight. He would frequently lay himself down, fix his eyes upon the church, and seem as if he were in a kind of trance. Then, on a sudden and abruptly, he would tell me, “that steeple was burnt down by lightning: that was the place where they formerly acted plays (s).” His Sundays were commonly spent in walking alone into the country about Bristol, as far as the duration of day-light would allow; and from these excursions he never failed to bring home with him drawings of churches, or of some other objects, which had impressed his romantic imagination [K].

(s) Bryant’s Obs.
p. 530.

(r) Mr. Newton’s letter to Mr. C.

His attention, while at Bristol, was not confined to Rowley: his pen was exercised in a variety of pieces, chiefly satirical, and several essays, both in prose and verse, which he sent to the Magazines. I have not been able to trace any thing of Chatterton’s in the Town and Country Magazine (with which he appears to have first corresponded) before February 1769; but in the acknowledgments to correspondents for November 1768, we find “D. B. of Bristol’s favour will be gladly received.” *Dunhelmus Bristolienfis* was the signature he generally employed. In the course of the year 1769, he was a considerable contributor to that publication. One of the first of his pieces which appeared was a letter on the tinctures of the Saxon heralds, dated Bristol, February 4; and in the same Magazine a poem was inserted on Mr. Alcock, of Bristol, an excellent Miniature Painter, signed *Asaphides* [L]. In the same Magazine for March are some extracts from Rowley’s manuscripts; and in different numbers for the succeeding months, some pieces called Saxon Poems, written in the style of Ossian.

The whole of Chatterton’s life presents a fund of useful instruction to young persons of brilliant and lively talents, and affords a strong dissuasive against that impetuosity of expectation, and those delusive hopes of success, founded upon the consciousness of genius and merit, which lead them to neglect the ordinary means of acquiring competence and independence. The early disgust which Chatterton conceived for his profession, may be accounted one of the prime sources of his misfortunes. Among the efforts which he made to extricate himself from this irksome situation, the most remarkable is his application to the Hon. Horace Walpole, in March 1769 (t); the ground of which was an offer to furnish him with some accounts of a series of great painters, who had flourished at Bristol, which Chatterton said had been lately discovered, with some old poems, in that city. The packet sent by Chatterton was left at Bathurst’s, Mr. Walpole’s Bookseller, and contained, beside this letter, an ode or little poem, of two or three stanzas in an alternate rhyme, on the death of Richard I. as a specimen of the poems which were found. Mr. Walpole had but just before been made the instrument of introducing into the world Mr. M’Pherson’s forgeries: a similar application, therefore, served at once to awaken his suspicion. He, however, answered Chatterton’s letter, desiring farther information; and in reply, was informed, that “he (Chatterton) was the son of a poor widow, who supported him with great difficulty; that he was apprentice to an Attorney, but had a taste for more elegant studies.” The letter hinted a wish that Mr. Walpole would assist him in emerging from so dull a profession, by procuring some place, in which he might pursue the natural bias of his genius. He affirmed that great treasures of ancient poetry had been discovered at Bristol, and were in the hands of a person who had lent him the specimen already transmitted, as well as a pastoral (*Elinoure and Juga*) which accompanied this second letter. Mr. Walpole wrote to a friend, a noble Lady at Bath, to enquire after the author of these letters, who found his account of himself verified in every particular. In the mean time the specimens were communicated to Mr. Gray and Mr. Mason, and these Gentlemen, at first sight, pronounced them forgeries. Mr. Walpole, though convinced of the author’s intention to impose upon him, could not, as he himself confesses, help admiring the spirit of poetry which animated these compositions. The testimonies of his approbation, however, were too cold to produce in Chatterton any thing but lasting disgust. Mr. Walpole’s reply was indeed (according to his own account) rather too much in the common-place style of Court replies; though some allowance is to be made for his peculiar situation,

(t) Two Letters by the Honourable Horace Walpole, p. 55.

[K] Which had impressed his romantic imagination.] The Dean of Exeter mentions drawings by Rowley of Bristol Castle, which he supposes genuine, but which Mr. Warton reprobates as fictions of Chatterton, the representations of a building which never existed, in a capricious, affected style of Gothic architecture, reducible to no system.

[L] An excellent miniature painter, signed *Asaphides*.] This piece, with two or three others in Chatterton’s Miscellanies, was claimed by John Lockstone, a Linen-Draper in Bristol, a great friend of Chatterton: by his confession, however, it was corrected by the latter.

and

and for his just apprehension of a new imposition to be practised on him. He complained in general terms of his want of power to be a patron, and advised the young man to apply himself to the duties of his profession, as more certain means of attaining the independence and leisure of which he was desirous. This frigid reception extracted immediately from Chatterton, "a peevish letter," desiring the manuscripts back, as they were the property of another; and Mr. Walpole, either offended at the warm and independent spirit which was manifested by the boy, or pleased to be disengaged from the business in so easy a manner, proceeded on a journey to Paris, without taking any farther notice of him. On his return, which was not for some time, he found another epistle from Chatterton, in a style (as he terms it) "singularly impertinent;" expressive of much resentment on account of the detention of his poems, roughly demanding them back, and adding, "that Mr. Walpole would not have *dared* to use him so ill, had he not been acquainted with the narrowness of his circumstances." The consequence was, therefore, such as might be expected. Mr. Walpole returned his poems and his letters in a blank cover, and never afterwards heard from him or of him during his life (*u*). The affront was never forgiven by the disappointed Poet, though it is perhaps more than repaid by the ridiculous portrait which he has exhibited of Mr. W——, in the *Memoirs of a Sad Dog*, under the character of "the redoubted Baron Otranto (*w*), who has spent his whole life in conjectures." (*u*) *Ib. passim* (*w*) Chatterton's Miscel. p. 184.

On the score of these transactions, Mr. Walpole has incurred more censure than he really deserved. In an age when literature is so little patronized by those who wield all the powers of the state, and have in trust for the public the distribution of its emoluments; when men of the first abilities, actually engaged in the learned professions, are permitted to languish in obscurity and poverty, without any of those rewards, which are appropriated to the professions they exercise, and are compelled to depend for a precarious subsistence on the scanty pittance, which they derive from diurnal drudgery in the service of Booksellers, it can scarcely be deemed an instance of extraordinary illiberality that a private man, though a man of fortune, should be inattentive to the petition of a perfect stranger, a young man, whose birth or education entitled him to no high pretensions, and who had only conceived an unreasonable dislike to a profession both lucrative and respectable. If Chatterton had actually avowed the poems, perhaps a very generous and feeling heart, such as rarely exists at present, and least of all in the higher circles of life, might have been more strongly affected with their beauties, and might probably have extended some small degree of encouragement. But considering things as they are, and not as they ought to be, it was a degree of unusual condescension to take any notice whatever of the application; and when Chatterton felt so poignantly his disappointment, he only demonstrated his ignorance of the state of patronage in this country, and acted like a young and ingenuous person, who judged of the feelings of the courtiers by the generous emotions of his own breast, or the practice of times, which exist now only in the records of romance. Mr. Walpole afterwards regretted, and I believe sincerely, that he had not seen this extraordinary youth, and that he did not pay a more favourable attention to his correspondence: but, to be neglected in life, and regretted and admired when these passions can be no longer of service, has been the usual fate of learning and genius. Mr. Walpole was certainly under no obligation of patronizing Chatterton. To have encouraged and befriended him, would have been an exertion of liberality and munificence uncommon in the present day: but to ascribe to Mr. Walpole's neglect (if it can even merit so harsh an appellation) the dreadful catastrophe, which happened at the distance of nearly two years after, would be the highest degree of injustice and absurdity [*M*].

The

[*M*] *Would be the highest degree of injustice and absurdity.*] A learned and respectable friend, on reading these memoirs in manuscript, favoured me with the following able vindication of Mr. W. which, for the satisfaction of those who wish for the fullest information on the subject, I insert entire.

It has already been stated, that, in March 1769, Chatterton, not long after his acquaintance with Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcott, to whom he had communicated some originals and some transcripts of Rowley's Poems, wrote a letter to Mr. H. Walpole, inclosing also a specimen of the Poems, and soliciting his patronage. Let the reader take the account in Mr. Walpole's own words, from an extract of a letter to Mr. W. B. added to another letter to the Editor of Chatterton's Miscellanies, and printed at Strawberry-hill, 1779.

"I am far from determined to publish any thing about Chatterton. It would almost look like making myself a party. I do not love controversy: if I print, my chief reason would be, that both in the account of the Poems, and in Mr. Warton's

"last volume, my name has been brought in with
"so little circumspection and accuracy, that it looks
"as if my rejection of Chatterton had driven him
"to despair; whereas I was the first person on whom
"he essayed his art and ambition, instead of being
"the last. I never saw him; there was an interval
"of near two years between his application to me
"and his dismal end; nor had he quitted his master,
"nor was necessitous, nor otherwise poor than Attornies clerks usually are; nor had he come to London, nor launched into dissipation, when his correspondence with me stopped. As faithfully as I can recollect the circumstances, without dates, and without searching for what few memorandums I preserved relative to him, I will recapitulate his history with me. Bathurst, my Bookseller, brought me a packet left with him: it contained an ode, or little poem, of two or three stanzas in alternate rhyme, on the death of Richard the First, and I was told, in very few lines, that it had been found at Bristol, with many other old poems, and that the possessor could furnish me with accounts of a

The reader has hitherto contemplated Chatterton in the pleasing light of an ingenious and virtuous youth. I reluctantly proceed to develop the only circumstance which has involved

series of great painters, who had flourished at Bristol.

(5) "Richard of Lyon's Heart to fight is gone."

"Here I must pause, to mention my own reflections. At first I concluded that somebody having met with my Anecdotes of Painting, had a mind to laugh at me; I thought not very ingenuously, as I was not likely to swallow a succession of great Painters at Bristol. The ode, or sonnet (5), as I think it was called, was too pretty to be part of the plan; and, as is easy with all the other supposed poems of Rowley, it was not difficult to make it modern by changing the old words for new, though yet more difficult than with most of them. You see I tell you fairly the case.

(6) Elinoure and Juga.

"I wrote, according to the inclosed direction, for farther particulars. Chatterton, in answer, informed me that he was the son of a poor widow, who supported him with great difficulty; that he was clerk or apprentice to an Attorney, but had a taste and turn for more elegant studies; and hinted a wish that I would assist him with my interest in emerging out of so dull a profession, by procuring him some place, in which he could pursue his natural bent. He affirmed that great treasures of ancient poetry had been discovered in his native city, and were in the hands of a person, who had lent him those he had transmitted to me; for he now sent me others, amongst which was an absolute modern pastoral in dialogue, thinly sprinkled with old words (6). Pray observe, Sir, that he affirmed having received the poems from another person; whereas it is ascertained that the Gentleman at Bristol, who possesses the fund of Rowley's poems, received them from Chatterton.

"I wrote to a relation of mine at Bath, to enquire into the situation and character of Chatterton, according to his own account of himself: nothing was returned about his character, but his story was verified.

"In the mean time I communicated the poems to Mr. Gray and Mr. Mason, who at once pronounced them forgeries, and declared there was no symptom in them of their being the productions of near so distant an age; the language and metres being totally unlike any thing ancient.

"Well, Sir, being satisfied with my intelligence about Chatterton, I wrote him a letter with as much kindness and tenderness as if I had been his guardian; for though I had no doubt of his impositions, such a spirit of poetry breathed in his coinage, as interested me for him; nor was it a grave crime in a young bard to have forged false notes of hand, that were to pass current only in the parish of Parnassus. I undeceived him about my being a person of any interest, and urged, that in duty and gratitude to his mother, who had straitened herself to breed him up to a profession, he ought to labour in it, that in her old age he might absolve his filial debt; and I told him, that when he should have made a fortune, he might unbend himself with the studies consonant to his inclinations. I told him also, that I had communicated his transcripts to better judges, and that they were by no means satisfied with the authenticity of his supposed MSS. He wrote me rather a peevish answer, said he could not contest with a person of my learning, (a compliment by no means due to me, and which I certainly had not assumed, having mentioned my having consulted abler judges,) maintained the genuineness of the poems, and demanded to have them returned, as they were the property of another Gentleman. Remember this.

"When I received this letter, I was going to Paris in a day or two, and either forgot his request of the poems, or perhaps not having time to have them copied, deferred complying till my return, which was to be in six weeks. I protest I do not remember which was the case; and yet, though in a cause of so little importance, I will

not utter a syllable of which I am not positively certain, nor will charge my memory with a tittle beyond what it retains. Soon after my return from France, I received another letter from Chatterton, the style of which was singularly impertinent. He demanded his poems roughly; and added, that I should not have dared to use him so ill, if he had not acquainted me with the narrowness of his circumstances. My heart did not accuse me of insolence to him. I wrote an answer to him, expostulating with him on his injustice, and renewing good advice; but upon second thoughts, reflecting that so wrong-headed a young man, of whom I knew nothing, and whom I had never seen, might be absurd enough to print my letter, I flung it into the fire; and wrapping up both his poems and letters, without taking a copy of either, for which I am now sorry, I returned all to him, and thought no more about him or them, till about a year and a half after, when dining at the Royal Academy, Dr. Goldsmith drew the attention of the company with an account of a marvellous treasure of ancient poems lately discovered at Bristol, and expressed enthusiastic belief in them, for which he was laughed at by Dr. Johnson, who was present. I soon found this was the *trouvaille* of my friend Chatterton; and I told Dr. Goldsmith that this novelty was none to me, who might, if I had pleased, have had the honour of ushering the great discovery to the learned world. You may imagine, Sir, we did not at all agree in the measure of our faith: but though his credulity diverted me, my mirth was soon dashed; for on asking about Chatterton, he told me he had been in London, and had destroyed himself. I heartily wished then that I had been the dupe of all the poor young man had written to me; for who would not have his understanding imposed upon to save a fellow being from the utmost wretchedness; despair and suicide! and a poor young man, not eighteen, and of such miraculous talents; for, dear Sir, if I wanted credulity on one hand, it is ample on the other. Yet heap all the improbabilities you please on the head of Chatterton, the impossibility on Rowley's side will remain. An amazing genius for poetry, which one of them possessed, might flash out in the darkest age; but could Rowley anticipate the phraseology of the eighteenth century? His poetic fire might burst through the obstacles of the times; like Homer, or other original bards, he might have formed a poetical style; but would it have been precisely that of an age subsequent to him by some hundred years? Nobody can admire the poetry of the poems in question more than I do; but except being better than most modern verses, in what do they differ in the construction? The words are old, the construction evidently of yesterday; and, by substituting modern words, *aye*, single words, to the old, or to those invented by Chatterton, in what do they differ? Try that method with any composition, even in prose, of the reign of Henry VI. and see if the consequence will be the same. But I am getting into the controversy, instead of concluding my narrative, which indeed is ended."

Whatever imputation might have lain on Mr. Walpole with regard to the treatment of Chatterton, before these particulars were known, and this narrative appeared, surely there can be no impartial reader of it who will not acquit him of any ill treatment of a person who appeared to him in so questionable a shape; and allow that in Mr. Walpole's situation, he could scarcely have acted otherwise than he did. For what was the case? A youth of sixteen years of age, clerk to an Attorney at Bristol, totally unknown to Mr. Walpole, sends him a letter, acquainting him that the writer, though bred to the law, had a taste for politer studies, particularly poetry, and wished to be drawn out of his present situation, and placed in one more at his ease, where he might pursue the studies

involved his name and character in disgrace, and which certainly deprived the world prematurely of his excellent abilities. When or how he was unfortunate enough to receive a tincture of infidelity, we are not informed. Early in the year 1769, it appears from a poem on Happiness, addressed to Mr. Catcott, that he had drank deeply of the poisoned spring: And in the conclusion of a letter to the same Gentleman, after he left Bristol, he thus expresses himself: "Heaven send you the comforts of Christianity; I request them not, for I am no Christian." Infidelity, or scepticism at least, may be termed the disease of young, lively, and half-informed minds. There is something like discovery in the rejection of truths to which they have been from infancy in trammels. A little learning, too, misleads the understanding, in an opinion of its own powers. When we have acquired the outlines of science, we are apt to suppose that every thing is within our comprehension. Much study and much information are required to discover the difficulties in which the systems of infidels are involved. There are profound, as well as popular arguments, in favour of revealed religion: but when the flippancy of Voltaire or Hume has taught young persons to suppose that they have defeated the former, their understandings seldom recover sufficient vigour to pursue the latter with the ability and perseverance of a Newton or a Bryant.

The evil effect of these principles upon the morals of youth, is often found to survive the speculative impressions which they have made on the intellect. Wretched is that person, who, in the ardour and impetuosity of youth, finds himself released from all the salutary restraints of duty and religion: wretched is he, who, deprived of all the comforting hopes of another state, is reduced to seek for happiness in the vicious gratifications of

studies more congenial to his taste and genius; but of this taste and genius he produces no other proof than transcripts of some old poems, said to have been found at Bristol, and to be *the property of another person*. These poems being exhibited by Mr. Walpole to Mr. Gray and Mr. Mason, these excellent and impartial judges agreed in opinion that they must be modern productions, disguised in antiquated phrases; and, with regard to a long list of Bristol artists, Carvers and Painters, announced also as part of this treasure, Mr. Walpole was as confident that none such ever had any existence, and therefore he could not help concluding that the whole was a fiction, contrived by some one or more literary wags, who wished to impose on his credulity, and to laugh at him if they succeeded; and that Chatterton was only the instrument employed to introduce and recommend these old writings. His youth and situation could not lead Mr. Walpole to suppose he was himself the author and contriver, more especially as he asserted them to be the property of a person at Bristol then alive. He had indeed represented himself as a lover of the muses, but had given no specimens of his *own* compositions. The kindest thing therefore Mr. Walpole could do for a young man in this situation, was, after a gentle hint of his suspicions of the authenticity of the poems, to recommend to his correspondent to pursue the line of business in which he was placed, as most likely to secure a decent maintenance for himself, and enable him to assist his mother. However disappointed Chatterton might have been at the time, and angry with Mr. Walpole for this rebuff, it should seem as if he had not harboured any long or strong resentment against that Gentleman; for in a copy of verses addressed to Miss M. R. and sent by him to the Town and Country Magazine, and printed in the Number for January 1770, is the following stanza:

"Yet when that bloom and dancing fire,
"In silver'd reverence shall expire,
"Aged, wrinkled, and defac'd,
"To keep one lover's flame alive
"Requires the genius of a *Clive*,
"With WALPOLE's mental taste (7)."

(7) See Chatterton's Miscellanies, p. 88.

It should seem also, that Chatterton had in part adopted Mr. Walpole's advice, by continuing with his master a full twelvemonth after his application to that Gentleman. Then he got dismissed from his master and went to London, in full confidence that his literary talents would find ample employment and encouragement from the London Booksellers; but being disappointed in his expectation, the fatal conclusion which has just been mentioned took place. Had this been the case immediately on his receipt of

Mr. Walpole's last letter, some shadow of foundation might have appeared for the harsh censures passed on Mr. Walpole's treatment of this ill-fated youth; though even then, no real one, all circumstances considered.

From the spirited reply of Mr. Walpole to one of these censurers, (the Editor of Chatterton's Miscellanies,) and printed in the same pamphlet as the letter to W. B. the following extract is given, as equally applicable to all objectors.

"Was it the part of a just man to couple Chatterton's first unsuccessful application with his fatal exit, and load me with both? Does your enthusiastic admiration of his abilities, or your regrets for the honour of England's poetry, warrant such a concatenation of ideas? Was poor Chatterton so modest, or so desponding, as to abandon his enterprizes on their being damped by me? Did he not continue to pursue them? Is this country so destitute of patrons of genius, or do I move in so eminent and distinguished a sphere, that a repulse from me is a dagger to talents? Did not Chatterton come to London after that miscarriage? Did he relinquish his counterfeiting propensity on its being lost on me? Was he an inoffensive ingenuous youth, smit with the love of the muses, and soaring above a sordid and servile profession, whose early blossoms being blighted by my interference, withered in mortified obscurity, and on seeing his hopes of fame blasted, sunk beneath the frowns of ignorant and insolent wealth? or did he, after launching into all the excesses you describe, and vainly hoping to gratify his ambition by adulation to, or satires on all ranks and parties of men, fall a victim to his own ungovernable spirit, and to the deplorable straits to which he had reduced himself? The interval was short, I own; but as every moment of so extraordinary a life was crowded with efforts of his enterprising genius, allow me to say with truth, that there was a large chasm between his application to me and his miserable conclusion. You know there was; and though my falling into his snare might have varied the æra of his exploits, it is more likely that that success would rather have encouraged than checked his enterprizes. When he pursued his turn for fabricating ancient writings, in spite of the mortification he received from me, it is not probable that he would have been corrected by success: such is not the nature of success, when it is the reward of artifice. I should be more justly reproachable for having contributed to cherish an impostor, than I am for having accelerated his fate. I cannot repeat the words without emotions of indignation on my own account, and of compassion on his."

O.
this

this life; who, under such delusions, acquires habits of profligacy or discontent! The progress, however, from speculative to practical irreligion, is not so rapid as is commonly supposed. The greatest advantage of a strict and orderly education is the resistance which virtuous habits, early acquired, oppose to the allurements of vice. Those who have sullied the youth of Chatterton with the imputation of extraordinary vices or irregularities, and have asserted, that "his profligacy was, at least, as conspicuous as his abilities (a)," have, I conceive, rather grounded these assertions on the apparently profane and immoral tendency of some of his productions, than on personal knowledge or a correct review of his conduct. During his residence at Bristol, we have the most respectable evidence in favour of the regularity of his conduct, namely, that of his master, Mr. Lambert. Of few young men in his situation it can be said, that during a course of nearly three years, he seldom encroached upon the strict limits which were assigned him, with respect to his hours of liberty; that his master could never accuse him of improper behaviour; and that he had the utmost reason to be satisfied he never spent his hours of leisure in any but respectable company.

(a) Preface to
Chat. Miscel.
p. 18.

Mrs. Newton, with that unaffected simplicity which so eminently characterises her letter, most powerfully controverts the obloquy which had been thrown upon her brother's memory. She says, that while he was at Mr. Lambert's, he visited his mother regularly most evenings before nine o'clock, and they were seldom two evenings together without seeing him. He was for a considerable time remarkably indifferent to females. He declared to his sister, that he had always seen the whole sex with perfect indifference, except those whom nature had rendered dear. He remarked, at the same time, the tendency of severe study to sour the temper, and indicated his inclination to form an acquaintance with a young female in the neighbourhood, apprehending that it might soften that austerity of temper which had resulted from solitary study. The juvenile Petrarch wanted a Laura, to polish his manners and exercise his fancy. He addressed a poem to Miss Rumsey; and they commenced, Mrs. Newton adds, a corresponding acquaintance. "He would also frequently," she says, "walk the College Green with the young girls that stately paraded there to shew their finery [N];" but she is persuaded that the reports which charge him with libertinism are ill-founded [O]. She could not perhaps have added a better proof of it, than his inclination to associate with modest women. The testimony of Mr. Thistlethwaite is not less explicit or less honourable to Chatterton. "The opportunities," says he, "which a long acquaintance with him afforded me, justify me in saying, that whilst he lived at Bristol, he was not the debauched character he has been represented. Temperate in his living, moderate in his pleasures, and regular in his exercises, he was undeserving of the aspersions. I admit that amongst his papers may be found many passages, not only immoral, but bordering upon a libertinism gross and unpardonable. It is not my intention to attempt a vindication of those passages, which, for the regard I bear his memory, I wish he had never written, but which I nevertheless believe to have originated rather from a warmth of imagination, aided by a vain affectation of singularity, than from any natural depravity, or from a heart vitiated by evil example [P]."

But though it may not always be the effect of infidel principles, to plunge the person who becomes unfortunately infected with them into an immediate course of flagrant and shameless depravity, they seldom fail to unhinge the mind, and render it the sport of some passion, unfriendly to our happiness and prosperity. One of their first effects in Chatterton was to render the idea of suicide familiar, and to dispose him to think lightly of the most

[N] *To shew their finery.* In a letter from London to his sister, he particularizes ten Bristol females of his acquaintance, and adds, "I promised to write to some hundreds, I believe: but what with writing for publications, and going to places of public diversion, which is as absolutely necessary to me as my food, I find but little time to write to you."

[O] *Which charge him with libertinism are ill-founded.* I cannot help remarking a pleasant mistake of the Dean of Exeter. The orthography of Mrs. N. in the letter printed in *Love and Madness*, is not the most correct. Her words are, "I really believe he was no debauchee (though some have reported it); the dear unhappy boy had faults enough, I saw with concern; he was proud and exceedingly imperious, but that of *venality* he could not be justly accused with." It is easy to see that Mrs. N. by *venality* means libertinism; but the Dean taking the word in the usual sense, makes use of it to disprove, what is seldom suspected of a Poet, and least of all of Chatterton, that he was avaricious (8).

(8) Mrs. Newton's letter.

[P] *Or from a heart vitiated by evil example.* Whether the following passage from Chatterton's *Kew Gardens* (a poem not published in any of the collections of his works) be received as a confirma-

tion of his friend's testimony in his favour, or the contrary, it is, however, worth preserving. An officious friend is introduced accosting him in the following lines:

"Is there a street within this spacious place,
"That boasts the happiness of one fair face,
"Whose conversation does not turn on you?
"Blaming your wild amours, and morals too.
"Oaths, sacred and tremendous oaths you swear,
"Oaths which might shock a L——'s soul to hear;
"Whilst the too tender and believing maid,
"Remember pretty——is betray'd.
"Then your religion!—oh, beware! beware!
"Although a Deist is no monster here,
"Think not the merit of a jingling song
"Can countenance the author's acting wrong.
"Reform your manners, and with solemn air,
"Hear Catcott bray, and Robins squeak in prayer.
"Damn'd narrow notions, notions which disgrace
"The boasted freedom of the human race;
"Bristol may keep her prudent maxims still,
"I scorn her prudence, and I ever will.
"Since all my vices magnified are here,
"She cannot paint me worse than I appear.
"When raving in the lunacy of ink,
"I catch the pen, and publish what I think (9)." O.

(9) Milles's
Rowley, p. 461.
sacred

sacred deposit with which man is entrusted by his Creator. It has been supposed that his violent death in London, was the sudden or almost instant effect of extreme poverty and disappointment. It appears, however, that long before he left Bristol, he had repeatedly intimated to the servants of Mr. Lambert, his intention of putting an end to his existence. Mr. Lambert's mother was particularly terrified; but she was unable to persuade her son of the reality of his threats, till he found by accident upon his desk a paper, entitled, the "Last Will and Testament of Thomas Chatterton (b)," in which he seriously indicated his design of committing suicide on the following day, namely, Easter Sunday, April 15th, 1770. The paper was probably rather the result of temporary uneasiness [2], than of that fixed aversion to his situation which he constantly manifested. But with principles and passions such as Chatterton displayed, Mr. Lambert considered it as no longer prudent, after so decisive a proof, to continue him in the house: he accordingly dismissed him immediately from his service, in which he had continued two years, nine months, and thirteen days.

(b) See the Will in the Appendix to Chatterton's Misc.

(c) Mrs. Newton's Letter.

(d) Milles's Rowley, p. 460.

If there was any sincerity in the intentions of committing suicide, which he expressed in the paper above alluded to, he was diverted from it for the present by the golden prospects with which he flattered himself from a new plan of life, on which he entered with his usual enthusiasm. A few months before he left Bristol, he had written letters to several Booksellers in London (c), "who," Mr. Thistlethwaite says, "finding him of advantage to them in their publications, were by no means sparing of their praises and compliments; adding the most liberal promises of assistance and employment, should he choose to make London the place of his residence (d)." To the interrogatories of this Gentleman concerning the plan of life which he intended to pursue on his arrival at London, his answer was remarkable, and corresponds with what has been just related. "My first attempt," said he, "shall be in the literary way: The promises I have received are sufficient to dispel doubt; but should I, contrary to my expectation, find myself deceived, I will in that case turn Methodist preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and a new sect may easily be devised. But if that too should fail me, my last and final resource is a pistol."

Before he quitted Bristol, he had entered deeply into politics, and had embraced what was termed the patriotic party. In March 1770, he wrote a satirical poem, called "Kew Gardens," consisting of above thirteen hundred lines. This he transmitted, in different packets, to Mr. George William Edmunds, No. 73, Shoe-lane, Printer of a patriotic newspaper. At the bottom of the first packet, which contained about three hundred lines, written in Chatterton's own hand, is this postscript. "Mr. Edmunds will send the author, Thomas Chatterton, twenty of the Journals, in which the above poem (which I shall continue) shall appear, by the machine, if he thinks proper to put it in: the money shall be paid to his orders." The poem is a satire on the Princess Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, and their Friends in London and Bristol; but particularly on those in Bristol, who had distinguished themselves in favour of the Ministry. His signature on this occasion was DECIMUS; but whether the poem was ever printed or not, I have not been able to ascertain. I have been also informed of another political satire of near six hundred lines, the manuscript of which, in Chatterton's hand writing, is in the possession of a friend of Mr. Catcott. It is called "The Whore of Babylon." The satire of this poem is also directed against the Ministry; and, like the former, it includes several of the Bristol people, not excepting Mr. George Catcott, and his brother the Clergyman. But his party efforts were not confined altogether to poetry: he wrote an invective in prose against Bishop Newton, also signed Decimus, which, I believe, appeared in some of the periodical publications of the times. The manuscript of this letter is in Mr. Catcott's possession; but the style appears much inferior to that of his prose publications posterior to his arrival in London. To write well in prose is perhaps more the effect of art, of study, and of habit, than of natural genius. The rules of metrical composition are fewer, more simple, and require a less constant exercise of the judgment. In the infancy of societies, as well as of individuals, therefore, the art of poetry is antecedent to those of rhetoric and criticism, and arrives at perfection long before the language of prose attains that degree of strength, conciseness, and harmony, which is requisite to satisfy a delicate ear. Chatterton wrote also an indecent satirical poem, called "The Exhibition," occasioned by the improper behaviour of a person in Bristol. The satire of this poem is chiefly local, and the characters of most of the Surgeons in Bristol are delineated in it. Some descriptive passages in this poem have great merit. Thus, speaking of a favourite organist, probably Mr. Allen, he says:

"He keeps the passions with the sound in play,
"And the soul trembles with the trembling key (e)."

(e) Love and Madness, p. 674

There are a number of other unpublished works of his dispersed in the hands of different persons. The activity of his mind is indeed almost unparalleled. But our surprise

[2] The paper was probably rather the result of temporary uneasiness. I have been informed from good authority, that it was occasioned by the refusal of a

Gentleman, whom he had occasionally complimented in his poems, to accommodate him with a supply of money.

(f) See the third letter of Chatterton, published in Love and Madness, p. 198.

(g) From the information of Mr. Seward.

must decrease, when we consider that he slept but little; and that his whole attention was directed to literary pursuits; for he declares himself so ignorant of his profession, that he was unable to draw out a clearance from his apprenticeship, which Mr. Lambert demanded (f). He was also unfettered by the study of the dead languages, which usually absorb much of the time and attention of young persons; and though they may be useful to the attainment of correctness, perhaps they do not much contribute to fluency in writing. Mr. Catcott declared, that when he first knew Chatterton, he was ignorant even of

Grammar (g).

There are three great æras in the life of Chatterton; his admission into Colston's School, his being put apprentice to Mr. Lambert, and his expedition to London. In the latter end of April, 1770, he bade his native city (from which he had never previously been absent farther than he could walk in half a Sunday) a *final adieu* (b). In a letter to his mother, dated April 26th, he describes in a lively style the little adventures of his journey, and his reception from his patrons, the booksellers and printers with whom he had corresponded. These were Mr. Edmunds, whom I lately had occasion to mention as a noted patriotic printer at that period; Mr. Fell, publisher of the Freeholder's Magazine; Mr. Hamilton, proprietor of the Town and Country; and Mr. Doddsley, of Pall-Mall. From all of them he professes to have received great encouragement, adding, that all approved of his design, and that he should probably be soon settled. In the same letter, he desires his mother to call upon Mr. Lambert. "Shew him this," says he, with uncommon dignity and spirit, "or tell him, if I deserve a recommendation, he would oblige me to give me one—if I do not, it would be beneath him to take notice of me (i)."

(b) Love and Madness, p. 194.

(i) Love and Madness, p. 192.

His first habitation after his arrival in London was at Mr. Walmsley's, a plaisterer in Shoreditch, to whom he was introduced by a relation of his, a Mrs. Ballance, who resided in the same house. Of his first establishment his report is favourable. "I am settled," says he, in a letter to his mother, dated May 6th, "and in such a settlement as I could desire. I get four guineas a month by one magazine; shall engage to write a history of England, and other pieces, which will more than double that sum. Occasional essays for the daily papers would more than support me. What a glorious prospect (k)!" In consequence of his engagements with the different magazines, we find him, about the same time, soliciting communications from his poetical and literary friends at Bristol, and desiring them to read the Freeholder's Magazine. In a letter dated the 14th of the same month, he writes in the same high flow of spirits. He speaks of the great encouragement which genius meets with in London; adding, with exultation, "If Rowley had been a Londoner instead of a Bristowyan, I might have lived by copying his works (l)." He exhorts his sister to "improve in copying music, drawing, and every thing which requires genius;" observing, that although, "in Bristol's mercantile style, those things may be useless, if not a detriment to her; *here* they are profitable (m)." His engagements at that period indeed appear to have been numerous; for besides his employment in the magazines, he speaks of a connection which he had formed with a Doctor in Music, to write songs for Ranelagh, Vauxhall, &c. and in a letter of the 30th to his sister, he mentions another with a Scottish Bookseller, to compile a voluminous History of London, to appear in numbers, for which he was to have his board at the Bookseller's house, and a handsome premium [R].

(k) Ibid. 197.

(l) Yet it does not appear that any of Rowley's pieces were exhibited after C. left Bristol. O.
(m) Love and Madness, p. 201.

Party writing, however, seems to have been one of his favourite employments. It was agreeable to the satirical turn of his disposition, and it gratified his vanity, by the prospect of elevating him into immediate notice. When his relation, Mrs. Ballance, recommended it to him to endeavour to get into some office, he stormed like a madman, and alarmed the good old Lady in no inconsiderable degree, by telling her, "he hoped, with the blessing of God, very soon to be sent prisoner to the Tower, which would make his fortune." In his second letter to his mother from London, he says, "Mr. Wilkes knew me by my writings, since I first corresponded with the Booksellers here. I shall visit him next week, and by his interest will insure Mrs. Ballance the Trinity House. He affirmed that what Mr. Fell had of mine could not be the writings of a youth, and expressed a desire to know the author. By means of another Bookseller, I shall be introduced to Townshend and Sawbridge. I am quite familiar at the Chapter Coffee-house, and know all the geniusses there. A character is now unnecessary; an author carries his character in his pen (n)." He informs his sister that, if money flowed as fast upon him as honours, he would give her a portion of five thousand pounds. This extraordinary elevation of spirits arose from an introduction to the celebrated patriotic Lord Mayor, W. Beckford. Chatterton had, it seems, addressed an essay to him, which was so well received, that it encouraged him to wait upon his Lordship, in order to obtain his approbation to address a second letter to him, on the subject of the city remonstrance, and its reception. "His Lordship (adds he)

(n) Ibid. p. 194.

[R] And a handsome premium.] The Editor of Chatterton's Miscellanies confounds this with Northook's History of London: but that Gentleman, in a letter printed in the St. James's Chronicle, denies

having ever had the least knowledge of C. Indeed the scheme above alluded to appears not to have been proceeded in (10).

(10) Love and Madness, p. 202.

received me as politely as a citizen could, and warmly invited me to call on him again. The rest is a secret." His inclination doubtless led him to espouse the party of opposition; but he complains, that "no money is to be got on that side the question; interest is on the other side. But he is a poor author who cannot write on both sides. I believe I may be introduced (and if I am not, I'll introduce myself) to a ruling power in the Court party (o)." When Beckford died, he is said to have been almost frantic (p), and to have (p) *Ibid.* p. 214. exclaimed, that he was ruined. The elegy, however, in which he has celebrated him (q), (q) *Chat. Miscel.* p. 76. contains more of frigid praise, than of ardent feeling; nor is there in it a single line which appears to flow from the heart. Indeed, that he was serious in his intention of writing on both sides, is evident from a list of pieces written by Chatterton, but never published, which Mr. Walpole has preserved. No. V. of these pieces is a letter to Lord North, dated May 26th, 1770, signed *Moderator*, and beginning, "My Lord, It gives me a painful pleasure, &c." It contains, as Mr. Walpole informs us, an encomium on Administration for rejecting the City Remonstrance. On the other hand, No. VI. is a letter to the Lord Mayor, Beckford, (probably that which he desired his permission to address to him). It is also dated May 26, signed *Probus*, and contains a virulent invective against Government for rejecting the Remonstrance, beginning, "When the endeavours of a spirited people to free themselves from insupportable slavery, &c." On the back of this essay, which is directed to Mr. Cary, a particular friend of Chatterton in Bristol, is this indorsement: "Accepted by Bingley—set for, and thrown out of the North Briton, 21st June, on account of the Lord Mayor's death.

Lost by his death on this Essay,	-	£. 1 11 6
Gained in Elegies,	-	£. 2 2 0
—— in Essays,	-	3 3 0
		5 5 0
Am glad he is dead by	-	£. 3 13 6 (r)"

(r) Two letters printed at Strawberry-hill.

"Essays," again says he to his sister, "on the patriotic side, fetch no more than what the copy is sold for. As the patriots themselves are searching for a place, they have no gratuities to spare. On the other hand, unpopular essays will not even be accepted, and you must pay to have them printed; but then you seldom lose by it. Courtiers are so sensible of their deficiency in merit, that they generally reward all who know how to daub them with an appearance of it (s)." Either Chatterton, on this occasion, spoke from hear-say, or there is reason to believe that the ministerial arrangements are greatly altered in this respect, and that most of the late administrations have found a more effectual, if a more expensive support, from a venal majority in the House, than from a venal phalanx of mendicant authors in the daily papers.

On this sandy foundation of party writing Chatterton erected a visionary fabric of future greatness; and, in the waking dreams of a poetical imagination, he was already a man of considerable public importance. It was a common assertion with him, "that he would settle the nation before he had done (t)." In a letter to his sister of the 20th July, he tells her, "My company is courted every where; and, could I humble myself to go into a comptroller, could have had twenty places before now; but I must be among the great; state matters suit me better than commercial (u)." In a former letter he intimates, that he "might have had a recommendation to Sir George Colebrooke, an East-India Director, as qualified for an office no ways despicable, but," he adds, "I shall not take a step to the sea, whilst I can continue on land (w)." His taste for dissipation seems to have kept pace with the increase of his vanity (x). To frequent places of public amusement, he accounts as necessary to him as food. "I employ my money," says he, "now in fitting myself fashionably, and getting into good company: this last article always brings me in interest (y)." (s) *Love and Madness*, p. 204. (t) *Ibid.* p. 214. (u) *Ibid.* p. 210. (w) *Ibid.* p. 203. (x) *Ibid.* p. 200. (y) *Love and Madness*, p. 202.

While engaged in the examination of these curious letters, it is impossible not to be attracted by a remarkable passage. Chatterton informs his mother in the letter of May 14th, A Gentleman, who knows me at the Chapter, as an author, would have introduced me as a companion to the young Duke of Northumberland, in his intended general tour; but, alas! I speak no tongue but my own (z)." It is not very credible, that any of the constant frequenters of the Chapter Coffee-house should be possessed of influence sufficient to recommend a person to the Duke of Northumberland, to so important an office as that of the care of his son; much less credible is it, that such a person would recommend a young literary adventurer, whose character was only known by an accidental meeting at a coffee-house; and least credible of all is it, that such a person was likely to be accepted on so slender a ground of recommendation. It is no unfrequent sport with little minds to play with the sanguine tempers and expectations of young and unexperienced minds. Poor Chatterton had tolerable experience of these prodigal promisers, from the patriotic Beckford to his pretended patron at the Chapter Coffee-house.

The

The splendid visions of promotion and consequence however soon vanished, and our adventurer found no patrons but the booksellers; and even here he seems not to have escaped the poignant sting of disappointment. Soon after his arrival in London, he writes to his mother, "The poverty of authors is a common observation, but not always a true one. No author can be poor who understands the arts of booksellers: without this necessary knowledge the greatest genius may starve, and with it the greatest dunce may live in splendour. This knowledge I have pretty well dipped into (a)." This knowledge, however, instead of conducting to opulence and independence, proved a delusive guide; and though he boasts of having pieces in the month of June 1770 in the Gospel Magazine, the Town and Country, the Court and City, the London, the Political Register, &c. and that almost the whole Town and Country for the following month was his (b), yet it appears, so scanty is the remuneration for those periodical labours, that even these uncommon exertions of industry and genius were insufficient to ward off the approach of poverty; and he seems to have sunk almost at once from the highest elevation of hope and illusion, to the depths of despair. Early in July he removed his lodgings from Shoreditch to Mrs. Angel's, a Sack-maker, in Brook-street, Holborn. Mr. Walmesley's family affirmed that he assigned no reason for quitting their house. The author of *Love and Madness* attributes the change to the necessity he was under, from the nature of his employments, of frequenting public places (c). Is it not probable that he might remove, lest his friends in Shoreditch, who had heard his frequent boasts, and observed his dream of greatness, should be the spectators of his approaching indigence? Pride was the ruling passion of Chatterton, and a too acute sense of shame is ever found to accompany literary pride. But however he might be desirous of preserving appearances to the world, he was sufficiently lowered in his own expectations; and great indeed must have been his humiliation, when we find his towering ambition reduced to the miserable hope of securing the very ineligible appointment of a surgeon's mate to Africa. To his friend Mr. Barrett he applied, in his distress, for a recommendation to this unpromising station. Even in this dreary prospect he was not, however, without the consolations of his muse. His fancy delighted itself with the expectation of contemplating the wonders of a country, where "Nature flourishes in her most perfect vigour; where the purple aloe, and the scarlet jessamine, diffuse their rich perfumes; where the reeking tygers bask in the sedges, or wanton with their shadows in the stream (d)."

(a) *Love and Madness*, p. 195.(b) *Ibid.* p. 210.(c) *Love and Madness*, p. 189.(d) See the *African Eclogue*, *Chat. Misc.* p. 56-61.
(e) *Chat. Misc.* p. 85.

His resolution was announced in a poem to Miss Bush (e), in the style of Cowley, that is, with too much affectation of wit for real feeling. Probably, indeed, when he composed the *African Eclogues*, which was just before, he might not be without a distant contemplation of a similar design; and perhaps we are to attribute a part of the exulting expressions, which occur in the letters to his mother and sister, to the kind and laudable intention of making them happy with respect to his prospects in life; since we find him, almost at the very crisis of his distress, sending a number of little unnecessary presents to them and his grandmother [S], while perhaps he was himself almost in want of the necessaries of life.

On the score of incapacity probably, Mr. Barrett refused him the necessary recommendation, and his last hope was blasted [T]. Of Mrs. Angel, with whom he last resided, no enquiries have afforded any satisfactory intelligence; but there can be little doubt that his death was preceded by extreme indigence. Mr. Cross, an Apothecary in Brook-street, informed Mr. Warton, that while Chatterton lived in the neighbourhood, he frequently called at the shop, and was repeatedly pressed by Mr. Cross to dine or sup with him in vain. One evening, however, human frailty so far prevailed over his dignity, as to tempt him to partake of the regale of a barrel of oysters, when he was observed to eat most voraciously (f). Mrs. Wolfe, a Barber's wife, within a few doors of the house where Mrs. Angel lived, has also afforded ample testimony, both to his poverty and his pride. She says, "that Mrs. Angel told her, after his death, that on the 24th of August, as she knew he had not eaten any thing for two or three days, she begged he would take some dinner with her; but he was offended at her expressions, which seemed to hint he was in want, and assured her he was not hungry (g)." In these desperate circumstances, his mind reverted to what (we learn from Mr. Thistlethwaite, and other quarters) he had accustomed himself to regard as a last resource.—"Over his death, for the sake of the

(g) *Love and Madness*, p. 219.(f) Warton's *Inquiry*, p. 107.

(11) His prospects were then of the most flattering kind. See his last letter to his sister.

[S] *Sending a number of little unnecessary presents to them and his grandmother.* They seem to have been trifling presents, and those not sent when he was in want (11). As soon as he felt himself in that state he presently dispatched himself; that is, six weeks after he had sent these presents.

There has been too much flourishing about these presents and affection to his relations. When a man suffers from pain of body or mind, and is tempted in consequence thereof to commit suicide, the strongest motives to restrain him are the prospect and fear of

punishment in the next world, and a love of, and regard to, his family, relations, and friends in this. The former C. seems to have entirely discarded. O.

[T] *And his last hope was blasted.* This circumstance reflects no disgrace, but rather honour upon Mr. B. as he could not possibly foresee the melancholy consequence, and he could not in conscience be the instrument of committing the lives of a considerable number of persons to one totally inadequate to the charge.

world,"

world," says the author of *Love and Madness*, "I would willingly draw a veil. But this must not be. They who are in a condition to patronise merit, and they who feel a consciousness of merit which is not patronised, may form their own resolutions from the catastrophe of his tale;—those, to lose no opportunity of befriending genius; these, to seize every opportunity of befriending themselves, and, upon no account, to harbour the most distant idea of quitting the world, however it may be unworthy of them, lest despondency should at last deceive them into so unpardonable a step. Chatterton, as appears by the Coroner's Inquest, swallowed arsenick in water, on the 24th of August, 1770, and died in consequence thereof the next day. He was buried in a shell, in the burying-ground of Shoe-lane work-house (b)." Whatever unfinished pieces he might have, he cautiously destroyed them before his death; and his room, when broken open, was found covered with little scraps of paper (i). What must increase our regret for this hasty and unhappy step, is the information that the late Dr. Fry, Head of St. John's College in Oxford, went to Bristol in the latter end of August 1770, in order to search into the history of Rowley and Chatterton, and to patronise the latter, if he appeared to deserve assistance—when, alas! all the intelligence he could procure was, that Chatterton had, within a few days, destroyed himself (k).

(b) *Ibid.* p. 221.(i) *Ibid.* p. 222.(k) *Ibid.* p. 226.

I have been induced, from the circumstances of the narrative, repeatedly to consider the character of Chatterton in the different stages of life in which I had occasion to contemplate him. Indeed, the character of any man is better understood from a fair and accurate statement of his life and conduct, than from the comments of any critic or biographer whatever. A few general observations, which could not with so much propriety be introduced into the body of the narrative, I shall, however, venture to subjoin; though I flatter myself the reader is not at this time unacquainted with the outline of his moral portrait.

The person of Chatterton, like his genius, was premature. He had a manliness and dignity beyond his years, and there was a something about him uncommonly prepossessing. His most remarkable feature was his eyes, which, though gray, were uncommonly piercing: when he was warmed in argument, or otherwise, they sparked with fire, and one eye, it is said, was still more remarkable than the other (l). His genius will be most completely estimated from his writings. He had an uncommon ardour in the pursuit of knowledge, and uncommon facility in the attainment of it. It was a favourite maxim with him, that "man is equal to any thing, and that every thing might be achieved by diligence and abstinence [T]." His imagination, like Dryden's, was more fertile than correct; and he seems to have erred rather through haste and negligence, than through any deficiency of taste. He was above that puerile affectation which pretends to borrow nothing. He knew that original genius consists in forming new and happy combinations, rather than in searching after thoughts and ideas which never had occurred before; and that the man who never imitated, has seldom acquired a habit of good writing. If those poems, which pass under the name of Rowley, be really the productions of Chatterton, he possessed the strongest marks of a vigorous imagination and a sound judgment, in forming great, consistent, and ingenious plots, and making choice of the most interesting subjects. If Rowley and Chatterton be the same, it will be difficult to say whether he excelled most in the sublime or the satirical; and as an universal genius, he must rank above Dryden, and perhaps only stand second to Shakespeare. If, on the other hand, we are to judge altogether from those pieces which are confessedly his own, we must undoubtedly assign the preference to those of the satirical class. In most of his serious writings, there is little that indicates their being composed with a full relish: when he is satirical, his soul glows in his composition.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 271.(m) *Love and Madness*, p. 198.

(n) Chatterton's Will, in App. to Misc.

Mr. Catcott affirms that Chatterton understood no language but his mother tongue. The same fact seems to be implied in his own confession, "that he spoke no tongue but his own (m); and it receives decisive confirmation from the testimony of Mr. Smith, in his conversation with Dr. Glynn: yet we find him, even so early as the year 1768, annexing a Latin signature to the "Accounte of the Fryers passing the old Bridge;" and there are some attempts at inscriptions in old French, in the design which he planned for his own tomb-stone (n). He, probably, might have acquired some little knowledge of both these languages; but even if this were the case, there can be no doubt that it was very superficial. When we consider the variety of his engagements while at Bristol, his extensive reading, and the great knowledge he had acquired of the ancient language of his native country, we cannot wonder that he had not time to occupy himself in the study of other languages; and after his arrival in London, he had a new and necessary science to learn, the world: and that he made the most advantageous use of his time is evident from the extensive knowledge of mankind displayed in the different essays, which he produced

[T] *And that every thing might be achieved by diligence and abstinence.* If any uncommon character was mentioned in his hearing, "All boy as he was, he would only observe, that the person in question

merited praise; but that God had sent his creatures into the world with arms long enough to reach any thing, if they would be at the trouble of extending them (11)."

(11) *Love and Madness*, p. 183.

occasionally for periodical publications. The lively and vigorous imagination of Chatterton contributed, doubtless, to animate him with that spirit of enterprise, which led him to form so many impracticable and visionary schemes, for the acquisition of fame and fortune. His ambition was evident from his earliest youth; and perhaps the inequality of his spirits might, in a great measure, depend upon the fairness of his views, or the dissipation of his projects. His melancholy was extreme on some occasions; and, at those times, he constantly argued in favour of suicide. Mr. Catcott left him one evening totally depressed; but he returned the next morning with unusual spirits. He said, "he had sprung a mine," and produced a parchment, containing the *Sprytes*, a poem, now in the possession of Mr. Barrett (o).

(o) From the information of Mr. Seward.

His natural melancholy was not corrected by the irreligious principles which he had so unfortunately imbibed. To these we are certainly to attribute his premature death; and, if he can be proved guilty of the licentiousness which is by some laid to his charge, it is reasonable to believe that a system, which exonerates the mind from the apprehension of future punishment, would not contribute much to restrain the criminal excesses of the passions. Had Chatterton lived, and been fortunate enough to fall into settled and sober habits of life, his excellent understanding would, in all probability, have led him to see the fallacy of those principles, which he had hastily embraced: as it was, the only preservatives of which he was possessed against the contagion of vice, were the enthusiasm of literature, and that delicacy of sentiment which taste and reading inspire. But though these auxiliaries are not wholly to be despised, we have too many instances of their inefficacy in supporting the cause of virtue, to place any confident reliance on them.

Under such circumstances there is little cause for surprize, if the passions of Chatterton should frequently have trespassed the boundaries of reason and moral duty. That he had strong resentments is evident from his great disposition to satire, and particularly from the letter which has been mentioned as written by him to his school-master, soon after the commencement of his apprenticeship. That he was "proud and imperious," is allowed by his sister, and the generality of his acquaintance. He stands charged with a profligate attachment to women: the accusation, however, is stated in a vague and desultory manner, as if from common report, without any direct or decided evidence in support of the opinion. To the regularity of his conduct during his residence in Bristol, some respectable testimonies have been already exhibited. It is, indeed, by no means improbable, that a young man of strong passions, and unprotected by religious principles, might frequently be unprepared to resist the temptations of a licentious metropolis: yet, even after his arrival in London, there are some proofs in his favour, which ought not to be disregarded. During a residence of nine weeks at Mr. Walmfley's, he never staid out beyond the family hours, except one night, when Mrs. Ballance knew that he lodged at the house of a relation (p).

(p) Love and Madness, p. 261.

Whatever may be the truth of these reports, the list of his virtues still appears to exceed the catalogue of his faults. His temperance was in some respects exemplary. He seldom eat animal food, and never tasted any strong or spirituous liquors: he lived chiefly on a morsel of bread or a tart, with a draught of water. His sister affirms, that he was a lover of truth from the earliest dawn of reason; and that his school-master depended on his veracity on all occasions (q): the pride of genius will seldom descend to the most contemptible of vices, falsehood. His high sense of dignity has been already noticed in two most striking instances; but the most amiable feature in his character, was his generosity and attachment to his mother and relations. Every favourite project for his advancement in life was accompanied with promises and encouragement to them. While in London, he continued to send them presents, at a time when he was known himself to be in want: and indeed, the unremitting attention, kindness and respect, which appear in the whole of his conduct towards them, are deserving the imitation of those in more fortunate circumstances, and under the influence of better principles of faith than Chatterton possessed [U].

(q) Mrs. N.'s letter, *ibid.*

He had a number of friends, and notwithstanding his disposition to satire, he is scarcely known to have had any enemies. By the accounts of all who were acquainted with him, there was something uncommonly insinuating in his manner and conversation. Mr. Cross informed Mr. Warton, that in Chatterton's frequent visits while he resided at Brook-street, he found his conversation, a little infidelity excepted, most captivating (r). His extensive, though in many instances, superficial knowledge, united with his genius, wit and fluency, must have admirably accomplished him for the pleasures of society. His pride, which perhaps should rather be termed the strong consciousness of intellectual excellence, did not destroy his affability. He was always accessible, and rather forward to make acquaintance, than apt to decline the advances of others [X]. There is reason however to believe,

(r) Warton's Inquiry, p. 107.

[U] *Of better principles of faith than Chatterton possessed.* It can never be sufficiently lamented, that this amiable propensity was not more uniform in Chatterton. A real love for his relations ought to have arrested the hand of suicide; but when religion is lost, all uniformity of principle is lost. O.

[X] *Than apt to decline the advances of others.* "Last week being in the pit of Drury-Lane Theatre, I contracted an immediate acquaintance (which you know is no hard task to me) with a young Gentleman, &c. (12)." (12) Letter to his mother, Love and Madness, p. 197.

that

that the inequality of his spirits, affected greatly his behaviour in company. His fits of absence were frequent and long. "He would often look stedfastly in a person's face without speaking, or seeming to see the person, for a quarter of an hour or more (s)."

(s) Love and Madnefs, p. 214.

Chatterton had one ruling passion which governed his whole conduct, and that was the desire of literary fame. This passion intruded itself on every occasion, and absorbed his whole attention. Whether he would have continued to improve, or the contrary, must have depended in some measure on the circumstances of his future life. Had he fallen into profligate habits and connections, he would probably have lost a great part of his ardour for the cultivation of his mind; and his maturer age would only have diminished the admiration which the efforts of his childhood have so justly excited.

At the shrine of Chatterton, some grateful incense has been offered. Mr. Warton speaks of him as "a prodigy of genius," as "a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities." He adds, that "he possessed a comprehension of mind, and an activity of understanding, which predominated over his situation in life, and his opportunities of instruction (t)."

And Mr. Malone "believes him to have been the greatest genius that England has produced since the days of Shakespeare (u)." Mr. Croft (w), the ingenious author of *Love and Madnefs*, to whom in the course of this work I have had many obligations, is still more unqualified in his praises. He asserts, that "no such human being, at any period of life, has ever been known, or possibly ever will be known." He adds, in another place, "an army of Macedonian and Swedish mad butchers, indeed, fly before him; nor does my memory supply me with any human being, who, at such an age, with such disadvantages, has produced such compositions [Y]. Under the Heathen mythology, superstition and admiration would have explained all by bringing Apollo upon earth: nor would the god ever have descended with more credit to himself."

(t) History of English Poetry.

(u) Curfory Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, p. 41.
(w) Editor of an intended new English Dict.

The following parallel also by the same ingenious critic, does equal credit to the ingenuity of its author, and the reputation of Chatterton.

"Milton enjoyed every advantage not only of private, but of public, not only of domestic, but of foreign education.

"Milton in his youth received such instructions from Teachers and Schoolmasters, that, in his age, he was able to become a Schoolmaster, and a Teacher to others.

"Milton's juvenile writings would not have justified a prophecy of *Paradise Lost*: but the author of them flatters himself, by dating his life fifteen till he had turned sixteen.

"Milton did not produce *Comus* much earlier than in his 26th year; since it was first presented at Ludlow in 1634, and he was born in 1608. In 1645, when he was thirty-seven, *Allegro and Penferoso*, first appeared. In 1655, when he was forty-seven, after *long choosing, and beginning late*, he set himself to turn a strange thing, called a *Mystery*, into an epic poem; which was not completed in less than Chatterton's whole active existence, since the copy was not sold till April, 1667, and then consisted only of ten books. With all its glorious perfections, *Paradise Lost* contains puerilities, to which Chatterton was a stranger. In three years more, when he was sixty-two, appeared Milton's *History of England*. *Paradise Regained*, and *Sampson*, were published in

"Chatterton wanted every advantage of every possible education.

"Chatterton became his own Teacher and his own Schoolmaster before other children are subjects for instruction; and never knew any other.

"Few, if any, of Milton's juvenile writings would have been owned by Chatterton, at least by Rowley, could he have past for the author of them.

"Chatterton, not suffered to be *long choosing*, or to *begin late*, in seventeen years and nine months, reckoning from his cradle to his grave, produced the volume of Rowley's poems, his volume of *Miscellanies*, and many things which are not printed, beside what his indignation tore in pieces the day he spurned at the world, and threw himself on the anger of his Creator.

[Y] *Has produced such compositions.* "Mohammed, it is true, says Mr. Croft, with hardly the usual education of his illiterate tribe, unable (as was imagined, and he pretended) even to read or write, forged the *KORAN*; which is to this day the most elegant composition in the Arabic language, and its standard of excellence. Upon the argument of improbability, that a man so illiterate should compose a book so admired, *Mohammed* artfully rested the principal evidence of his *Koran's* divinity (13). He, who, merely from improbability, denies Chatterton to be the author of Rowley's Poems, must go near to admit God to be the author of the *Koran*. But, before we compare together Chatterton and Mo-

ammed, it should be remembered that Mohammed was *forty* when he commenced prophet. Perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance about Mohammed is, that even familiarity could not sink him into contempt; that he contrived to be a hero and a prophet, even to his wives and his *valets de chambre*. Even his fits of the epilepsy he converted into proofs of his divine mission. It is probable, that, if *Mohammed* had been less salacious, and not subject to the falling sickness, out of thirty equal divisions of the known world, whereof Christianity claims five, and Paganism nineteen, the inhabitants of six would not now believe in the *Koran*."

(13) Sale's *Koran*, p. Discourse, p. 42, 60.

What

the same year. Lycidas I had forgotten. It was written in his 29th year. That propriety of character and situation, which Chatterton can seldom have violated, or he would not to this moment deceive such and so many men, Milton seldom preserves in Lycidas. If, in the course of an existence almost four times longer than Chatterton's, this man (*fallen on evil days and evil tongues*, with less truth than Chatterton), who bore no fruit worth gathering till after the age at which Chatterton was withered by the hand of Death—if, I say, this great man produced other writings, he will not quarrel that posterity has forgotten them: if he should, posterity will still perhaps forget them.

"Milton's manuscripts, preserved at Cambridge, bear testimony to his frequent and commendable correction.

"Milton, as Ellwood relates, could never bear to hear *Paradise Lost* preferred before *Paradise Regained*. He is known to have pronounced Dryden to be no Poet.

"Milton, more from inclination than want of bread, it seems, entered into party disputes, whether a king might be lawfully beheaded, &c. with a fervility and a virulence, and let out his praise to hire, perhaps, with a meanness, at all periods of his life, which the worst enemies of Chatterton cannot prove him to have equalled.

"Milton, in affluence (if compared with others beside Chatterton) felt on his brows those laurels which others could not see; and was persuaded that, "by labour and intense study, his portion in this life, he might leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die."

"*Paradise Lost* produced the author and the widow only twenty-eight pounds. The meaner, more servile, and more versatile abilities of the author produced him indeed enough to be deprived of four thousand pounds by ill-fortune, and to leave fifteen hundred pounds to his family.

"Phillips relates of Milton, from his own mouth, that "his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal." Richardson writes, that "his poetical faculty would on a sudden rush upon him with an impetus or æstrum."

"Milton, when a man, seldom drank any thing strong: he ate with delicacy and temperance.

"Milton's historians and grand-daughter admit his moroseness to his children, and that he would not let them learn to write."

"What time could Chatterton have found for alteration or correction, when I maintain that any boy who should only have fairly *transcribed*, before his eighteenth year, all that Chatterton, before his eighteenth year, invented and composed, would be thought to deserve the reputation of diligence, and the praise of application?

"If Chatterton, much earlier in life than Milton was calculated either to be an author or a critick, had not possessed a chaster judgment, he would not still impose on so many criticks and authors.

"Chatterton, in order to procure bread for himself, a grandmother, mother and sister, was ready to prove the patriotism of Bute, or of Beckford, in writings, which older men need not blush to own, and in an age when older men did not blush at such a *profession*.

"Chatterton, steeped to the lips in poverty, entertained, long before he had lived eighteen years, ideas, hopes, persuasions, (*by labour and intense study*, more truly *his portion in this life* than Milton's) of living to all eternity in the memory of Fame.

"Mr. Catcott and Mr. Barrett must inform the world whether Rowley's poems and his own together produced Chatterton twenty-eight shillings.

"What is said of Chatterton, and of the moon's effect upon him, you have read.

"Chatterton, when a boy, hardly ever touched meat, and drank only water: when a child, he would often refuse to take any thing but bread and water, even if it did happen that his mother had a hot meal, "because he had a work in hand, and he must not make himself more stupid than God had made him."

"Chatterton's mother, his sister and his letters, can speak best of his heart, and of his wishes that his sister might learn every thing."

To

To these I shall add the testimony of Mr. Knox:

“ Unfortunate boy! short and evil were thy days, but thy fame shall be immortal. Hadst thou been known to the munificent patrons of genius—

“ Unfortunate boy! poorly wast thou accommodated during thy short sojourning among us;—rudely wast thou treated,—so sorely did thy feeling soul suffer from the scorn of the unworthy; and there are, at last, those who wish to rob thee of thy only meed, thy posthumous glory. Severe too are the censurers of thy morals. In the gloomy moments of despondency, I fear thou hast uttered impious and blasphemous thoughts, which none can defend, and which neither thy youth, nor thy fiery spirit, nor thy situation, can excuse. But let thy more rigid censors reflect, that thou wast literally and strictly but a boy. Let many of thy bitterest enemies reflect what were their own religious principles, and whether they had any, at the age of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen. Surely it is a severe and an unjust surmise, that thou wouldest probably have ended thy life as a victim of the laws, if thou hadst not finished it as thou didst; since the very act by which thou durst put an end to thy painful existence, proves that thou thoughtest it better to die, than to support life by theft or violence.

“ The speculative errors of a boy who wrote from the sudden suggestions of passion or despondency, who is not convicted of any immoral or dishonest act in consequence of his speculations, ought to be consigned to oblivion. But there seems to be a general and inveterate dislike to the boy, exclusively of the poet; a dislike which many will be ready to impute, and, indeed, not without the appearance of reason, to that insolence and envy of the little great, which cannot bear to acknowledge so transcendent and commanding a superiority in the humble child of want and obscurity.

“ Malice, if there was any, may surely now be at rest; for “ Cold he lies in the grave below.” But where were ye, O ye friends to genius, when, stung with disappointment, distressed for food and raiment, with every frightful form of human misery painted on his fine imagination, poor Chatterton sunk in despair? Alas! ye knew him not then, and now it is too late,—

For now he is dead;
Gone to his death bed,
All under the willow tree.

So sang the sweet youth, in as tender an elegy as ever flowed from a feeling heart.

“ In return for the pleasure I have received from thy poems, I pay thee, poor boy, the trifling tribute of my praise. Thyself thou hast emblazoned; thine own monument thou hast erected: But they whom thou hast delighted, feel a pleasure in vindicating thine honours from the rude attacks of detraction (x).”

(x) Knox's Essay, No. 114.

The poetic eulogiums have, however, exceeded, both in number and excellence, the compliments of critical writers. A few remarkably interesting and beautiful, I shall select, with the double view of adorning the work, and gratifying the reader.

A poet, whose superior elegance and classical taste do not appear to have met with all the applause they have deserved, thus speaks of Chatterton:

“ Yet as with streaming eye the sorrowing muse,
“ Pale CHATTERTON's untimely urn bedews;
“ Her accents shall arraign the partial care,
“ That shielded not her son from cold despair (y).”

(y) Pye's Progress of Refinement, Part 2.

There is a beautiful monody written by Mrs. Cowley, inserted in the last edition of Love and Madness.—It is as follows:

O CHATTERTON! for thee the pensive song I raise,
Thou object of my wonder, pity, envy, praise!
Bright Star of Genius!—torn from life and fame,
My tears, my verse, shall consecrate thy name!
Ye Muses! who around his natal bed
Triumphant sung, and all your influence shed;
APOLLO! thou who rapt his infant breast,
And in his dædal numbers shone confest,
Ah! why, in vain, such mighty gifts bestow?
—Why give fresh tortures to the Child of Woe?
Why thus, with barb'rous care, illumine his mind,
Adding new sense to all the ills behind?

Thou haggard Poverty! whose cheerless eye
Transforms young Rapture to the pond'rous sigh,
In whose drear cave no Muse e'er struck the lyre,
Nor Bard e'er madden'd with poetic fire;

Why all thy spells for CHATTERTON combine!
 His thought creative, why must thou confine?
 Subdu'd by thee, his pen no more obeys,
 No longer gives the song of ancient days;
 Nor paints in glowing tints from distant skies,
 Nor bids wild scen'ry rush upon our eyes——
 Check'd in her flight, his rapid Genius cowers,
 Drops her sad plumes, and yields to thee her powers.

Behold him, Muses! see your fav'rite son
 The prey of want, ere manhood is begun!
 The bosom ye have fill'd, with anguish torn——
 The mind you cherish'd, drooping and forlorn!

And now Despair her sable form extends,
 Creeps to his couch, and o'er his pillow bends.
 Ah, see! a deadly bowl the fiend conceal'd,
 Which to his eye with caution is reveal'd——
 Seize it, Apollo!—seize the liquid snare!
 Dash it to earth, or dissipate in air!
 Stay, helpless Youth! refrain—abhor the draught,
 With pangs, with racks, with deep repentance fraught!
 Oh, hold! the cup with woe ETERNAL flows,
 More—more than Death the pois'nous justice bestows!
 In vain!—he drinks—and now the searching fires
 Rush through his veins, and writhing he expires!
 No sorrowing friend, no sister, parent, nigh,
 To sooth his pangs, or catch his parting sigh;
 Alone, unknown, the Muse's darling dies,
 And with the vulgar dead unnoted lies!
 Bright Star of Genius!—torn from life and fame,
 My tears, my verse, shall consecrate thy name!

Nor has the Muse of Amwell been backward in commendation.

And BRISTOL! why thy scenes explore,
 And why those scenes so soon resign,
 And fail to seek the spot that bore
 That wonderful tuneful Youth of thine,
 The Bard, whose boasted ancient store
 Rose recent from his own exhaustless mine [Z]!

Though Fortune all her gifts denied,
 Though Learning made him not her choice,
 The Muse still placed him at her side,
 And bade him in her smile rejoice——
 Description still his pen supplied,
 Pathos his thought, and Melody his voice!

Conscious and proud of merit high,
 Fame's wreath he boldly claim'd to wear;
 But Fame, regardless, pass'd him by,
 Unknown, or deem'd unworth her care:
 The Sun of Hope forsook his sky;
 And all his land look'd dreary, bleak, and bare!

Then Poverty, grim spectre, rose,
 And horror o'er the prospect threw——
 His deep distress too nice to expose;
 Too nice for common aid to sue,
 A dire alternative he chose,
 And rashly from the painful scene withdrew.

[Z] *Rose recent from his own exhaustless mine!*

This is at least the Author's opinion, notwithstanding all that has hitherto appeared on the other side of the question. The last line alludes to one of the ingenious Mr. Mason in his Elegy to a young Nobleman:

“ See from the depths of his exhaustless mine
 “ His glittering stores the tuneful spendthrift
 “ throws.”

Ah!

Ah! why for Genius' headstrong rage
 Did Virtue's hand no curb prepare?
 What boots, poor youth! that now thy page
 Can boast the public praise to share,
 The learn'd in deep research engage,
 And lightly entertain the gentle fair?

Ye, who superfluous wealth command,
 O why your kind relief delay'd?
 O why not snatch'd his desperate hand?
 His foot on Fate's dread brink not stay'd?
 What thanks had you your native land
 For a new SHAKESPEARE or new MILTON paid!

For me—Imagination's power
 Leads oft insensibly my way,
 To where, at midnight's silent hour,
 The crescent moon's slow-westerling ray
 Pours full on REDCLIFF's lofty tower,
 And gilds with yellow light its walls of grey.

'Midst Toil and Commerce slumbering round,
 Lull'd by the rising tide's hoarse roar,
 There Frome and Avon willow-crown'd,
 I view sad-wandering by the shore,
 With streaming tears, and notes of mournful sound,
 Too late their hapless Bard, untimely lost, deplore.

The following lines are uncommonly animated and poetical:

If changing times suggest the pleasing hope,
 That Bards no more with adverse fortune cope;
 That in this alter'd clime, where Arts increase,
 And make our polish'd Isle a second Greece;
 That now, if Poesy proclaims her Son,
 And challenges the wreath by Fancy won;
 Both Fame and Wealth adopt him as their heir,
 And liberal Grandeur makes his life her care;
 From such vain thoughts thy erring mind defend,
 And look on CHATTERTON's disastrous end.
 Oh, ill-starr'd Youth, whom Nature form'd in vain,
 With powers on Pindus' splendid height to reign!
 O dread example of what pangs await
 Young Genius struggling with malignant fate!
 What could the Muse, who fir'd thy infant frame
 With the rich promise of Poetic fame;
 Who taught thy hand its magic art to hide,
 And mock the insolence of Critic pride;
 What cou'd her unavailing cares oppose,
 To save her darling from his desperate foes;
 From pressing Want's calamitous controul,
 And Pride, the fever of the ardent soul?
 Ah, see, too conscious of her failing power,
 She quits her Nursling in his deathful hour!
 In a chill room, within whose wretched wall
 No cheering voice replies to Misery's call;
 Near a vile bed, too crazy to sustain
 Misfortune's wasted limbs, convuls'd with pain,
 On the bare floor, with heaven-directed eyes,
 The hapless Youth in speechless horror lies!
 The pois'nous phial, by distraction drain'd,
 Rolls from his hand, in wild contortion strain'd:
 Pale with life-wasting pangs, it's dire effect,
 And stung to madness by the world's neglect,
 He, in abhorrence of the dangerous Art,
 Once the dear idol of his glowing heart,
 Tears from his Harp the vain detested wires,
 And in the frenzy of Despair expires (z)!

(z) Hayley's
 Essay on Epic
 Poetry, Ep. iv.
 l. 211 to 248.

Again,

Again, with all the honest resentment of indignant Genius,

Search the dark scenes where drooping Genius lies,
And keep from sorriest fights a nation's eyes,
That, from expiring Want's reproaches free,
Our generous country ne'er may weep to see
A future CHATTERTON by poison dead,
An OTWAY fainting for a little bread (a).

(a) *Ibid.* 336 to 342.

To these elegant offerings to the genius of Chatterton, it is with peculiar pleasure I add a sonnet to Expression, from the polished and pathetic pen of Miss Helen Maria Williams.

Expression, child of soul! I fondly trace
Thy strong enchantments, when the poet's lyre,
The painter's pencil catch thy sacred fire,
And beauty wakes for thee her touching grace—
But from this frightened glance thy form avert
When horrors check thy tear, thy struggling sigh,
When frenzy rolls in thy impassion'd eye,
Or guilt sits heavy on thy lab'ring heart—
Nor ever let my shudd'ring fancy bear
The wasting groan, or view the pallid look
Of him (b) the Muses lov'd—when hope forsook
His spirit, vainly to the Muses dear!
For charm'd with heav'nly song, this bleeding breast,
Mourns the blest power of verse could give despair no rest.—

(b) Chatterton.

Independently of the poems attributed to Rowley, Chatterton has left behind him a variety of pieces, published and unpublished. The most considerable of the former are to be found in a volume of miscellanies, published in 1778, to which is prefixed a sketch for the late Alderman Beckford's statue, a specimen of Chatterton's abilities in the arts of drawing and design; and this publication was followed in 1786, by "a supplement to the miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton." The compositions contained in both these volumes are scarcely to be inspected with all the severity of criticism. Considerable allowances ought to be made for the exercises of his infantine years, for the incorrect effusions of momentary resentment, for a few lines thrown together in a playful mood to please an illiterate female, or to amuse a school-fellow, and perhaps not less for the hasty and involuntary productions of indigence and necessity, constructed for a magazine, and calculated for the sole purpose of procuring a subsistence. Of the poetical part of these miscellanies, I have already intimated, that the serious are inferior to the satirical.

In the elegy to the memory of Mr. Thomas Phillips, of Fairford, we, however, meet with some descriptive stanzas, perhaps not unworthy the author of Rowley's poems:

"Pale rugged Winter bending o'er his head,
"His grizzled hair bedropt with icy dew;
"His eyes, a dusky light, congealed and dead;
"His robe, a tinge of bright ethereal blue.
"His train a motley'd, sanguine sable cloud,
"He limps along the russet dreary moor;
"Whilst rising whirlwinds, blasting, keen and loud,
"Roll the white surges to the sounding shore."

"Fancy, whose various, figure-tinctured vest
"Was ever changing to a different hue;
"Her head, with varied bays and flow'rets drest,
"Her eyes two spangles of the morning dew."

"Now as the mantle of the evening swells,
"Upon my mind I feel a thick'ning gloom!
"Ah! could I charm, by friendship's potent spells,
"The soul of Philip's from the deathly tomb!
"Then would we wander thro' the dark'ned vale,
"In converse such as heavenly spirits use,
"And borne upon the plumage of the gale,
"Hymn the creator and exhort the Muse (c)."

(c) Chatterton's Miscellanies.

In

In a letter to his friend Cary, dated London, July 1, 1770, Chatterton tells him, "in the last London Magazine, and in that which comes out to day, are the only two pieces of mine I have the vanity to call poetry." These were the two African Eclogues, published in his Miscellanies. I am sorry I cannot unite with the author in the commendation of these pieces; but Chatterton, as well as Milton, seems to have been incapable of estimating rightly the respective merits of his own productions (d). They are unconnected and unequal, though it must be confessed, that they contain some excellent lines: the following occur almost at the beginning of the first eclogue, and are animated, expressive and harmonious:

" High from the ground the youthful warriors sprung;
 " Loud on the concave shell the lances rung:
 " In all the mystic mazes of the dance,
 " The youths of Banny's burning sands advance,
 " Whilst the soft virgin, panting, looks behind;
 " And rides upon the pinions of the wind (e)."

(d) I know some respectable friends who esteem this instance of bad taste, as a strong presumptive argument against Chatterton being the author of Rowley's poems.

(e) Chatterton's Miscellanies, p. 56.

Of the correctness of the following simile in the second eclogue, I shall not determine; but the liveliness of the description evinces a most vigorous imagination.

" On Tiber's banks, close rank'd, a warring train;
 " Stretch'd to the distant edge of Galca's plain:
 " So when arrived at Gaigra's highest steep,
 " We view the wide expansion of the deep;
 " See in the gilding of her wat'ry robe,
 " The quick declension of the circling globe;
 " From the blue sea a chain of mountains rise,
 " Blended at once with water and with skies:
 " Beyond our sight in vast extension curl'd,
 " The check of waves, the guardian of the world (f)."

(f) Ibid.

The satire of Chatterton has more of the luxuriance, fluency, and negligence of Dryden, than of the terseness and refinement of Pope. The following lines are in the style of the former:

" Search nature o'er, procure me, if you can,
 " The fancied character, an honest man.
 " A man of sense not honest by constraint,
 " (For fools are canvass, living but in paint)
 " To Mammon, or to superstition slaves,
 " All orders of mankind are fools or knaves:
 " In the first attribute by none surpass'd,
 " * * * * endeavours to obtain the last (g)."

(g) Epistle to the Rev. Mr. Catcott, Append. to Chat. Mis. p. 23.

The following is an evident imitation of Mr. Pope, even to the cadence of the verse, but it is not equally successful with the last specimen:

" But why must Chatterton selected fit,
 " The butt of every Critic's little wit?
 " Am I alone for ever in a crime,
 " Nonsense in prose, or blasphemy in rhyme?
 " All monosyllables a line appears!—
 " Is it not very often so in Shears?
 " See gen'rous Eccas, length'ning out my praise,
 " Inraptured with the music of my lays;
 " In all the arts of panegyric grac'd,
 " The cream of modern literary taste (h)."

(h) The Defence, *ibid.* p. 37.

In a poem on Happiness, inserted in Love and Madness, are some strokes of satire in a superior style:

" Come to my pen, companion of the lay,
 " And speak of worth, where merit—
 " Let lazy B—— undistinguish'd snore,
 " Nor lash his generosity to ———,
 " Praise him for sermons of his curate bought,
 " His easy flow of words, his depth of thought;

" His active spirit ever in display,
 " His great devotion when he draws to pray,
 " His fainted soul distinguishably seen,
 " With all the virtues of a modern Dean (i)."

(i) Love and
 Madness, p. 155.

" Pulvis, whose knowledge centres in degrees,
 " Is never happy but when taking fees:
 " Blest with a bushy wig and solemn pace,
 " Catcott admires him for a *fossile* face."
 — " Mould'ring in dust the fair Lavinia lies,
 " Death and our Doctor clos'd her sparkling eyes.
 " O all ye pow'rs, the guardians of the world!
 " Where is the useless bolt of vengeance hurl'd?
 " Say, shall this leaden sword of plague prevail,
 " And kill the mighty where the mighty fail?
 " Let the red bolus tremble o'er his head,
 " And with his guardian julep strike him dead (k)!"

(k) *Ibid.* p. 156.

In the volume of his miscellanies are two political pieces, the *Consiliad*, written at Bristol, and in the highest strain of party scurrility [AA]; and the *Prophecy*, written apparently a short time after, which is in the best style of Swift's minor pieces, and appears to be the genuine effusion of that enthusiastic love of liberty, which in tumultuous times generally takes possession of young and sanguine dispositions [BB].

Of

[AA] *In the highest strain of party scurrility.*
 The introduction to this poem is not destitute of merit.

Of warring senators, and battles dire,
 Of quails uneaten; Muse, awake the lyre.
 Where C—pb—ll's chimneys overlook the square,
 And N—t—n's future prospects hang in air;
 Where counsellors dispute, and cockers match,
 And Caledonian earls in concert scratch;
 A group of heroes, occupied the round,
 Long in the rolls of infamy renown'd.
 Circling the table all in silence sat,
 Now tearing bloody lean, now champing fat;
 Now picking ortolans, and chicken slain,
 To form the whimsies of an *à-la-reine*:
 Now storming castles of the newest taste,
 And granting articles to forts of paste:
 Now swallowing bitter draughts of Prussian beer;
 Now sucking tallow of salubrious deer.

[BB] *Takes possession of young and sanguine dispositions.*

THE PROPHECY.

THIS truth of old was sorrow's friend,
 " Times at the worst will surely mend."
 The difficulty's then to know,
 How long oppression's clock can go;
 When Britain's sons may cease to sigh,
 And hope that their redemption's nigh.

When Vice exalted takes the lead,
 And Vengeance hangs but by a thread;
 Gay péeresses turn'd out o'doors;
 Whoremasters, peers, and sons of whores;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When vile Corruption's brazen face,
 At council-board shall take her place;
 And lord's-commissioners resort,
 To welcome her at Britain's court;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

See Pension's harbour large and clear,
 Defended by St. Stephen's pier!
 The entrance safe, by Current led,
 Tiding round G—'s jetty head;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Civil-Power shall snore at ease,
 While soldiers fire—to keep the peace;
 When murders sanctuary find,
 And petticoats can Justice blind;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

Commerce o'er Bondage will prevail,
 Free as the wind, that fills her sail.
 When she complains of vile restraint,
 And Power is deaf to her complaint;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When raw projectors shall begin
 Oppression's hedge, to keep her in;
 She in disdain will take her flight,
 And bid the Gotham fools good night;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When tax is laid, to save debate,
 By prudent ministers of state;
 And, what the people did not give,
 Is levied by prerogative;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Popish bishops dare to claim
 Authority, in George's name;
 By Treason's hand set up, in spite
 Of George's title, William's right;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Popish priest a pension draws
 From starv'd exchequer, for the cause
 Commission'd, proselytes to make
 In British realms, for Britain's sake;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When snug in power, fly recusants
 Make laws for British Protestants;
 And d—g William's Revolution,
 As Justices claim execution;
 Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
 For your redemption draweth nigh.

When soldiers, paid for our defence,
 In wanton pride slay innocence;
 Blood from the ground for vengeance reeks,
 Till Heaven the inquisition makes;

Look

Of the prose compositions of Chatterton, his imitations of Ossian are certainly the worst: he has not indeed improved upon an indifferent model. They are full of wild imagery and inconsistent metaphor, with little either of plot or of character to recommend them.

His lighter Essays, such as the adventures of a star, the memoirs of a sad dog, the hunter of oddities, &c. display considerable knowledge of what is called the town, and demonstrate the keenness of his observation, and his quickness in acquiring any branch of knowledge, or in adapting himself to any situation. We are to remember, however, that he had been long conversant in this species of composition, and that a considerable fund of reading in Magazines, Reviews, &c. which Mr. Warton observes "form the *school of the people*," had prepared him well to exercise the profession of a periodical writer. Antiquities, however, constituted his favorite study, and in them his genius always appears to the greatest advantage. Even the most humorous of his pieces (Tony Selwood's letter (l)) derives its principal excellence from his knowledge of ancient customs.

(l) Chat. Misc.
p. 209.

In the volume of Miscellanies attributed to him, there are some pieces to which his title is not well ascertained. Some with the signature of Asaphides, are claimed by one Lockstone, a Linen-Draper, and a particular acquaintance of Chatterton; and the story of Maria Friendless, which Chatterton himself sent to the Town and Country Magazine, probably for the sake of obtaining an immediate and necessary supply of money, is almost a literal transcript of the letter of Misella in the Rambler.

If the reputation of Chatterton, however, rested solely on those works, which he acknowledged as his own, it would neither be so extensive as it is, nor probably so permanent as it is likely to continue. Rowley's poems have deservedly immortalized the name of Chatterton, and the controversy which their publication excited, is the most curious and extraordinary controversy, which, since the days of Bentley, has divided the literary world.

I have already noticed the manner in which these poems are said to have been discovered. The account which Chatterton himself gave of the supposed author is nearly as follows:

THOMAS ROWLEY was born at Norton Mal-seward in Somersetshire, and educated at the convent of St. Kenna, at Keynesham (m). He was of the clerical profession, was confessor to the two Canynge's, Robert and William, about the latter end of the reign of Henry the VIth, or about the beginning of that of Edward IV.; and was at least connected with our Lady's church in Bristol (n); though he is elsewhere styled the "parish priest of St. John's, in the city of Bristol (o)." After the death of Mr. Robert Canynge, (who at his brother's desire, bequeathed Rowley 100 marks) he was employed by that brother, Mr. William, to travel through a considerable part of England to collect drawings. Mr. Canynge was so well satisfied with his success, that he rewarded him with a purse of two hundred pounds, and promised him that he should never be in want. He continued afterwards the confidential friend of Canynge. He wrote a variety of poems, many of them addressed to that extraordinary character. He first lived in a house on the hill, and afterwards in one by the Tower (p): he survived his patron, and died at Westbury, in Gloucestershire (q). Such is Chatterton's account: but it is only fair to mention, that the existence of any such person as Rowley, is totally denied by the disputants on one side of the controversy.

(m) Note prefixed to "Ballade of Charitie." Rowley's poems, p. 203.

(n) Mem. of Sir W. Canynge, Chat. Misc. p. 122.

(o) Introd. to the Battle of Hastings, Rowley's poem, p. 21.

(p) Chat. Misc. p. 127 & 128.

(q) Rowley's Poems, p. 203.

There can, however, be no doubt concerning the existence of W. Canynge, the patron of Rowley, since it is attested by such a number of contemporary historians, and his remains lie interred in the church of which he was the founder. He is called by Chatterton, Sir William Canynge. He was the younger son of a citizen of Bristol, and in his youth afforded early prognostics of wisdom and ability. He was of a handsome person, and

Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When at Bute's feet poor Freedom lies,
Mark'd by the priest for sacrifice,
And doom'd a victim, for the sins
Of half the *outs*, and all the *ins*;
Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When Stewards pass a *boot* account,
And credit for the gross amount;
Then to replace exhausted store,
Mortgage the land to borrow more;
Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When scrutineers, for private ends,
Against the vote declare their friends;
Or judge, as you stand there alive,
That five is more than forty-five;
Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.

When George shall condescend to hear
The modest suit, the humble prayer;
A prince, to purpled pride unknown!
No favourites disgrace the throne!
Look up, ye Britons! sigh no more,
For your redemption's at the door.

When time shall bring your wish about,
Or, seven-years lease, *you sold*, is out;
No future contract to fulfil;
Your tenants holding at your will;
Raise up your heads! your right demand!
For your redemption's in your hand.

Then is your time to strike the blow,
And let the *slaves* of Mammon know,
Britain's true sons A BRIBE can scorn,
And die as *free* as they were born.
VIRTUE again shall take her seat,
And your redemption stand compleat.

married

married for love, without a fortune. Soon after his marriage, his father and his eldest brother (who both loved money as much as he despised it) died, and left him large estates in land and money, and his brother John dependent upon him, whom he placed in such an advantageous line of business, that he afterwards became Lord-Mayor of London.

This dawn of prosperity was, however, soon clouded by the death of his wife; to whose memory he afforded the most affectionate testimony, in rejecting the most splendid proposals for a second marriage. Of his native city he was Mayor five times; and in the year 1461, when Sir Baldwin Fulford was executed for treason, Canynge being then Mayor, pleaded for the criminal in vain. When he was knighted does not appear; but in the year 1467, a second marriage being proposed by the King, between him and one of the Widdeville, (the Queen's) family, Sir William went into holy orders purposely to avoid it; and was ordained Acolythe by his friend Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, the 19th of September. He was afterwards Dean of the Collegiate church of Westbury in Wilts. With his usual munificence he rebuilt that college, and died in the year 1474, with the universal character of learning and virtue. Among the proofs of his munificence there still exist an alms-house or hospital, with a chapel, and the beautiful church of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Bristol (r). At a great expense he had collected a cabinet of curiosities (s). His collection of manuscripts, among which were copies of his own and Rowley's poems, were deposited in a room in Redcliffe church: of the actual or pretended discovery of which I have already treated. Such is Chatterton's history of Canynge, in which, though there are some facts, which are amply confirmed, there are also several which are disputed by those who deny the authenticity of Rowley's poems.

(r) Story of W. Canynge, Rowley's poems, Ch. t. Miscel. p. 112 to 122.
(s) *Ibid.*

These poems, we have already seen, were produced by Chatterton at different times, who asserted that he had copied them from the fragments of those ancient parchments, which his father had procured from the Redcliffe chest. He could never be prevailed upon to produce any originals, except a few fragments, the largest not more than eight inches long, and four and a half wide. The writing on these fragments was at least a tolerable imitation of ancient manuscript, and the parchment or vellum had every mark of age. The only poetical originals which he produced were, the challenge to Lydgate, the song to Ella, and Lydgate's answer, all contained in one parchment; the account of W. Canynge's feast; the epitaph on Robert Canynge, and part of the story of W. Canynge. Besides these there are some prose compositions, and a few drawings, still in the hands of Mr. Barrett [CC].

The poems attributed to Rowley were first collected in an octavo volume, and published by Mr. Tyrwhitt, the learned editor of Chaucer. A very splendid edition was afterwards published in quarto, by the late Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, with a preliminary dissertation, and notes tending to prove that they were really written by Rowley and others in the 15th century.

The poetical merit of these pieces is considerable. The subjects are interesting, and infinite imagination is displayed in the construction of the plots or fables, in the arrangement of the incidents, and the delineation of the characters. The beauties of poetry are scattered through them with no sparing hand. The Lyric productions in particular, such as the chorusses in the Tragedies, abound with luxuriant description, most vivid imagery, and striking metaphors. Through the veil of ancient language a happy adaptation of

[CC] *Still in the hands of Mr. Barrett.*] A complete list of the original parchments, which were given to Mr. Barrett by Chatterton, and which he has now in his hands, was communicated by that Gentleman to Dr. Milles, and is as follows:

The Song to Ella, with the challenge to Lydgate and the Answer. This poem was sent by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is unfortunately lost.

Canynge's Feast, a Poem.

The first thirty-six lines of the Storie of William Canyne.

The following are Historical Prose Compositions.

1. The Yellow Roll, containing an account of the origin of coinage in England, and of the curiosities in Canynge's cabinet. This also was lent with the song to Ella, by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is lost.
2. The purple Roll, thirteen inches by ten, containing an account of particular Coins, and the second and third Sections of Turgotus's History of Bristol. N. B. The first Section above quoted is also extant in Chatterton's own hand, but the original does not appear.
3. Vita Burtoni, a parchment roll, about eight inches long, and four broad, very closely written; con-

taining an account of Sir Simon de Burton, and his rebuilding Redcliff church.

4. Knights Templars Church; a History of its foundation, &c.
5. St. Mary's Church of the Port; a History of it from its foundation, ending with the verses on Robert Canynge.
6. Roll of Bartholomew's Priory, with a List of the Priors.
7. An account of the Chapel and House of Calendars; a drawing of the chapel, and underneath an explanation of it.
8. Ella's Chappel. No drawing, except to the Kist of Ella, but there is an account of its foundation.
9. St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel. A drawing only.
10. Grey Friars Church. A drawing only.
11. Drawing of three monumental Inscriptions.
12. Ancient Monument and Rudhall: mere delineations.
13. Lesser and Greater St. John's: only a rude delineation.
14. Several Drawings of the Castle of Bristol.
15. Strong Hold of the Castle: a drawing and account of its foundation, by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and Site thereof.
16. Old Wall of Bristol; mere drawings.
17. Carne of Robert Curthoses Mynde in Castle steed: a drawing or figure, with the words *Carne*, &c. underneath (14).

(14) Milles's Rowley, p. 438.

words

words is still apparent, and a style both energetic and expressive. Contrary to almost all the poetical productions of the times, when they are supposed to have been composed, they are in general conspicuous for the harmony and elegance of the verse. Indeed, some passages are inferior in none of the essentials of poetry, to the most finished productions of modern times.

On the other hand, it must not be dissembled that some (and many will think no inconsiderable) part of the charm of these poems may probably result from the Gothic sublimity of the style. Whatever is vulgar in language is lost by time, and a small degree of obscurity in an ancient author gives a latitude to the fancy of the reader, who generally imagines the style to be more forcible and expressive than perhaps it intrinsically is. We gaze with wonder on an antique fabrick; and when novelty of thought is not to be obtained, the novelty of language to which we are unaccustomed, is frequently accepted as a substitute. Most poets therefore, at least such as have aspired to the sublime, have thrown their dialect at least a century behind the common prose, and colloquial phraseology of their time: nor can we entertain a doubt, but that even Shakespeare and Milton have derived advantages from the antique structure of some of their most admired passages. The facility of composition is also greatly increased where full latitude is permitted in the use of an obsolete dialect; since an author is indulged in the occasional use of both the old and the modern phraseology; and if the one does not supply him with the word for which he has immediate occasion, the other in all probability will not disappoint him.

That the subjects of Rowley's poems are in general interesting and well chosen, cannot, I think, be doubted by the judicious reader; but still it must be confessed, that the detail is occasionally heavy, flat, and insipid. The imagery and metaphors are frequently very common-place, and it is possible to labour through several stanzas without finding any striking beauty, when the attention of the reader is kept alive by the subject alone. Many defects of style, and many passages of rant and bombast are concealed or excused by the appearance of antiquity; and where the harmony of the verse (which indeed is not often the case) is, perhaps, radically deficient, we are inclined to attribute it to a different mode of accenting, or to our ignorance of the ancient pronunciation.

The piece of most conspicuous merit in the collection, is *Ella*, a Tragical Interlude, which is a complete and well-written tragedy. The plot is both interesting and full of variety, though the dialogue is in some places tedious. The character of *Celmonde* reminds us of *Glenalvon* in *Douglas*, but it is better drawn: His soliloquy is beautiful and characteristic [DD]. The first chorus, or "Mynstrelles Songe" in this piece, is a perfect pastoral. It abounds in natural and tender sentiments, and apposite imagery, and the fertility of the author's genius is displayed in this little ballad; since short as it is, it contains a complete plot or fable [EE].

There

[DD] *His soliloquy is beautiful and characteristic.*

C E L M O N D E.

Hope, hallie suster, sweepeynge thro' the skie,
In crowne of goulde, and robe of lillie whyte,
Whyche farre abrode ynne gentle ayre doe flie,
Meetyng from distaunce the enjoyous fyghte,
Albeyt thou takest thie hie flyghte
Heket yinne a myste, and wyth thyne eyne
yblente,
Nowe comest thou to mee wythe starrie lyghte;
Ontoe thie veste the rodde sonne ys adente;
The Sommer tyde, the month of Maie appere,
Depycte wythe skylledd honde upponn thie wyde
aumere.

I from a nete of hopelen am adawed,
Awhaped atte the fetyveness of daie;
Ælla, bie nete moe than hys myndbruche awed,
Is gone, and I m'le followe, toe the fraie.
Celmonde canne ne'er from anie byker staie.
Dothe warre begynne? there's Clemonde yn the
place.

Botte whanne the warre ys donne, I'll haste awaie.
The reste from nethe tymes masque must shew yttes
face.

I see onnumbered joies arounde mee ryse;
Blake stonde the future doome, and joie dothe mee
alyse.

O honnoure, honnoure, whatt ys bie thee hanne?
Hailie the robber and the bordelyer,
Who kens ne thee, or ys to thee bestanne,
And nothyng does thie myckle gaste fere.

Vol. IV.

Faynge woulde I from mie bosomme all thee tare.
Thou there dysperpellest thie levynne-bronde;
Whylest mie soulgh's forwyned, thou art the gare;
Sleene ys mie comforte bie thie ferie honde;
As somme talle hylle, whann wynds doe shake the
ground,
Itte kerveth all abroade, bie brasseyng hyltren
wounde.

Honnoure, whatt bee ytte? tys a shadowes shade,
A thyng of wychencref, an idle dreame;
On of the fonnis whych the clerche have made
Menne wydhoute sprytes, and wommen for to fleme;
Knyghtes, who este kenne the loude dynne of the
beme,
Schulde be forgarde to fyke enfeebyllyng waies,
Make everych acte, alyche theyr soules, be breme,
And for theyre chyvalrie alleynne have prayse.
O thou, whateer thie name,
Or Zabalus or Queed,
Comme, steel mie sable spryte,
For freinde and dolefalle dede.

[EE] *It contains a complete plot or fable.*

M A N N E.

Tourne thee to thie Shepster swayne;
Bryghte sonne has ne droncke the dewe
From the floures of yellowe hue;
Tourne thee, Alyce, backe agayne.

W O M A N N E.

No, bestoikerre, I wylle go,
Softlie tryppynge o'ere the mees,
Lyche the sylver-footed doe,
Seekynge shelter yn grene trees.

MANNE.

1 Wrapped close-
ly, covered.

2 Fastened.

3 Astonish'd.

4 Naked.

5 Scatterest.

6 Strange.

1 Shepherd

2 Deceiver

3 Meadows

There are extant two parts, or rather two different copies of the Battle of Hastings. These appear to have been higher in the estimation of Chatterton, as well as of Dr. Milles, than most of the other productions of Rowley. When Chatterton brought the first part to Mr. Barrett, being greatly pressed to produce the poem in the original hand-writing, he at last said, that he had written this poem himself for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then desired to produce that poem, he brought, after some time, to Mr. Barrett, the poem which is marked in Mr. Tyrwhit's and Dr. Milles's editions, as No. 2*.

(*) Introd. Account prefixed to Rowley's poems, p. 21.

The first of these poems I cannot help classing among the most inferior of Rowley's. The mere detail of violence and carnage, with nothing to interest curiosity, or engage the more tender passions, can be pleasing to few readers. There is not a single episode to enliven the tedious narrative, and but few of the beauties of poetry to relieve the mind from the disgusting subject.

The second part is far superior. There is more of poetical description in it, more of nature, more of character. The imagery is more animated, the incidents more varied. The character of Tancarville is well drawn, and the spirit of candour and humanity which pervades it, is perhaps unparalleled in any writer before the age of Shakespeare. The whole episode of Gyrtha is well conducted, and the altercation between him and his brother Harold, is interesting. But the description of morning [FF], and that of Salisbury plain [GG], would be alone sufficient to rescue the whole poem from oblivion, and

M A N N E.

See the moss-growne daisie'd banke,
Pereynge ynn the streame belowe:
Here we'lle fytt, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

W O M A N N E.

I've hearde erste mie grandame saie,
Yonge damoyelles schulde ne bee,
Inne the sworie moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

M A N N E.

Sytte thee, Alyce, fytt and harke,
Howe the ouzle + chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree⁵, greie morn larke,
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate;

4 The black-bird.
5 Goldfinch.

W O M A N N E.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte so blatauntlie⁶,
Tellynge lecturnyes⁷ to mee,
Myscheefe ys whanne you are nygh.

6 Loudly.
7 Lectures.

M A N N E.

See alonge the mees so giene
Pied daisies, kyng-coppes swote;
Alle wee fee, bie non bee scene,
Nette botte shepe settes here a fote.

W O M A N N E.

Shepster swayne, you tare mie gratche⁸.
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.
Leave mee swythe, or I'lle alatche.
Robynne, thys youre dame shall knowe.

8 Apparel.

M A N N E.

See! the crokyng brionie
Round the popler twyste hys spraie;
Round the oake the greene ivie
Florryschethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us feate us bie thys tree,
Laughe, and synge to lovyng ayres;
Comme, and doe notte coyen bee;
Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried cattes wylle after kynde;
Gentle doves wylle kys and coe:

W O M A N N E.

Botte manne, hee moſte bee ywrynde,
Tylle fyr preeſte make on of two.
Tempe mee ne to the foule thyng;
I wylle no mannes lemanne be;
Tyll fyr preeſte hys ſonge doethe ſynge,
Thou ſhalt neere fynde aught of mee.

M A N N E.

Bie oure ladie her yborne,
To-morrowe, ſoone as ytte ys daie,
I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forſworne,
So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

W O M A N N E.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
Wee attenes⁹, thos honde yn honde,
Unto diviniſtre¹⁰ goe,
And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde?

9 At once.
10 A divine.

M A N N E.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
Honde, and harte, and all that's myne;
Good fyr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
Make us one, at Cothbertes ſhyrne.

B O T H E.

We wylle ynn a bordelle¹¹ lyve,
Hailie, thoughte of no estate;
Everyche clocke moe love ſhall gyve;
Wee ynn godeneſſe wylle bee greate.

11 A cottage.

[FF] *The description of morning.*

AND now the greie-eyd morne with vi'lets drest,
Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
Fled with her rosie radiance to the West:
Forth from the Easterne gatte the fyerie ſteedes
Of the bright sunnie awaytynge ſpirits leedes:
The sunne, in fierie pompe enthroned on hie,
Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie gledes,
And ſcatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the ſkie:
He ſawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
And ſtopt his driving ſteeds, and hid his lyghtſome
raye.

[GG] *And that of Salisbury Plain.*

WHERE fruytleſs heathes and meadows cladde in
greie,
Save where derne hawthornes reare theyr humble
heade,
The hungrie traveller upon his waie
Sees a huge defarte all arounde hym ſpredde,
The diſtaunte citie ſcantlie to be ſpedde,
The curlyng force of ſmoke he ſees in vayne,
'Tis too far diſtaunte, and hys onlie bedde
Iwimpled in hys cloke ys on the playne,
Whyſte rattlyng thonder forrey oer his hedde,
And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie
bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes ſtandes,
Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,
It ne could be the worke of human handes,
It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the falſe god whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roastyng their vyctualle round aboute the
flame,

'Twas here that Hengyſt did the Brytons flee,
As they were mette in council for to bee.

to entitle it to a place upon a classic shelf. The utmost efforts of the author, however, cannot always impart interest or variety to the dull catalogue of names, which have ceased to be remembered, and the unvaried recital of wounds and deaths. But Homer himself nods when engaged upon a topic so unfavourable to genius.

The Bristowe Tragedy, or the Deathe of Syr Charles Bawdin, has little but its pathetic simplicity to recommend it. There is nothing ingenious in the plot, or striking in the execution; and it only ranks upon a par with a number of tragic ballads, both ancient and modern, in the same style.

The eclogues are to be accounted some of the most perfect specimens among the poems of Rowley. Indeed, I am not acquainted with any pastorals superior to them, either ancient or modern. The first of them bears a remote resemblance to the first eclogue of Virgil; and contains a beautiful and pathetic picture of the state of England, during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. The thoughts and images are all truly pastoral; and it is impossible to read it, without experiencing those lively, yet melancholy feelings, which a true delineation of nature alone can inspire. I cannot help feeling an irresistible inclination to present the reader with two stanzas, which have ever appeared to me particularly beautiful.

R A U F E.

- 1 The Devil.
2 Might.
3 Sweet.
5 Groves, sometimes used for a coppice.
6 Far-seen.
8 Violin.
9 Sounding.
11 Also.
13 Annoying.
14 To keep off.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
O! I've a tale that Sabalus¹ mote² telle.
Swote³ flouretts, mantled meedows, forestes dygne⁴;
Gravots⁵ far-kend⁶ arounde the Errmiets⁷ cell;
The swote ribible⁸ dynning⁹ yn the dell;
The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoastrie¹⁰ courte;
Eke¹¹ the highe songe and everych joie farewell,
Farewell the verie shade of fayre dysporte¹²:
Impestering¹³ trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde¹⁴ the aye¹⁵ encreasyng dome.

- 4 Good, neat, genteel.
7 Hermit.

- 10 Inn, or public house.

- 12 Pleasure.

- 15 Ever, always.

R O B E R T E.

- 17 Grafted trees.
19 Liberty of pasture given to the Parker.
20 Tender.
21 Cows.
23 Garden.
24 Whitened.
26 Marygold.
27 Hardened.
28 Accustomed.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kyngde-coppe-decked mees¹⁶,
Mie spreedyng flockes of shepe of lillie white,
Mie tendre applynges¹⁷, and embodyde¹⁸ trees,
Mie Parker's Grange¹⁹, far-spreedyng to the fyghte,
Mie cuyen²⁰ kyne²¹, mie bullockes stringe²² yn fyghte.
Mie gorne²³ emblaunched²⁴ with the comfreie²⁵ plante,
Mie floure²⁶ Seyncte Marie shotteyng wyth the lyghte,
Mie store of all the blessinges Heaven can grant.
I amme duresed²⁷ unto sorrowes blowe,
Ihanten'd²⁸ to the peyne, will lette ne falte teare flowe.

- 16 Meadows.

- 18 Thick, stout.

- 22 Strong.

- 25 Cumfrey, a favourite dish at that time.

The second eclogue is an eulogium on the actions of Richard I. in the Holy-land, which will be read with additional pleasure by those who have seen the short but spirited sketch of these wars in Mr. Gibbon's last volumes. The poem is supposed to be sung by a young shepherd, whose father is absent on the Holy war: and the Epode, or burthen, is happily imagined:

"Sprytes of the blest, and every seyncte ydedde,
"Pour out your pleasaunce on my fadre's hedde."

Before he has concluded his song, he is cheered by the sight of the vessel in which his father returns victorious.

The third pastoral is chiefly to be admired for its excellent morality. It is, however, enlivened by a variety of appropriate imagery, and many of the ornaments of true poetry.

The last of these pastorals, called Elinoure and Juga, is one of the finest pathetic tales I have ever read. The complaint of two young females lamenting their lovers slain in the wars of York and Lancaster, was one of the happiest subjects that could be chosen for a tragic pastoral. Two stanzas of this poem, will, I flatter myself, amply justify this opinion. Part of the former has been supposed, by the Anti-Rowleians, to be an imitation of a stanza in Mr. Gray's elegy,

"The breezy call of incense breathing morn, &c."

E L I N O U R E.

- 1 A small bagpipe.

- 2 In a confined sense, a bush or hedge, though sometimes used as a forest.

No moe the miskynette¹ shall wake the morne,
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblyng palfrie and the horne
Shall from the lesfel² rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie;
Alle nete amenge the gravde chyrche³ glebe will goe,
And to the passante Spryghtes lecture⁴ mie tale of woe.

- 3 Church-yard.

- 4 Relate.

JUGA.

There are extant two parts, or rather two different copies of the *Battle of Hastings*. These appear to have been higher in the estimation of Chatterton, as well as of Dr. Milles, than most of the other productions of Rowley. When Chatterton brought the first part to Mr. Barrett, being greatly pressed to produce the poem in the original hand-writing, he at last said, that he had written this poem himself for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then desired to produce that poem, he brought, after some time, to Mr. Barrett, the poem which is marked in Mr. Tyrwhit's and Dr. Milles's editions, as No. 2*.

(*) *Introd. Account prefixed to Rowley's poems, p. 21.*

The first of these poems I cannot help classing among the most inferior of Rowley's. The mere detail of violence and carnage, with nothing to interest curiosity, or engage the more tender passions, can be pleasing to few readers. There is not a single episode to enliven the tedious narrative, and but few of the beauties of poetry to relieve the mind from the disgusting subject.

The second part is far superior. There is more of poetical description in it, more of nature, more of character. The imagery is more animated, the incidents more varied. The character of Tancarville is well drawn, and the spirit of candour and humanity which pervades it, is perhaps unparalleled in any writer before the age of Shakespeare. The whole episode of Gyrtha is well conducted, and the altercation between him and his brother Harold, is interesting. But the description of morning [FF], and that of Salisbury plain [GG], would be alone sufficient to rescue the whole poem from oblivion, and

M A N N E.

See the moss-growne daisiey'd banke,
Pereynge ynne the streame belowe:
Here we'lle sytte, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

W O M A N N E.

I've hearde erste mie grandame saie,
Yonge damoyelles schulde ne bee,
Inne the swote moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

M A N N E.

Sytte thee, Alyce, sytte and harke,
Howe the ouzle⁴ chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree⁵, greie morn larke,
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate;

4 The black-bird.
5 Goldfinch.

W O M A N N E.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte so blatauntlie⁶,
Tellynge lecturnyes⁷ to mee,
Myscheefe ys whanne you are nygh.

6 Loudly.
7 Lectures.

M A N N E.

See alonge the mees so giene
Pied daisies, kyng-coppes swote;
Alle wee see, bie non bee scene,
Nete botte shepe fettes here a fote.

W O M A N N E.

Shepster fwayne, you tare mie gratche⁸.
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.
Leave mee swythe, or I'lle alatche.
Robynne, thys youre dame shall knowe.

8 Apparel.

M A N N E.

See! the crokyng brionie
Round the popler twyfte hys sprae;
Round the oake the greene ivie
Florryschethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us feate us bie thys tree,
Laughe, and synge to lovyng ayres;
Comme, and doe notte coyen bee;
Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried cattes wylle after kynde;
Gentle doves wylle kys and coe:

W O M A N N E.

Botte manne, hee mozte bee ywrynde,
Tylle fyr preefte make on of two.
Tempe mee ne to the foule thyng;
I wylle no mannes lemanne be;
Tyll fyr preefte hys songe doethe synge,
Thou shalt neere fynde aught of mee.

M A N N E.

Bie oure ladie her yborne,
To-morrowe, soone as ytte ys daie,
I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forsworne,
So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

W O M A N N E.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
Wee attenes⁹, thos honde yn honde,
Unto divinillre¹⁰ goe,
And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde?

9 At once.
10 A divine.

M A N N E.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
Honde, and harte, and all that's myne;
Good fyr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
Make us one, at Cothbertes shryne.

B O T H E.

We wylle ynn a bordelle¹¹ lyve,
Hailie, thoughte of no estate;
Everyche clocke moe love shall gyve;
Wee ynn godeneffe wylle bee greate.

11 A cottage.

[FF] *The description of morning.*

AND now the greie-eyd morne with vi'lets drest,
Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
Fled with her rosie radiance to the West:
Forth from the Easterne gatte the fyerie steedes
Of the bright sunne awaytynge spirits leedes:
The sunne, in fierie pompe enthroned on hie,
Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie glees,
And scatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the skie:
He sawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
And stopt his driving steeds, and hid his lyghtsome raye.

[GG] *And that of Salisbury Plain.*

WHERE fruytles heathes and meadows cladde in
greie,
Save where derne hawthornes reare theyr humble
heade,
The hungrie traveller upon his waie
Sees a huge defarte all arounde hym spredde,
The distaunte citie scantlie to be spedde,
The curlyng force of smoke he sees in vayne,
'Tis too far distaunte, and hys onlie bedde
Iwimpled in hys cloke ys on the playne,
Whylste rattlyng thonder forrey oer his hedde,
And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie
bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes standes,
Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,
It ne could be the worke of human handes,
It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the false god whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roastyng their vyctualle round aboute the
flame,
'Twas here that Hengyst did the Brytons flee,
As they were mette in council for to bee.

to entitle it to a place upon a classic shelf. The utmost efforts of the author, however, cannot always impart interest or variety to the dull catalogue of names, which have ceased to be remembered, and the unvaried recital of wounds and deaths. But Homer himself nods when engaged upon a topic so unfavourable to genius.

The Bristowe Tragedy, or the Deathe of Syr Charles Bawdin, has little but its pathetic simplicity to recommend it. There is nothing ingenious in the plot, or striking in the execution; and it only ranks upon a par with a number of tragic ballads, both ancient and modern, in the same style.

The eclogues are to be accounted some of the most perfect specimens among the poems of Rowley. Indeed, I am not acquainted with any pastorals superior to them, either ancient or modern. The first of them bears a remote resemblance to the first eclogue of Virgil; and contains a beautiful and pathetic picture of the state of England, during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. The thoughts and images are all truly pastoral; and it is impossible to read it, without experiencing those lively, yet melancholy feelings, which a true delineation of nature alone can inspire. I cannot help feeling an irresistible inclination to present the reader with two stanzas, which have ever appeared to me particularly beautiful.

R A U F E.

- 1 The Devil.
2 Might.
3 Sweet.
4 Groves, sometimes used for a coppice.
5 Far-seen.
6 Violin.
7 Sounding.
8 Also.
9 Annoying.
10 To keep off.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
O! I've a tale that Sabalus¹ mote² telle.
Swote³ flouretts, mantled meadows, forestes dygne⁴;
Gravots⁵ far-kend⁶ arounde the Errimiets⁷ cell;
The swote ribible⁸ dynning⁹ yn the dell;
The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoastrie¹⁰ courte;
Eke¹¹ the highe songe and everych joie farewell,
Farewell the verie shade of fayre dysporte¹²:
Impestering¹³ trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde¹⁴ the aye¹⁵ encreasynge dome.

- 4 Good, neat, genteel.
7 Hermit.

- 10 Inn, or public house.

- 12 Pleasure.

- 15 Ever, always.

R O B E R T E.

- 17 Grafted trees.
19 Liberty of pasture given to the Parker.
20 Tender.
21 Cows.
22 Garden.
23 Whitened.
24 Marygold.
25 Hardened.
26 Accustomed.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kynge-coppe-decked mees¹⁶,
Mie spreedyng flockes of shepe of lillie white,
Mie tendre applynges¹⁷, and embodyde¹⁸ trees,
Mie Parker's Grange¹⁹, far-spreedyng to the fyghte,
Mie cuyen²⁰ kyne²¹, mie bullockes stringe²² yn fyghte.
Mie gorne²³ emblaunched²⁴ with the comfreie²⁵ plante,
Mie floure²⁶ Seyncte Marie shotteyng wyth the lyghte,
Mie store of all the blessinges Heaven can grant.
I amme dureffed²⁷ unto sorrowes blowe,
Ihanten'd²⁸ to the peyne, will lette ne salte teare flowe.

- 16 Meadows.

- 18 Thick, stout.

- 21 Strong.

- 25 Cumfrey, a favourite dish at that time.

The second eclogue is an eulogium on the actions of Richard I. in the Holy-land, which will be read with additional pleasure by those who have seen the short but spirited sketch of these wars in Mr. Gibbon's last volumes. The poem is supposed to be sung by a young shepherd, whose father is absent on the Holy war: and the Epode, or burthen, is happily imagined:

"Sprytes of the blest, and every seyncte ydedde,
"Pour out your pleasaunce on my fadre's hedde."

Before he has concluded his song, he is cheered by the sight of the vessel in which his father returns victorious.

The third pastoral is chiefly to be admired for its excellent morality. It is, however, enlivened by a variety of appropriate imagery, and many of the ornaments of true poetry.

The last of these pastorals, called Elinoure and Juga, is one of the finest pathetic tales I have ever read. The complaint of two young females lamenting their lovers slain in the wars of York and Lancaster, was one of the happiest subjects that could be chosen for a tragic pastoral. Two stanzas of this poem, will, I flatter myself, amply justify this opinion. Part of the former has been supposed, by the Anti-Rowleians, to be an imitation of a stanza in Mr. Gray's elegy,

"The breezy call of incense breathing morn, &c."

E L I N O U R E.

- 1 A small bagpipe.

- 2 In a confined sense, a bush or hedge, though sometimes used as a forest.

No moe the miskynette¹ shall wake the morne,
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblyng palfrie and the horne
Shall from the lesfel² rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll feke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie;
Alle nete amenge the gravde chyrche³ glebe will goe,
And to the passante Spryghtes lecture⁴ mie tale of woe.

- 3 Church-yard.

- 4 Relate.

JUGA.

There are extant two parts, or rather two different copies of the Battle of Hastings. These appear to have been higher in the estimation of Chatterton, as well as of Dr. Milles, than most of the other productions of Rowley. When Chatterton brought the first part to Mr. Barrett, being greatly pressed to produce the poem in the original hand-writing, he at last said, that he had written this poem himself for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then desired to produce that poem, he brought, after some time, to Mr. Barrett, the poem which is marked in Mr. Tyrwhit's and Dr. Milles's editions, as No. 2*.

(*) Introd. Account prefixed to Rowley's poems, p. 21.

The first of these poems I cannot help classing among the most inferior of Rowley's. The mere detail of violence and carnage, with nothing to interest curiosity, or engage the more tender passions, can be pleasing to few readers. There is not a single episode to enliven the tedious narrative, and but few of the beauties of poetry to relieve the mind from the disgusting subject.

The second part is far superior. There is more of poetical description in it, more of nature, more of character. The imagery is more animated, the incidents more varied. The character of Tancarville is well drawn, and the spirit of candour and humanity which pervades it, is perhaps unparalleled in any writer before the age of Shakespeare. The whole episode of Gyrtha is well conducted, and the altercation between him and his brother Harold, is interesting. But the description of morning [FF], and that of Salisbury plain [GG], would be alone sufficient to rescue the whole poem from oblivion, and

M A N N E.

See the moss-growne daisey'd banke,
Pereynge ynne the streame belowe:
Here we'lle sytte, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

W O M A N N E.

I've hearde erste mie grandame saie,
Yonge damoysselles schulde ne bee,
Inne the swote moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

M A N N E.

Sytte thee, Alyce, sytte and harke,
Howe the ouzle⁴ chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree⁵, greie morn larke,
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate;

W O M A N N E.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte so blataunlie⁶,
Tellynge lecturnyes⁷ to mee,
Myscheefe ys whanne you are nygh.

M A N N E.

See alonge the mees so grene
Pied daisies, kyng-coppes swote;
Alle wee see, bie non bee scene,
Nette botte shepe settes here a fote.

W O M A N N E.

Shepster fwayne, you tare mie gratche⁸.
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.
Leave mee swythe, or I'lle alatche.
Robynne, thys youre dame shall knowe.

M A N N E.

See! the crokyng brionie
Round the popler twyfte hys sprae;
Round the oake the greene ivie
Florryschethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us feate us bie thys tree,
Laughe, and synge to lovyng ayres;
Comme, and doe notte coyen bee;
Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried cattes wylle after kynde;
Gentle doves wylle kyfs and coe:

W O M A N N E.

Botte manne, hee moſte bee ywrynde,
Tylle fyr preeste make on of two.
Tempe mee ne to the foule thynges;
I wylle no mannes lemanne be;
Tyll fyr preeste hys songe doethe synge,
Thou shalt neere fynde aught of mee.

M A N N E.

Bie oure ladie her yborne,
To-morrowe, soone as ytte ys daie,
I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forsworne,
So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

W O M A N N E.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
Wee attenes⁹, thos honde yn honde,
Unto divinistre¹⁰ goe,
And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde?

M A N N E.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
Honde, and harte, and all that's myne;
Good fyr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
Make us one, at Cothbertes shryne.

B O T H E.

We wylle ynn a bordelle¹¹ lyve,
Hailie, thoughe of no estate;
Everyche clocke moe love shall gyve;
Wee ynn godenesse wylle bee greate.

[FF] *The description of morning.*

AND now the greie-eyd morne with vi'lets drest,
Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
Fled with her rosie radiance to the West:
Forth from the Easterne gatte the fyerie steedes
Of the bright sunne awaytynge spirits leedes:
The sunne, in fierie pompe enthroned on hie,
Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie gledes,
And scatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the skie:
He sawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
And stopt his driving steeds, and hid his lyghtsome
raye.

[GG] *And that of Salisbury Plain.*

WHERE fruytless heathes and meadows cladde in
greie,
Save where derne hawthornes reare theyr humble
heade,
The hungrie traveller upon his waie
Sees a huge defarte all arounde hym spredde,
The distaunte citie scantlie to be spedde,
The curlyng force of smoke he sees in vayne,
'Tis too far distaunte, and hys onlie bedde
Iwimpled in hys cloke ys on the playne,
Whylste rattlyng thonder forrey oer his hedde,
And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie
bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes standes,
Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,
It ne could be the worke of human handes,
It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the false god whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roastyng their vyctualle round aboute the
flame,
'Twas here that Hengyft did the Brytons flee,
As they were mette in council for to bee.

⁴ The black-bird.
⁵ Goldfinch.

⁶ Loudly.
⁷ Lectures.

⁸ Apparel.

⁹ At once.
¹⁰ A dirge.

¹¹ A cottage.

to entitle it to a place upon a classic shelf. The utmost efforts of the author, however, cannot always impart interest or variety to the dull catalogue of names, which have ceased to be remembered, and the unvaried recital of wounds and deaths. But Homer himself nods when engaged upon a topic so unfavourable to genius.

The Bristowe Tragedy, or the Deathe of Syr Charles Bawdin, has little but its pathetic simplicity to recommend it. There is nothing ingenious in the plot, or striking in the execution; and it only ranks upon a par with a number of tragic ballads, both ancient and modern, in the same style.

The eclogues are to be accounted some of the most perfect specimens among the poems of Rowley. Indeed, I am not acquainted with any pastorals superior to them, either ancient or modern. The first of them bears a remote resemblance to the first eclogue of Virgil; and contains a beautiful and pathetic picture of the state of England, during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. The thoughts and images are all truly pastoral; and it is impossible to read it, without experiencing those lively, yet melancholy feelings, which a true delineation of nature alone can inspire. I cannot help feeling an irresistible inclination to present the reader with two stanzas, which have ever appeared to me particularly beautiful.

R A U F E.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
O! I've a tale that Sabalus¹ mote² telle.
Swote³ flouretts, mantled meadows, forestes dygne⁴;
Gravots⁵ far-kend⁶ arounde the Errmiets⁷ cell;
The swote ribible⁸ dynning⁹ yn the dell;
The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoastrie¹⁰ courte;
Eke¹¹ the highe songe and everych joie farewell,
Farewell the verie shade of fayre dysporte¹²:
Impestering¹³ trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde¹⁴ the aye¹⁵ encreasynge dome.

R O B E R T E.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kyng-coppe-decked mees¹⁶,
Mie spreedyng flockes of shepe of lillie white,
Mie tendre applynges¹⁷, and embodye¹⁸ trees,
Mie Parker's Grange¹⁹, far-spreedyng to the syghte,
Mie cuyen²⁰ kyne²¹, mie bullockes stringe²² yn fyghte.
Mie gorne²³ emblaunched²⁴ with the comfreie²⁵ plante,
Mie floure²⁶ Seyncte Marie shotteyng wyth the lyghte,
Mie store of all the blessinges Heaven can grant.
I amme duresed²⁷ unto sorrowes blowe,
Ihanten'd²⁸ to the peyne, will lette ne salte teare flowe.

The second eclogue is an eulogium on the actions of Richard I. in the Holy land, which will be read with additional pleasure by those who have seen the short but spirited sketch of these wars in Mr. Gibbon's last volumes. The poem is supposed to be sung by a young shepherd, whose father is absent on the Holy war: and the Epode, or burthen, is happily imagined:

"Sprytes of the blest, and every feyncte ydedde,
"Pour out your pleasaunce on my fadre's hedde."

Before he has concluded his song, he is cheered by the sight of the vessel in which his father returns victorious.

The third pastoral is chiefly to be admired for its excellent morality. It is, however, enlivened by a variety of appropriate imagery, and many of the ornaments of true poetry.

The last of these pastorals, called Elinoure and Juga, is one of the finest pathetic tales I have ever read. The complaint of two young females lamenting their lovers slain in the wars of York and Lancaster, was one of the happiest subjects that could be chosen for a tragic pastoral. Two stanzas of this poem, will, I flatter myself, amply justify this opinion. Part of the former has been supposed, by the Anti-Rowleians, to be an imitation of a stanza in Mr. Gray's elegy,

"The breezy call of incense breathing morn, &c."

E L I N O U R E.

No moe the miskynette¹ shall wake the morne,
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblyng palfrie and the horne
Shall from the lesfel² rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll feke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie;
Alle nete amenge the gravde chyrche³ glebe will goe,
And to the passante Spryghtes lecture⁴ mie tale of woe.

¹ Church-yard.

⁴ Relate.

JUGA.

- ¹ The Devil.
² Might.
³ Sweet.
⁴ Groves, sometimes used for a coppice.
⁵ Far-seen.
⁶ Violin.
⁷ Sounding.
⁸ Also.
⁹ Annoying.
¹⁰ To keep off.

- ¹⁷ Grafted trees.
¹⁹ Liberty of pasture given to the Parker.
²⁰ Tender.
²¹ Cows.
²² Garden.
²³ Whitened.
²⁴ Marygold.
²⁵ Hardened.
²⁶ Accustomed.

⁴ Good, neat, genteel.
⁷ Hermit.

¹⁰ Inn, or public house.

¹² Pleasure.

¹⁵ Ever, always.

¹⁶ Meadows.

¹⁸ Thick, stout.

²¹ Strong.

²⁵ Cumfrey, a favourite dish at that time.

¹ A small bagpipe.

² In a confined sense, a bush or hedge, though sometimes used as a forest.

There are extant two parts, or rather two different copies of the Battle of Hastings. These appear to have been higher in the estimation of Chatterton, as well as of Dr. Milles, than most of the other productions of Rowley. When Chatterton brought the first part to Mr. Barrett, being greatly pressed to produce the poem in the original hand-writing, he at last said, that he had written this poem himself for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then desired to produce that poem, he brought, after some time, to Mr. Barrett, the poem which is marked in Mr. Tyrwhit's and Dr. Milles's editions, as No. 2*.

(*) Introd. Account prefixed to Rowley's poems, p. 21.

The first of these poems I cannot help classing among the most inferior of Rowley's. The mere detail of violence and carnage, with nothing to interest curiosity, or engage the more tender passions, can be pleasing to few readers. There is not a single episode to enliven the tedious narrative, and but few of the beauties of poetry to relieve the mind from the disgusting subject.

The second part is far superior. There is more of poetical description in it, more of nature, more of character. The imagery is more animated, the incidents more varied. The character of Tancarville is well drawn, and the spirit of candour and humanity which pervades it, is perhaps unparalleled in any writer before the age of Shakespeare. The whole episode of Gyrtha is well conducted, and the altercation between him and his brother Harold, is interesting. But the description of morning [FF], and that of Salisbury plain [GG], would be alone sufficient to rescue the whole poem from oblivion, and

M A N N E.

See the moss-growne daisie'd banke,
Pereynge ynne the streame belowe:
Here we'lle sytte, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

W O M A N N E.

I've hearde erste mie grandame saie,
Yonge damoysselles schulde ne bee,
Inne the swotic moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

M A N N E.

Sytte thee, Alyce, sytte and harke,
Howe the ouzle + chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree⁵, greie morn larke,
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate;

W O M A N N E.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte so blatauntlie⁶,
Tellynge lecturnes⁷ to mee,
Myfcheefe ys whanne you are nygh.

M A N N E.

See alonge the mees so grene
Pied daisies, kyng-coppes swote;
Alle wee see, bie non bee scene,
Nete botte shepe fettes here a fote.

W O M A N N E.

Shepster swayne, you tare mie gratche⁸.
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.
Leave mee swythe, or I'lle alatche.
Robynne, thys youre dame shall knowe.

M A N N E.

See! the crokyng brionie
Round the popler twyfte hys spraie;
Round the oake the greene ivie
Florryschethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us seate us bie thys tree,
Laughe, and synge to lovyng ayres;
Comme, and doe notte coyen bee;
Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried cattes wylle after kynde;
Gentle doves wylle kys and coe:

W O M A N N E.

Botte manne, hee moiste bee ywrynde,
Tylle syr preefte make on of two.
Tempe mee ne to the foule thyng;
I wylle no mannes lemanne be;
Tyll syr preefte hys songe doethe synge,
Thou shalt neere synde aught of mee.

M A N N E.

Bie oure ladie her yborne,
To-morrowe, soone as ytte ys daie,
I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forsworne,
So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

W O M A N N E.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
Wee attenes⁹, thos honde yn honde,
Unto divinistre¹⁰ goe,
And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde?

M A N N E.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
Honde, and harte, and all that's myne;
Good syr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
Make us one, at Cothbertes shryne.

B O T H E.

We wylle ynn a bordelle¹¹ lyve,
Hailie, thoughte of no estate;
Everyche clocke moe love shall gyve;
Wee ynn godenesse wylle bee greate.

[FF] *The description of morning.*

AND now the greie-eyd morne with vi'lets drest,
Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
Fled with her rosie radiance to the West:
Forth from the Easterne gatte the fyerie steedes
Of the bright sunne awaytynge spirits leedes:
The sunne, in fierie pompe enthroned on hie,
Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie gledes,
And scatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the skie:
He sawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
And stopt his driving steeds, and hid his lyghtsome
raye.

[GG] *And that of Salisbury Plain.*

WHERE fruytless heathes and meadows cladde in
greie,
Save where derne hawthornes reare theyr humble
heade,
The hungrie traveller upon his waie
Sees a huge defarte all arounde hym spredde,
The distaunte citie scantlie to be spedde,
The curlyng force of smoke he sees in vayne,
'Tis too far distaunte, and hys onlie bedde
Iwimpled in hys cloke ys on the playne,
Whylste rattlyng thonder forrey oer his hedde,
And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie
bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes standes,
Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,
It ne could be the worke of human handes,
It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the false god whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roastyng their vycualle round aboute the
flame,
'Twas here that Hengyst did the Brytons flee,
As they were mette in council for to bee.

4 The black-
bird.
5 Goldfinch.

6 Loudly.
7 Lectures.

8 Apparel.

9 At once.
10 A divine.

11 A cottage.

to entitle it to a place upon a classic shelf. The utmost efforts of the author, however, cannot always impart interest or variety to the dull catalogue of names, which have ceased to be remembered, and the unvaried recital of wounds and deaths. But Homer himself nods when engaged upon a topic so unfavourable to genius.

The Bristowe Tragedy, or the Deathe of Syr Charles Bawdin, has little but its pathetic simplicity to recommend it. There is nothing ingenious in the plot, or striking in the execution; and it only ranks upon a par with a number of tragic ballads, both ancient and modern, in the same style.

The eclogues are to be accounted some of the most perfect specimens among the poems of Rowley. Indeed, I am not acquainted with any pastorals superior to them, either ancient or modern. The first of them bears a remote resemblance to the first eclogue of Virgil; and contains a beautiful and pathetic picture of the state of England, during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. The thoughts and images are all truly pastoral; and it is impossible to read it, without experiencing those lively, yet melancholy feelings, which a true delineation of nature alone can inspire. I cannot help feeling an irresistible inclination to present the reader with two stanzas, which have ever appeared to me particularly beautiful.

R A U F E.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
O! I've a tale that Sabalus¹ mote² telle.
Swote³ flouretts, mantled meedows, forestes dygne⁴;
Gravots⁵ far-kend⁶ arounde the Errmiets⁷ cell;
The swote ribible⁸ dynning⁹ yn the dell;
The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoastrie¹⁰ courte;
Eke¹¹ the highe songe and everych joie farewell,
Farewell the verie shade of fayre dysporte¹²:
Impestering¹³ trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde¹⁴ the aye¹⁵ encreasynge dome.

- ¹ The Devil.
² Might.
³ Sweet.
⁴ Groves, sometimes used for a coppice.
⁵ Far-seen.
⁶ Violin.
⁷ Sounding.
⁸ Also.
⁹ Annoying.
¹⁰ To keep off.

- ⁴ Good, neat, genteel.
⁷ Hermit.
¹⁰ Inn, or public house.
¹² Pleasure.
¹⁵ Ever, always.

R O B E R T E.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kyngge-coppe-decked mees¹⁶,
Mie spreedyng flockes of shepe of lillie white,
Mie tendre applynges¹⁷, and embodyde¹⁸ trees,
Mie Parker's Grange¹⁹, far-spreedyng to the fyghte,
Mie cuyen²⁰ kyne²¹, mie bullockes stringe²² yn fyghte.
Mie gorne²³ emblaunched²⁴ with the comfreie²⁵ plante,
Mie floure²⁶ Seyncte Marie shotteyng wyth the lyghte,
Mie store of all the blessinges Heaven can grant.
I amme duresed²⁷ unto sorrowes blowe,
Ihanten'd²⁸ to the peyne, will lette ne salte teare flowe.

- ¹⁷ Grafted trees.
¹⁹ Liberty of pasture given to the Parker.
²⁰ Tender.
²¹ Cows.
²² Garden.
²³ Whiteness.
²⁴ Marygold.
²⁵ Hardened.
²⁶ Accustomed.

- ¹⁶ Meadows.
¹⁸ Thick, stout.
²¹ Strong.
²⁵ Cumfrey, a favourite dish at that time.

The second eclogue is an eulogium on the actions of Richard I. in the Holy-land, which will be read with additional pleasure by those who have seen the short but spirited sketch of these wars in Mr. Gibbon's last volumes. The poem is supposed to be sung by a young shepherd, whose father is absent on the Holy war: and the Epode, or burthen, is happily imagined:

"Sprytes of the blest, and every feyncte ydedde,
"Pour out your pleasaunce on my fadre's hedde."

Before he has concluded his song, he is cheered by the sight of the vessel in which his father returns victorious.

The third pastoral is chiefly to be admired for its excellent morality. It is, however, enlivened by a variety of appropriate imagery, and many of the ornaments of true poetry.

The last of these pastorals, called Elinoure and Juga, is one of the finest pathetic tales I have ever read. The complaint of two young females lamenting their lovers slain in the wars of York and Lancaster, was one of the happiest subjects that could be chosen for a tragic pastoral. Two stanzas of this poem, will, I flatter myself, amply justify this opinion. Part of the former has been supposed, by the Anti-Rowleians, to be an imitation of a stanza in Mr. Gray's elegy,

"The breezy call of incense breathing morn, &c."

E L I N O U R E.

No moe the miskynette¹ shall wake the morne,
The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblyng palfrie and the horne
Shall from the lesfel² rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie;
Alle nete amenge the gravde chyrche³ glebe will goe,
And to the passante Spryghtes lecture⁴ mie tale of woe.

- ¹ A small bagpipe.

- ² In a confined sense, a bush or hedge, though sometimes used as a forest.

- ³ Church-yard.
⁴ Relate.

J U G A.

J U G A.

⁵ Black.⁶ Decreeing.⁷ Happiness.

Whan mokie ⁵ cloudis do hange upon the leme
 Of leden ⁶ Moon, ynn sylver mantels dyghte;
 The tryppeynge Faeries weve the golden dreme
 Of Selyness ⁷, whyche flyethe wythe the nyghte;
 Thenne (botte the Seynctes forbydde!) gif to a spryte
 Syrr Rychardes forme ys lyped, I'll holde dysstraughte
 Hys bledeynge claie-colde corse, and die eche daie ynn thoughte.

The ballad of Charity is an imitation of the most beautiful and affecting of our Saviour's parables, the good Samaritan.—The poetical descriptions are truly picturesque. We feel the horror of the dark, cold night; we see "the big drops fall," and the "full flocks driving o'er the plain." "The welkin opens, and the yellow light'ning flies." "The thunder's rattling found moves slowly on, and swelling, bursts into a violent crash; shakes the high spire," &c. If Chatterton were really the author of this poem, he probably alluded to his own deserted situation, since, it is said, he gave it to the publisher of the Town and Country Magazine, only a month before his death:

¹ The grave.³ Coffin.⁵ Among.

"Hafte to thie church-glebe house ¹ ashrewed ² manne!

"Hafte to thie kiste ³, thie only dortouse ⁴ bedde.

"Cale as the claie, whiche will gre on thie hedde,

"Is charitie and love aminge ⁵ highe elves;

"Knights and barons live for pleasure and themselves."

² Unfortunate.⁴ A sleeping room.

The lesser pieces in this collection are not without merit. There is much elegant satire in the two epistles to Canynge prefixed to Ella [HH]; and some strokes of pleasantry in the "Storie of Canynge."

As a complete specimen of this author's abilities in Lyric composition, it is only necessary to cite the incomparable Ode or Chorus in Goddwyn, a tragedy, which he has left imperfect.

CHORUS, &c.

When Freedome, dreste yn blodde-steyned veste,

To everie knyghte her warre-songe funge,

Uponne her hedde wylde wedes were spredde;

A gorie anlace bye her honge.

She daunced onne the heathe;

She hearde the voice of deathe;

[HH] In the two Epistles to Canynge prefixed to Ella.]

I have selected the first of these epistles as a specimen of the satiric powers of Rowley.

¹ Hid, concealed.² Law.³ Painted.⁴ Much.⁵ Hurt, damage.⁶ Sweetly.

'Tys songe bie mynstrelles, thatte yn auntyent tym,

Whan Reasonn hylt ¹ herselfe in cloude of nyghte,

The preeste delyvered alle the lege ² yn rhym;

Lyche peyncted ³ tyltynge speares to please the

fyghte, The whyche yn yttes felle use doe make moke ⁴

dere ⁵, Syke dyd theire auntyante lee deftlie ⁶ delyghte the

eare.

⁷ Cause.⁸ Oft.⁹ Holy.¹⁰ Rake, lewd¹¹ person.¹² Humble.¹³ Adder.¹⁴ Hurt, damage.¹⁵ Learning.¹⁶ Knows.¹⁷ Plucks or¹⁸ tortures.¹⁹ Knowledge.

Perchaunce yn Vyrtues gare ⁷ rhym mote bee

thienne, Butte este ⁸ nowe flyeth to the odher syde;

In hallie ⁹ preeste apperes the ribaudes ¹⁰ penne,

Inne lithe ¹¹ moncke apperes the barrannes pryde:

But rhym wythe somme, as nedere ¹² without

teethe, Make pleasaunce to the sence, botte maie do lyttel

scathe ¹³. Syr Johne, a knyghte, who hath a barne of lore ¹⁴,

Kenns ¹⁵ Latyn att fyrst fyghte from Frenche or Greke.

Pyghethe ¹⁶ hys knowlacheinge ¹⁷ ten yeres or more,

To ryngge upon the Latynne worde to speke.

Whoever spekethe Englysch ys despysed,

The Englysch hym to please moite fyrste be latynized.

¹⁸ A service¹⁹ used over the²⁰ dead.²¹ Peasant.

Vevyan, a moncke, good a requiem ¹⁸ synges;

Can preache so wele, eche hynde ¹⁹ hys meneynge

knowes;

Albeytte these gode guyfts awaie he flynges,

Beeynge as badde yn vearse as goode yn prose.

Hee synges of seynctes who dyed for yer Godde,

Everych wynter nyghte afresche he sheddes theyr

blodde.

To maydens, huswyfes, and unlored ²⁰ dames,

Hee redes hys tales of merrymment & woe.

Loughe ²¹ loudie dymeth ²² from the dolte ²³

adrames ²⁴;

He swelles on laudes of fooles, tho' kennes ²⁵ hem

foe.

Sommetyme at tragedie theie laughe and syngge,

At merrie yaped ²⁶ fage ²⁷ fomme hard-drayned water

bryngge.

Yette Vevyan ys ne foole, beyinde ²⁸ hys lynes.

Geofroie makes vearse, as handycrafts theyr ware;

Wordes wythoute sence fulle groffyngele ²⁹ he

twynes,

Cotteynge hys storie off as wythe a sheere;

Waytes monthes on nothyngge, & hys storie donne,

Ne moe you from ytte kenn, than gyf ³⁰ you neere ³¹ if.

begonne.

Enowe of odhers; of miefelfe to write,

Requyrnge whatt I doe notte nowe possesse,

To you I leave the taske; I kenné your myghte

Wyll make mie faultes, mie meynthe ³² of faultes, ³³ Many.

be lefs.

ÆLLA wythe thys I sende, and hope that you

Wylle from ytte caste awaie, whatte lynes maie be

untrue.

Playes made from hallie ³⁴ tales I holde unmeete;

Lette somme greate storie of a manne be songe;

Whanne, as a manne, we Godde and Jesus treate,

In mie pore mynde, we doe the Godhedde wronge.

Botte lette ne wordes, whyche ³⁵ droorie mote ne

heare,

Bee placed yn the same. Adieu untill anere ³⁶.

²⁰ Unlearned.²¹ Laugh.²² Sounds.²³ Foolish.²⁴ Churls.²⁵ Knows.²⁶ Laughable.²⁷ Tale, jest.²⁸ Beyond.²⁹ Foolishly.³⁰ If.³¹ Many.³² Holy.³³ Strange per-³⁴ version of words.³⁵ Drooris in its an-³⁶ cient significa-³⁷ tion stood for³⁸ modesty.³⁹ Another.

THOMAS ROWLEIE.

Pale-

2 Endevoured.

3 Undismayed.

4 Armed,

pointed.

5 Hoisted on

high, raised.

6 Foes, enemies.

7 Fly.

8 Head.

10 Like.

11 Two.

12 Flaming.

14 Beats, stamps.

15 Closely.

16 Mantled, covered.

17 Guides.

20 Helmet.

Pale-eyned affryghte, hys harte of sylver hue,
In vayne assayled ¹ her bosomme to acale ²;
She hearde onflemed ³ the shrieking voice of woe,
And sadnesse ynne the owlette shake the dale.

She shooke the burl'd ⁴ speere,

On hie she jested ⁵ her sheelde,

Her foemen ⁶ all appere,

And flizze ⁷ alonge the feelde.

Power, wythe his heafod ⁸ straught ⁹ ynto the skyes,
Hys speere a sonne-beame, and his sheelde a starre,
Alyche ¹⁰ twaie ¹¹ brendeynge ¹² gronfyres ¹³ rolls hys eyes,
Chaftes ¹⁴ with hys yronne-feete and foundes to war.

She fytted upon a rocke,

She bendes before hys speere,

She ryfes from the shooke,

Wielding her owne in ayre.

Harde as the thonder dothe she drive ytt on,
Wytte scilly ¹⁵ wympled ¹⁶ gies ¹⁷ ytte to his crowne,
Hys longe sharpe spere, his spreddyng sheelde is gon,
He falles, and fallyng rolleth thousandes down.

War, gore-faced war, bie envie burld ¹⁸, arift ¹⁹,
Hys feerie heaulme ²⁰ noddynge to the ayre,
Tenne bloddie arrowes ynne hys streynynge fyfte—

* * * * *

1 Freeze.

9 Stretched.

12 Meteors.

18 Armed.

19 Arose.

The poems of Rowley had not been long made public before their authenticity underwent a severe scrutiny; and a number of Gentlemen, conversant in antiquities, declared, that they could not be the productions of the fifteenth century, and openly pronounced them the forgeries of Chatterton. Their authenticity was defended by other persons of no inconsiderable note in the literary world. The controversy soon became voluminous; and the reader will not be inclined to consider it as unimportant, when on one side the names of Walpole, Tyrwhitt, Warton [II], Croft, and Malone, are mentioned; and on the other, those of Milles and Bryant; and I think I may venture to add, that of Mr. Matthias, though his candour and modesty almost exempt him from being considered as a partisan.

I shall endeavour to exhibit a short sketch of the arguments on both sides of the question, and shall leave my readers to form their own conclusions.

The evidence on this subject naturally divides itself into two branches, external and internal. Of the former, there is little satisfactory to be obtained; and it must be confessed, that the bulk of the external evidence is rather against that party which denies the authenticity of the poems. There are, however, a few facts on that side of the question which are of too much consequence to be disregarded.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE AUTHENTICITY OF ROWLEY'S POEMS.

External Evidence.

I. The first serious objection which occurs against the authenticity of the poems, is, that Chatterton never could be prevailed upon to produce more than four of the originals, and these extremely short, the whole not containing more than one hundred and twenty-four verses (t). Had such a treasure of ancient poetry fallen into the hands of a young and ingenuous person, would he, it is said, have cautiously produced them to the world one by one? Would he not rather have been proud of his good fortune? Would not the communicativeness of youth have induced him to blaze the discovery abroad, and to call every lover of poetry and antiquity, to a participation of the pleasure? Would not the hope and offers of reward at least have prevented his destroying what, if preserved, would certainly be productive of profit, but the destruction of which could answer no purpose whatever (u)?

II. The deficiency of proof in favour of Rowley, is strongly aided by the very probable proofs in favour of Chatterton. His abilities were in every respect calculated for such a deception. He had been in the habit of writing verses from his earliest youth, and produced some excellent poetry. He was known to have been conversant with our old English Poets and Historians, particularly Chaucer. His fondness for heraldry, intro-

[II] *The names of* — Tyrwhitt, Warton.] I if the poems therefore be forgeries of Chatterton, have been well informed that both Mr. Warton and these Gentlemen were at least among the first on Tyrwhitt were formerly of sentiments directly opposite to those which they profess in their publications: whom he imposed.

(t) Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 133.

(u) An examination, &c. p. 9. Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 155. See also some excellent remarks to the same purpose, by the late Mr. Badcock, Monthly Review for May, 1782.

duced many books of antiquities to his notice; and even his profession disposed him to these studies, and enabled him with facility to imitate ancient writings. In *the Christmas games*, which are acknowledged to be his own, there is much of that peculiar learning in British antiquities, which was necessary to lay the foundation of Rowley's poems; and in his Essay on Sculpture, there is much of the same general information with which those compositions abound [KK]. The transport and delight, which Chatterton always discovered on reading the poems to Mr. Smith, his sister, and his different friends, could not, it is said, have resulted from the mere pleasure of a discovery. It was the secret, but ardent feeling of his own abilities, and the consciousness that the praises which were bestowed upon them were all his own, which filled him with exultation, and produced those strong emotions which even his habitual reserve on this subject was unable to conceal (w).

III. The declaration of Chatterton to Mr. Barrett, concerning the first part of the Battle of Hastings, which he confessed *he had written himself*, is a presumption against the rest. He was then taken by surprise, but at other times preserved a degree of consistency in his falsehood.

IV. Mr. Ruddall, an intimate acquaintance of Chatterton, declared to Mr. Croft, that he saw him (Chatterton) disguise several pieces of parchment with the appearances of age, and that Chatterton told him, that the parchment which Mr. Ruddall had assisted him in blacking and disguising, was the very parchment he had sent to the printer's containing "the account of the Fryers passing the old bridge [LL]."

(w) Monthly Review for March 1782.

V. The

[KK] *The same general information with which those compositions abound.* In the supplement to the works of Chatterton, (printed for Becket, 1784.) there is inserted a piece which has been already referred to, called Chatterton's will. This appears to have been written a few days before he left Bristol to go to London; when in consequence, as it should seem, of his being refused a small sum of money by a Gentleman, whom he had occasionally complimented in his poems, he had taken a resolution of destroying himself the next day. What prevented him from carrying this design at that time into execution does not appear; but the whole writing on this occasion is worth attention, as it throws much light on his real character, his acquaintance with old English writers, and his capability of understanding and imitating old French and Latin inscriptions, not indeed grammatically, but sufficiently to answer the purposes to which he often applied this knowledge. From this writing it also

appears that he would not allow King David to have been a holy man, from the strains of piety and devotion in his psalms, because a *great genius can effect any thing*; that is, *assume any character and mode of writing he pleases*. This is an answer from Chatterton himself, to one argument, and a very powerful one, in support of the authenticity of Rowley's poems. In that part of the will addressed to Mr. George Catcott, Chatterton mentions Rowley's poems, but in so guarded a manner, that it is not easy to draw any certain information for or against their authenticity; though the parties on both sides have attempted it. The address to Mr. Barrett does no less credit to his own feelings, than to that Gentleman's treatment of him; and the apology that follows to the two Mr. Catcotts, for some effusions of his satire upon them, is the best recompence he then had in his power to make to those Gentlemen, from whom he had experienced much civility and kindness. Q.

[LL] *The very parchment he had sent to the Printer's, containing "the account of the Fryers passing the old bridge."*

"TO GEORGE STEEVENS, Esq; Hampstead Heath,

"DEAR SIR,

"IT gives me pleasure that LOVE AND MADNESS, which I put together in a few idle hours, as much for the sake of doing justice to poor Chatterton as of blunting the edge of Hackman's shocking example, has so well answered the former purpose,

"——— Where'er (his bones at rest)
"His spryte to haunte delygheteth beste,"

Chatterton must be now not a little gratified when he looks down upon the squabbles he has raised on earth. Every syllable which I have made Hackman relate of him in LOVE AND MADNESS is, I firmly believe, religiously true. Walmisly was my tenant for the house in Shoreditch, where Chatterton lodged with him, at the time he gave me the information contained in my book. Chatterton's letters which I printed, and which are hardly less singular perhaps than Rowley's poems, are confessedly original.

"As I cannot spare time from my profession to enter any farther into this dispute, and as you inform me that Mr. Warton is going to publish something, I write this letter, according to your desire, in answer to your's of yesterday, respecting what long since I said to you of Mr. Ruddall; and it is perfectly at Mr. Warton's service. But I must desire he will print it exactly as I send it you. When I have spoken for myself, he may draw his own arguments from my communication.

"The left hand column is an extract from Dean Milles's quarto edition of Rowley's, i. e. of Chatterton's poems, p. 436, 7. The right hand column is my account of the same business. In some material circumstances he certainly errs. It were easy to shew, the Dean has condemned Chatterton, and robbed him of Rowley's poems upon slighter evidence of less material mistakes.

"That the Dean should have received *all* his information of this business from Mr. Ruddall, is certainly impossible, because some part of his account of it is certainly untrue. The passages in the Dean's account, on which I comment, are marked, that they may be printed in Italics,

"A singular circumstance relating to the history of this ceremony ("of passing the old bridge") has been communicated to the Publick within these two last years; and candour requires that it should not pass unnoticed here, especially as the character of the relator leaves no room for suspicion. The objectors to the authenticity of these poems may possibly triumph in the discovery of a fact, which contains, in their opinion,

The circumstance is singular, and I have always thought so; but it has never yet, I believe, been communicated to the Publick; though I certainly meant it should some time or other,

It

V. The Rev. Mr. Catcott, brother to the Mr. Catcott before mentioned, affirmed, that having had a conversation one evening with Chatterton, he traced the very substance of this

opinion, a decisive proof that Chatterton was the author of this paper, and (as they would infer) of all the poetry which he produced under Rowley's name; but, *when the circumstances are attentively examined*, the reader will probably find, that even this fact tends rather to establish, than to invalidate, the authenticity of the poems.

Mr. John Ruddall, a native and inhabitant of Bristol, and formerly apprentice to Mr. Francis Gresley, an Apothecary in that city, was well acquainted with Chatterton, whilst he was apprentice to Mr. Lambert. During that time, Chatterton frequently called upon him at his master's house, and, soon after he had printed *this account of the Bridge* in the Bristol paper, told Mr. Ruddall, that he was the author of it; but, it occurring to him afterwards, that he might be called upon to produce the original, he brought to him one day a piece of Parchment, about the size of a half Sheet of Fool's Cap paper. Mr. Ruddall does not think that any thing was written on it when produced by Chatterton, but he saw him write several Words, if not lines, in a Character which Mr. Ruddall did not understand, which he says was totally unlike English, and, as he apprehended, was meant by Chatterton, to imitate or represent the original from which this Account was printed. He cannot determine precisely how much Chatterton wrote in this manner, but says, that the time he spent in that Visit did not exceed three quarters of an hour. The Size of the Parchment, however, (even supposing it to have been filled with writing) will in some measure ascertain the quantity which it contained.

He says also, that when Chatterton had written on the Parchment, he held it over the Candle, to give it the appearance of antiquity, which changed the Colour of the Ink, and made the Parchment appear black and a little contracted: he never saw him make any similar attempt, nor was the Parchment produced afterwards by Chatterton to him, or (as far as he knows) to any other person. From a perfect knowledge of Chatterton's abilities, he thinks him to have been incapable of writing the *Battle of Hastings*, or any of those Poems produced by him under the name of Rowley, nor does he remember that Chatterton ever mentioned Rowley's Poems to him, either as original or the contrary; but sometimes (though very rarely) intimated that he was possessed of some valuable literary productions. Mr. Ruddall had promised Chatterton not to reveal this Secret, and he scrupulously kept his word till the year 1779; but, ON THE PROSPECT OF PROCURING A GRATUITY OF TEN POUNDS, FOR CHATTERTON'S MOTHER, FROM A GENTLEMAN WHO CAME TO BRISTOL IN ORDER TO COLLECT INFORMATION CONCERNING HER SON'S HISTORY, he thought so material a benefit to the Family would fully justify him for divulging a secret by which no person now living could be a sufferer."

"As this appeared to me the most decisive evidence, I asked Mr. Ruddall's leave to make use of his name about it, which he granted me; and I made a Memorandum of it, the same day, at the distance of a few hours. But it is still possible my Memory might deceive me. In matters more serious than the authenticity of Poems, which are certainly exquisite, whoever wrote them, it is not my way, I hope, to be more positive than I ought.

"Mr. Ruddall will excuse me if I say, that I cannot possibly allow him, or any one, to determine the authenticity of the Poems, by telling the Dean, or the world, that, *from a perfect knowledge of Chatterton's*

It is not clear to me, that the advocates for Chatterton have occasion to be apprehensive, if the circumstances should be attentively examined even according to the Dean's own shewing. But mine is somewhat different.

My visit to Bristol of a few days, in order to collect information concerning Chatterton, was on the 23d of July, 1778. At that time I gave something to the Mother and Sister for their voluntary communications to me. After I published *LOVE AND MADNESS*, I laid a larger plan for their benefit, which I hope still to see carried into execution; and I destined something more to the family of him whose genius I so much respected, though I well knew his family deemed me their enemy for endeavouring to prove him guilty of Forgery. Prevented from going to Bath, and consequently from giving what I had set apart for this purpose, with my own Hands, I gladly seized the liberty allowed me by a friend of Mr. Ruddall to beg this favour of him. On the 22d of March, 1781, I wrote to Mr. Ruddall, to whom I was then a perfect stranger, making use of his Friend's name, and enclosing a Draught to him or his order for ten pounds, requesting he would give the Money to Chatterton's Mother and Sister. On the 30th of the same Month, Mr. Ruddall called upon me in Lincoln's Inn; appeared, as I imagined, to lean to the side of this question which I have ever thought to be the right; and told me, of his own accord, what certainly agrees no more with the Dean's account, than what I have already related agrees with the Dean's saying that Mr. Ruddall told this, in 1779, on the prospect of procuring a gratuity of ten Pounds for Chatterton's Mother, from a Gentleman who came to Bristol in order to collect information concerning her Son's History.

If my Memory not only fails me now, but failed me the same day, and has failed me ever since, Mr. Ruddall will correct me. To him I appeal, and by him I must submit to be corrected. But, on the 30th of March, 1781, he told me, AS I THINK, that he assisted Chatterton in disguising SEVERAL pieces of Parchment with the appearances of Age, just before "the Account of passing the Bridge" appeared in Farley's Journal; that, after they had made several experiments, Chatterton said, "this will do, now I will black THE Parchment;" that, whether he told him at the time what THE Parchment was, he could not remember; that he believed he did not see Chatterton black THE Parchment, but that Chatterton told him, after "the Account of passing the Bridge" had appeared in the News-paper, that THE Parchment which he had blacked and disguised, after their experiments, was what he had sent to the Printer containing the ACCOUNT."

this conversation, in a piece which that indefatigable genius produced sometime after as Rowley's.

VI. Chatterton at first exhibited the Songe to Ella in his own hand-writing; and afterwards in the parchment, which he gave to Mr. Barrett as the original, there were found several variations, which it is supposed he had admitted through forgetfulness, or perhaps, as actual corrections, considering that the parchment was the copy which probably would

(x) Curfory Observations on Rowley's Poems, p. 44.

be resorted to as a standard (x).

VII. The hand-writing of the fragment containing the storie of W. Canynge, is quite different from the handwriting of that which contains "the accounte of W. Canynge's feast;" and neither of them is written in the usual record hand of the age to which they are attributed. Indeed, in the "accounte of W. Canynge's Feaste," the Arabian numerals, (63) are said to be perfectly modern, totally different from the figures used in the fifteenth century, and exactly such as Chatterton himself was accustomed to make (y).

(y) See Milles's Rowley, p. 429. Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 135. Monthly Review, by Badcock, for March 1782.

VIII. The very existence of any such person as ROWLEY is questioned, and upon apparently good ground. He is not so much as noticed by William of Worcestre, who lived nearly about the supposed time of Rowley, was himself of Bristol, and makes frequent mention of Canynge. "Bale, who lived two hundred years nearer to Rowley than we, and who, by unwearied industry, dug a thousand bad authors out of obscurity," has never taken the least notice of such a person (z); nor yet Leland, Pitts, or Tanner, nor indeed any other literary biographer. That no copies of any of his works should exist, but those deposited in Redcliffe church, is also an unaccountable circumstance not easy to be surmounted (a).

(z) Walpole's two letters, p. 31.

(a) Tyrwhitt's Vindication, p. 119. 121.

IX. Objections are even made to the manner in which the poems are said to have been preserved. That title deeds relating to the church or even historical records might be lodged in the muniment room of Redcliffe church, is allowed to be sufficiently probable; but that *poems* should have been consigned to a chest with six keys, kept in a private room in a church with title deeds and conveyances, and that these keys should be intrusted, not to the Heads of a College, or any Literary Society, but to Aldermen and Churchwardens, is a supposition replete with absurdity; and the improbability is increased, when we consider that these very papers passed through the hands of persons of some literature, of Chatterton's father in particular, who had a taste for poetry, and yet without the least discovery of their intrinsic value (b).

(q) See Monthly Review for March 1782.

Internal Evidence.

I. In point of STYLE, COMPOSITION, and SENTIMENT, it is urged by Mr. Warton, and those who adopt the same side of the controversy, that the poems of Rowley are infinitely superior to every other production of the century which is said to have produced them. Our ancient poets are minute and particular, they do not deal in abstraction and general exhibition, but dwell on realities; but the writer of these poems adopts ideal terms and artificial modes of explaining a fact, and employs too frequently the aid of metaphor and personification (c). Our ancient bards abound in unnatural conceptions, strange imaginations, and even the most ridiculous inconsistencies; but Rowley's Poems present us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, institutions, usages and characters: they contain no violent or gross improprieties (d). One of the striking characteristics of old English poetry, is a continued tenor of disparity. In Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, elegant descriptions, ornamental images, &c. bear no proportion to pages of languor, mediocrity, prosaic and uninteresting details; but the poems in question are uniformly supported, and are throughout poetical and animated (e). Poetry, like other sciences (say these critics) has its gradual accessions and advancements; and the poems in question possess all that elegance, firmness of contexture, strength and brilliancy, which did not appear in our poetry before the middle of the present century.

(c) Matthias's Essay on Evid., p. 64.

(d) Warton's Inquiry, p. 21.

(e) Ibid. p. 20. Monthly Review, May 1782.

II. There appears in these poems none of that LEARNING, which peculiarly marks all the compositions of the fifteenth century. Our old poets are perpetually confounding Gothic and classical allusions; Ovid and St. Austin are sometimes cited in the same line. A studious ecclesiastic of that period would give us a variety of useless authorities from Aristotle, from Boethius, and from the Fathers: and the whole would be interspersed with allusions to another kind of reading, viz. the old romances. The round table, with Sir

"ton's abilities, HE thinks him to have been incapable of writing the Battle of Hastings, or any of those Poems produced by him under the name of Rowley."

"It appears to me that I cannot possibly, all this time, have been noticing what does not relate to me, because Chatterton's Sister, when she thanks me in a Letter dated April the 20th, 1781, for what I sent her and her Mother, through Mr. Ruddall, says, that "the only benefits they have reaped from the labours of her dear Brother," are what they have received from me.

"Convey this to Mr. Warton, if you choose it, with many thanks for the pleasure I have received from his History of English Poetry; and believe me to be,

Lincoln's-Inn,
Feb. 5, 1782.

"Dear Sir,
"Your obliged friend,
"HERBERT CROFT, jun."

Launcelott,

Launcelott, and Sir Tristram, and Charlemagne, would have been constantly cited (f). Poems from such an author, would also have occasionally exhibited prolix devotional episodes, mingled with texts of Scripture, and addresses to the Saints and blessed Virgin; instead of apostrophes to such allegorical divinities as Truth and Content, and others of Pagan original (g).

(g) *Ibid.* 98.

As to the historical allusions which are really found in these poems, it is asserted, that they are only such as might be supplied by books which are easily obtained, such as Holinghead and Fox, Fuller's Church History, Geofrey of Monmouth, and others of a similar nature (h); and that general reading has been mistaken for profound erudition (i).

(h) Matthias's Essay, p. 69. An Examination of Rowley's Poems, p. 24.

(i) Warton's Inquiry.

III. Some ANACHRONISMS have also been pointed out in the manuscripts of Rowley. Thus the art of *knitting stockings* is alluded to in the Tragedy of Ella [MM]; whereas it is a well established fact, that the art was utterly unknown in the reign of Edward IV. Bristol is called a city, though it was not such till long after the death of that monarch. Canynge is said to have possessed a *cabinet* of coins, *drawings*, &c. though these words were not then in use; and *manuscripts* are spoken of as rarities, at a time when there were scarcely any other books: when, in truth, a printed book must have been a much greater curiosity (k).

(k) Curfory Observations on Rowley's Poems, p. 22—25.

IV. The METRE of the old English poetry is said to be totally different from that of Rowley. The stanza in which the majority of these poems are written, consists of ten lines, the two first quatrains of which rhyme alternately, and it closes with an alexandrine; no example of which occurs in Chaucer, Lydgate or Gower. Spencer extended the old octavo stanza to nine lines, closing with an alexandrine, to which Prior added a tenth (l). Above all, the extraordinary instance of an English Pindaric in the fifteenth century, is ridiculed by Mr. Warton, which novelty (he says) "was reserved for the capricious ambition of Cowley's muse." That Rowley should ever have seen the original model of this irregular style of composition, is utterly improbable, since Pindar was one of the last classics that emerged at the restoration of literature (m).

(l) Matthias's Essay, p. 66.

To this head may be referred the extraordinary *smoothness of the verse*, which is utterly unparalleled in any Poet for more than a century after the supposed age of Rowley (n); the accent or cadence, which is always modern; and the perfection and harmony of the rhyme (o).

(m) Warton's Inquiry, p. 33, 39.
(n) Curfory Observations, p. 5.

(o) Matthias's Essay, p. 67.

V. While the composition, metre, &c. are wholly modern, the LANGUAGE is asserted to be too ancient for the date of the poems. It is not the language of any particular period, but of two entire centuries (p). The diction and versification are at perpetual variance (q). The author appears to have borrowed all his ancient language, not from the usage of common life, but from Speght, Skinner, and other lexicographers, and to have copied their mistakes (r). He has even introduced words which never made a part of the English language, and which are evidently the coinage of fancy, analogy, or mistake (s).

(p) Curfory Observations, p. 32.
(q) Warton's Inquiry, p. 42.
(r) Matthias's Essay, p. 68.
(s) Tyrwhitt's Appendix to Rowley's Poems, and Vindication passim.

(s) *Ibid.*

VI. Notwithstanding this affectation of ancient language, it is added, that the tinsel of MODERN PHRASEOLOGY may in too many instances be detected. Thus such phrases as "*Puerilitie; before his optics; blameless tongue; the authoure of the piece; vessel wreckt upon the tragic land; the proto-sleyne man*," &c. could not be the language of the fifteenth century. We find also a number of modern formularies and combinations, e. g. "*Systers in sorrow; poygnant arrowes typp'd with destinie; Oh, Goddes! Now by the Goddes; Ah, what avaulde; Awaie, awaie! (which is the cant of modern tragedy) Oh, thou, whate'er thie name;*" with a number of compound epithets (t), and other almost certain marks of modern composition (u).

(t) Warton's Inquiry, p. 23, 24.
(u) Curfory Observations, p. 12, 43.

VIII. To these may be added some passages which appear to be imitations of modern poets. Many of those, which have been cited to convict Chatterton of plagiarism, are, it must be confessed, such obvious thoughts, that they might be adopted by a person who had never seen the modern publications in which they appear; but such coincidences as the following are palpable:

[MM] *Alluded to in the Tragedy of Ella.*

As Elynour bie the green leffle was syttyng,
As from the fones hete she harried,
She sayde, as herr whytte hondes whyte hosen was
knyttyng,

Whatte pleasure ytt ys to be married!

Mie husbunde, Lorde Thomas, a forrester boulde,
As ever clove pynne, or the baskette,
Does no cherysauncys from Elynour houlde,
I have ytte as soone as I aske ytte.

Whann I lyved wyth mie fadre yn merrie Clowd-dell,
Tho' twas at my liefse to mynde spynnyng,
I styll wanted somethyng, botte whatte ne coulde
telle,

Mie lorde fadres barble haulte han ne wynnynge.

Eche monyng I ryse, doe I sette mie maydennes,
Somme to spynn, somme to curdell, somme
bleachyng,
Gyff any new entered doe aske for mie aidens,
Thann swythynne you fynde mee a teachyng.

Lorde Walterre, mie fadre, he loved me welle,
And nothyng unto mee was nedeyng,
Botte schulde I agen goe to merrie Clowd-dell,
In sothen twoulde bee wythoute redeyng.

Shee sayde, and lorde Thomas came over the lea,
As hee the fatte derkynnes wae chacyng,
Shee putte uppe her knyttyng, and to hym wente
shee;
So wee leave hem bothe kyndelie embra-yng.

VOL. IV.

7 Q

Q!

"O! for a muse of fire!"

Shakesp. Hen. V.

"O forre a spryte al feere!"

Ella, l. 729.

"His beard all white as snow.

Hamlet.

"All flaxen was his pole."

"Black his cryne as the winter nyghte,

Ella, l. 851.

"White his rode, as the sommer snowe."

"No, no, he is dead,

Hamlet.

"Gone to his death bed."

"Mie love is dedde,

Ella, l. 855.

"Gone to his deathe-bedde."

"Unhoufell'd, unanointed, *unaknell'd*

Hamlet in Pope's edit.

"Unburled, undelievre, unespryte."

Goddwyn, l. 27.

"Their souls from corpses *unaknell'd* depart."

Bat. of Haft. part 1, l. 288.

"The grey-goose wing that was thereon,

Chevy-Chace.

"In his hearts-blood was wet."

"The grey-goose pynion, that *thereon* was fett,

Bat. of Haft. part 1, l. 200.

"Eftsoons wyth smokyng *crimson bloud was wet*."

With such a force and vehement might

He did his body gore,

The spear went tho' the other side

A large cloth-yard and more.

Chevy-Chace.

With thilk a force it did his body gore,

That in his tender guts it entered,

In veritie, a full cloth-yard or more.

Bat. of Haft. (w)

"Clos'd his eyes in endless night."

Gray's bard.

"He clos'd his eye in everlastyng nyghte."

Bat. of Haft. part 2, l. 278 (x).

The advocates of Rowley, are, however, not destitute of arguments in their support. I shall therefore divide the evidence in the same manner as in stating the former, and endeavour to exhibit as fair a summary as possible.

ARGUMENTS TO PROVE THAT THE POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO ROWLEY, WERE REALLY WRITTEN BY HIM AND OTHERS IN THE 15TH CENTURY.

External Evidence.

1. The first grand argument which the advocates on this side advance, is the constant and uniform assertion (except in a single instance) of Chatterton himself, who is represented by his sister, and all his intimates, as a lover of truth from the earliest dawn of reason. He was also most insatiable of fame, and abounded in vanity. He felt himself neglected, and many passages of his writings are full of invective on this subject. Is it probable, that such a person should barter the fair character of truth, which he loved, for the sake of persisting in falsehood, which he detested? Is it probable, that a person of his consummate vanity, should uniformly give the honour of all his more excellent compositions to another, and only inscribe his name to those which were evidently inferior? But even though a man might be thus careless of his reputation during his life time, under the conviction that he might assume the honour whenever he pleased, would this carelessness continue even at the hour of death? Would he at a moment, when he actually meditated his own destruction; in a paper which he inscribes—"All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock Saturday (Evening), in the utmost distress of mind,"—still repeat with the utmost solemnity the same false assertion that he had affirmed during the former part of his life? There was at least *no occasion* to introduce the subject at that time, and he might have been silent, if he did not chuse to close his existence with a direct falsehood (y). If we consider the joy which he manifested on the discovery of the parchments, the avidity with which he read them, he must be the most complete of dissemblers, if really they contained no such treasure as he pretended. To another very extraordinary circumstance

(y) See Chatterton's Will, Appendix to Miscellanies. See also the learned Mr. Bryant's Observations, p. 499. 547.

(w) See Monthly Review.

(x) See a letter prefixed to Chatterton's Miscellany, p. 24.

circumstance Mr. Catcott has pledged himself, which is, that on his first acquaintance with Chatterton, the latter mentioned by *name* almost all the poems which have since appeared in print, and that at a time, when, if he were the author, one-tenth of them could not be written (x).

(x) *Ibid.* 548.

II. Next to the asseverations of Chatterton himself, we are bound to pay at least some attention to those of all his friends. His mother accurately remembers the whole transaction concerning the parchments, as I have already stated it. His sister also recollects to have seen the original parchment of the poem on our Lady's Church, and, she thinks, of the Battle of Hastings: she remembers to have heard her brother mention frequently the names of Turgot, and of John Stowe, besides that of Rowley. (a) Mr. Smith, who was one of the most intimate friends of Chatterton, remembers to have seen manuscripts upon vellum, to the number of a dozen in his possession, many of them ornamented with the heads of kings or of popes, and some of them as broad as the bottom of a large sized chair (b). He used frequently to read to Mr. Smith, sometimes parts, and sometimes whole treatises from these old manuscripts; and Mr. Smith has very often been present while he transcribed them at Mr. Lambert's (c). Mr. Capel, a Jeweller, at Bristol, assured Mr. Bryant, that he had frequently called upon Chatterton, while at Mr. Lambert's, and had at times found him transcribing ancient manuscripts answering to the former description (d). Mr. Thistlethwaite, in the curious letter already quoted, relates, that during the year 1768, "at divers visits, he found Chatterton employed in copying Rowley from what he still considers as undoubted originals (e)." Mr. Carey also, another intimate acquaintance, frequently heard Chatterton mention these manuscripts soon after he left Colston's school. Every one of these Gentlemen, as well as Mr. Clayfield and Mr. Ruddall, declare unequivocally, from an intimate knowledge of Chatterton's learning and abilities, that they believe him incapable of producing the poems of Rowley.

(b) Bryant's Observations, p. 528.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 523.

(a) Milles's Prelim. Dissertation, p. 8.

(c) *Ibid.*

(e) Milles's Rowley, p. 457.

III. That a number of manuscripts were found in Redcliffe church, cannot possibly be doubted after the variety of evidence which has been produced to that purpose. Perrot, the old Sexton, who succeeded Chatterton's great uncle, took Mr. Shiercliffe, a Miniature Painter, of Bristol, as early as the year 1749, through Redcliffe church; he shewed him in the North porch a number of parchments, some loose and some tied up, and intimated, "that there were things there, which would one day be better known; and that in proper hands, they might prove a treasure (f)." Many of the manuscripts in Mr. Barrett's hands bear all the marks of age, and are "signed by Rowley himself. The characters in each instance appear to be similar; and the hand-writing the same in all [NN]."

(f) Bryant's Observ. p. 513.

IV. The short time which Chatterton had to produce all these poems, is an extraordinary circumstance. It has been already stated, that he continued at Colston's school from the age of eight till that of fourteen and seven months: that he continued each day in school from seven or eight o'clock till twelve in the morning, and from one till four or five in the evening, and went to bed at eight. There is also reason to believe, that he did not discover or begin to copy these poems, or even to apply himself to antiquities, before the age of fifteen. In about the space therefore of two years and a half, he made himself master of the ancient language of this country; he produced more than two volumes of poetry, which are published, and about as many compositions, in prose and verse, as would nearly fill two volumes more. During this time he must have read a considerable variety of books. He was studying medicine, heraldry, and other sciences; he was practicing drawing; he copied a large book of precedents; and Mr. Lambert's business, though not extensive, must have occupied at least some part of his attention. Which, therefore, is the easier supposition, say the advocates for Rowley, that this almost miracle of industry or ability was performed by a boy; or that Chatterton really copied the poems from ancient documents [OO]?

V. Chatterton

[NN] *And the hand writing the same in all.* Mr. Barrett, and he only, has it in his power finally to determine the controversy concerning Rowley's Poems. Let him produce all the manuscripts which he obtained from Chatterton, and let them be put into the hands of some persons conversant in old writings, who may possibly be able to decide concerning the probable date of the hand-writing.

(r) Bryant's Observ. p. 548.

[OO] *Or that Chatterton really copied the Poems from ancient documents.* Of these old writings, which he is supposed to have transcribed from obscure and almost illegible manuscripts, (exclusive of his miscellaneous and political writings,) the poetical alone fills 288 octavo pages in Mr. Tyrwhitt's edition; and perhaps there are others, with a quantity of prose writings which might fill another such volume. See Milles's edition, p. 438.

These must have been transcribed by him, either in Mr. Lambert's office, or during the few hours he

spent at home with his mother in an evening. Neither Mr. Lambert, nor his mother or sister, take upon them to say, that they ever saw him thus employed. When not engaged in the immediate business of his profession, he was employed by his master to copy forms and precedents, as well to improve him in the law as to keep him employed. Of these law forms and precedents, Mr. Lambert has in his possession a folio book containing 334 pages, closely written by Chatterton; also 36 pages in another. In the noting book, 36 notarial acts; and in the letter book, 38 letters copied.

Add to all this his *own* acknowledged compositions, filling 240 pages in the printed copy, and perhaps as many more in manuscript not yet published.

The greatest part of these compositions, both under Rowley's name and his own, was written before he went to London, in April 1770, he being then aged

(g) Remarks on
Watson, p. 9.

(b) Bryant's Obs.
p. 477.

V. Chatterton is said farther to have discovered great marks of ignorance on the manuscripts coming first into his possession. He read the name *Roulie* instead of Rowley, till he was set right by Mr. Barrett (g). In the acknowledged writings of Chatterton, there are also palpable mistakes, and marks of ignorance in history, geography, &c. whereas no such appear in the poems of Rowley (b). But what is of still greater consequence, Mr. Bryant has laboured to prove, that in almost innumerable instances, Chatterton did not understand the language of Rowley, but that he has actually misinterpreted, and sometimes mistranscribed him. Thus in "the English metamorphosis," ver. 14.

"Their myghte is *knopped* ynnne the froste of fere." Chatterton having recourse to Chaucer and Skinner, has interpreted to *knop*, to *tie*, or *fasten*; whereas it really means, and the context requires that it should mean, to *nip*. Thus in the Second Battle of Hastings, 548, describing a sacrifice:

"Roastyng their *vyſualle* round about the flame;"

which Mr. Tyrwhitt himself has allowed ought to be *vyſtimes*, and has accordingly cancelled the other word. Thus in *Ella*, v. 678, we find:

"Theyre throngyng corſes ſhall *onlyghte* the ſtarres."

The word *onlyghte*, Chatterton has here strangely applied as meaning to *darken* the stars, whereas Mr. Bryant, by recurring to the Saxon, very reasonably supposes *onlych* to have been the proper word, and the line will then mean to *be like*, or to *equal* the stars in number. The word *cherifaunei*, which Chatterton has inserted in the "Introductionne to *Ella*," never did really exist, and Mr. Bryant shews that the original word was certainly *cherifaunce*: and in the Second Eclogue, Chatterton has explained the word *amenuſed*, by *lessened*, or *diminished*; whereas the same able critic shews, that it never had any such meaning, but that it really signifies *accursed* or *abominable*. These and other similar mistakes (of which Mr. Bryant specifies a great number) he asserts, could never have happened, had Chatterton been any more than the mere transcriber of these extraordinary poems (*).

(*) See Mr.
Bryant's Obser-
vations, passim.

VI. With respect to the objection, that Rowley is not mentioned by other writers, it is answered, that there existed so little communication among mankind at that time, that Leland, who is a very curious writer, never makes the smallest mention of Canynge, Lydgate, or Occleve: That William of Worcestre, does not mention Rowley, because, unless history demands it, writers do not commonly commemorate persons before their death, and Rowley was apparently alive when William of Worcestre was at Bristol. In the register of the Diocese of Wells, however, there are two persons of the name of Thomas Rowley, mentioned as admitted into Holy Orders, one of whom might be the author of the poems (i). In answer to the objection, why these manuscripts remained so long unknown to the world, Mr. Bryant says, "We may not be able to account any more for these manuscripts being so long neglected, than for those of Hesychius, Phædrus, and Velleius Paterculus having been in the same situation (k):" and with respect to the secret-

(i) Mr. Bryant's
Obs. p. 535-543.
544.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 499.

VII. The concessions of the adversaries ought not to pass unnoticed on this occasion. Mr. Warton admits, "that some poems written by Rowley might have been preserved in Canynge's chest; but if there were any, they were so enlarged and improved by Chatterton, as to become entirely new compositions (l);" and in a subsequent publication, he says, "I will not deny that Chatterton might discover parchments of humble prose, containing local memoirs and authentic deeds, illustrating the history of Bristol. He might have discovered biographical diaries, or other notices of the lives of Canynge, Ischam, and Gorges." These concessions at least imply something of a doubt on the mind of the Laureat, concerning the existence of some important manuscripts, and seem of some consideration in the scale of controversy.

(l) History of
English Poetry.

aged 17 years and five months; and of the former, Rowley's pieces, they were almost all exhibited a twelve month earlier, before April 1769. Now the time taken up in preparing the parchment and imitating the old writing, must probably have been greater than the time spent in composing them. If he was in possession of the originals, surely he would not have bestowed all this time and pains in transcribing from originals, which he might have parted with to greater advantage; and if he did transcribe them, why destroy the greatest part of them, and exhibit only scraps and detached lines, for such only appear now to exist? O.

Inter-

Internal Evidence in favour of the authenticity of Rowley's Poems.

I. The internal evidence (which we may call positive) on this side of the question is not very extensive, and the bulk of it consists in negative arguments, or a refutation of the adversaries' objections. The most material proof is derived from the ALLUSIONS TO FACTS and CUSTOMS, of which there is not much probability, that Chatterton could have a competent knowledge. Thus, if the "Dethe of Sir Charles Bawdin" be supposed, as Mr. Tyrwhitt himself thinks probable, to refer to the execution of Sir Baldwin of Fulford, the fact meets confirmation in all its circumstances, from a fragment published by Hearne, and also from a parliamentary roll of the eighth of Edward IV. neither of which there is the least probability that Chatterton ever saw (m). Thus the names which occur in the Battle of Hastings, may almost all be authenticated from the old historians; but they are scattered in such a variety of books, that they could not be extracted without infinite labour, and several of the books were in all probability not accessible by Chatterton.

(m) Observations on Rowley's Poems, p. 14.

To this head we may refer many particulars concerning Canynge, &c. as related by Chatterton; such as his paying 3000 marks to the king, *pro pace sua habenda*, &c. which are confirmed in an extraordinary manner by W. of Worcestre, whose book was not made public till 1778, and which it was therefore impossible Chatterton could see previously to the publication of his memoirs. Such is also the time of Canynge's entering into Holy Orders, which is confirmed by the Episcopal register of Worcester; and the anecdote of the steeple of Redcliffe church being burnt down by lightning in 1446. Of a similar kind is a circumstance in the orthography of the name *Fescampe*, (which is the right orthography,) while Holingshead, the only author accessible to Chatterton, has it *Flischampe*. The name of Robert Consul also, whom Rowley represents as having repaired the castle of Bristol, occurs in Leland, as the proprietor of that Castle (n).

(n) See Bryant's Observ. p. 314, 326, 343, &c.

II. With regard to the STYLE, COMPOSITION, and SENTIMENT. If the poems appear superior to the efforts of the first scholars at the revival of letters; what are they, when considered as the productions of an uneducated charity boy, not quite seventeen? Those also who think that Chatterton could not reduce his genius to the standard of the age of Rowley, should, perhaps, rather wonder why he could never raise his own avowed productions to an equal degree of excellence [PP]. The poems attributed to Rowley, if his, are as much the work of his infantine years, as his own miscellaneous poems: indeed, many of the latter were composed some time after most of Rowley's were exhibited to the world. That they should be inferior in every excellence of poetry, is therefore a mystery not easy to be accounted for. Against the general proposition, that poetry like other arts is progressive, and never arrived to perfection in an early age; it has been judiciously urged, that "Genius is peculiar neither to age nor country," but that we have an example of one man (Homer,) who in the very infancy of all arts, without guide or precursor, "gave to the world a work, which has been the admiration and model of all succeeding poets (o)." And though it be admitted, that Rowley's poems are pervaded by an uniform strain of excellence and taste, which does not appear in the other works of his age now extant, yet when we compare any composition with another of the same or of any prior age, the difference subsisting, will frequently be found not to depend upon time, but upon the situation, genius and judgment of the respective authors (p).

(o) Matthias's Essay, p. 98.

(p) Ibid. p. 72.

III. As to METRE, it is said, that in all languages the modes and measures of verse were originally invented and adopted from accidental circumstances, and agreeably to the taste of different authors; and that very early in the English poetry, a great variety of measures are known to have prevailed. Such is the octave stanza, which is not many removes from the usual stanza of Rowley, the seven lined stanza, or Rithm Royal, and that of ten lines used by Chaucer in one of his smaller poems. The argument founded on the smoothness of the verse, is attempted to be overturned by Mr. Bryant, who has produced extracts from poems still older than the age of Rowley, which are deficient neither in harmony nor cadence (q).

(q) Observations, p. 425, &c. 552.

IV. The objection founded on the ancient LANGUAGE of Rowley, is answered by supposing that his language was probably provincial (r). Several of the words objected to as of Chatterton's coining, have by more profound researches been traced in ancient writers. Many words in Rowley's poems cannot be found in those Dictionaries and Glossaries, to which Chatterton had access (s); and Chatterton's mistakes in transcribing and explaining the old language of Rowley, have already been instanced.

(r) Ibid. p. 1, to 25.

(s) Matthias's Essay, p. 77.

V. Many of the pretended IMITATIONS of THE MODERN poets to be found in Rowley, are objected to upon good grounds, as being ideas obvious to Rowley or any man; and as to the others, why may we not suppose them, "insertions of Chatterton, either to please his own ear, or to restore some parts which were lost, or in places where the

[PP] To an equal degree of excellence.] The most essential difference that strikes me between the Poems of Rowley and Chatterton is, that the former are always built upon some consistent interesting plot, and are more uniformly excellent in the execution; the latter are irregular sallies upon ill-selected or trifling subjects.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 105. words were difficult to be decyphered (t)?" This argument acquires great weight, when the temper and genius of Chatterton is considered, and when it is recollected that all parties agree in the probability of many interpolations being made by him; and if this argument be admitted, it will in a great measure account for the modern phraseology which so frequently occurs in these poems.

In rejoinder to these arguments, a few facts have been stated by those who support the title of Chatterton. 1st. That no writings or chest deposited in Redcliffe church are mentioned in Mr. Canynge's will, which has been carefully inspected, nor any books except two, called "Liggers cum integra legenda," which he leaves to be used occasionally in the choir by the two Chaplains established by him (u). 2d. To account for Chatterton's extensive acquaintance with old books out of the common line of reading, it is alledged that the old library at Bristol was, during his life time, of universal access, and Chatterton was actually introduced to it by the Rev. Mr. Catcott (w). 3d. Chatterton's account of Canynge, &c. as far as it is countenanced by William of Worcestre, (that is, as far as respects his taking orders and paying a fine to the King) may be found in the epitaph on Master Canynge, still remaining to be read by every person, both in Latin and English, in Redcliffe church, which indeed appears to be the authority, that William of Worcestre himself has followed. Chatterton's account also of Redcliffe steeple, is to be found at the bottom of a print of that church, published in 1746, by one John Halfpenny, "in which was recounted the ruin of the steeple in 1446, by a tempest and fire (x)." 4th. As to the old vellum or parchment on which Chatterton transcribed his fragments, it is observed, that "at the bottom of each sheet of old deeds, (of which there were many in the Bristol chest) there is usually a blank space of about four or five inches in breadth;" and this exactly agrees with the shape and size of the largest fragment which he has exhibited, viz. Eight and a half inches long, and four and a-half broad (y).

(x) Tywrhitt's
Vindication,
p. 113. 212.

(u) Tywrhitt's
Vindication,
p. 117.

(w) Warton's
Inquiry, p. 111.

(y) Curfory
Observations,
p. 29.

Thus I have exhibited, as faithfully as I was able, an abstract of the arguments on both sides of this curious literary question. To the examination I sat down with a sceptical mind; nor can I recollect being influenced during the progress of the inquiry in a single instance, by the authority of names, by the force of ridicule, or the partialities of friendship. Some remarks, I believe, I may have added, which are not to be found in other books. In this, however, I am not conscious of having favoured one party more than the other, but esteemed it a part of my duty to state the observations as they rose in my mind from a consideration of the facts. I shall not intrude upon my readers any verdict of my own concerning the issue of the controversy; since my only intention was to enable them, from a view of the arguments, to form their own conclusions; leaving them still open to the impression of any additional or more satisfactory evidence that may hereafter arise. I cannot, however, lay aside my pen without one general reflection. It is impossible to peruse the state of this controversy, without smiling at the folly and vanity of posthumous fame. The author of these poems, whoever he was, certainly never flattered himself with the expectation that they would ever excite half the curiosity, or half the admiration which they have excited in the literary world. If they really be the productions of Rowley, one of the first, both in order and in merit of our English Poets, is defrauded of more than half his reputation: if they be the works of Chatterton, they neither served to raise him in the opinion of his intimate acquaintance and friends, nor to procure for him the comforts or even the necessities of life. He has descended to his grave with a dubious character; and the only praise which can be accorded him by the warmest of his admirers, is that of an elegant and ingenious impostor. For the satisfaction of those readers, who may wish to review the whole controversy at large, and for the information of posterity, I subjoin the most accurate list I have been able to procure of all the publications which have appeared on both sides [22].

G.
Chatterton's

[22] *Of the publications which have appeared on both sides.*

A List of the various Publications upon the Subject of ROWLEY'S POEMS, for and against their Authenticity.

EDITIONS OF ROWLEY.

POEMS, supposed to have been written at Bristol by Thomas Rowley, and others, in the Fifteenth Century; the greatest Part now first published from the most authentic Copies, with an engraved Specimen of one of the MS. To which are added, a Preface, an Introductory Account of the several Pieces, and a Glossary. Ed. 8vo. 1777.

N. B. This Edition has been reprinted.

Ditto: with a Commentary, in which the Antiquity of them is considered and defended, by Jeremiah Milles, D. D. Dean of Exeter. Ed. 4to. 1782.

THE EIGHTH Section of Mr. Warton's Second Volume of the History of English Poetry, with the Notes to it.

REMARKS on the Eighth Section of Mr. Warton's Second Volume of the History of English Poetry.

Payne, Mews-Gate.

Two Letters by the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole; printed at Strawberry-hill.—Reprinted, (by his permission) in the Gentleman's Magazines for April, May, June, July, 1782.

APPENDIX, containing some Observations upon the Language of the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove, that they were written not by any ancient Author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton.

Payne, Mews-Gate.

N. B. This Appendix is now generally annexed to the 8vo. Edition of Rowley's Poems.

OBSER-

Chatterton's Letters, so often referred to in the course of this article, are inserted below [RR].

OBSERVATIONS on the Poems attributed to Rowley, tending to prove, that they were really written by Him and other Ancient Authors. To which are added, Remarks on the Appendix of the Editor (of the 8vo. Ed.) of Rowley's Poems.

Bathurst, Fleet-Street.

OBSERVATIONS upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley; in which the Authenticity of those Poems is ascertained. By Jacob Bryant, Esq.

Payne, Mews Gate, &c.

CURSORY Observations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, a Priest in the fifteenth Century: with some Remarks on the Commentaries on these Poems, by the Reverend Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, and Jacob Bryant, Esq.

Nichols and Walter, Charing-Cross.

AN ENQUIRY into the Authenticity of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, in which the Arguments of the Dean of Exeter and Mr. Bryant are examined. By Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and F. S. A.

Doddsley, Pall-Mall.

STRICTURES upon a Pamphlet entitled, "Curfory Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, a Priest in the Fifteenth Century." With a Postscript on Mr. Thomas Warton's Enquiry into the same Subject. By E. B. Greene, Esq.

Stockdale, Piccadilly.

A VINDICATION of the APPENDIX to the Poems called Rowley's; In Reply to the Answers of the Dean of Exeter, Jacob Bryant, Esq; and a third anonymous Writer; with some further observations upon those Poems, and an Examination of the Evidence which has been produced in Support of their Authenticity. By Thomas Tyrwhitt.

Payne, Mews Gate.

AN ESSAY on the Evidence, External and Internal, relating to the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley and others, in the Fifteenth Century, containing a general View of the whole Controversy. By Thomas James Mathias.

Becket, Pall-Mall.

To which may be added various shorter Compositions on the Subject (too numerous to specify) inserted in the different monthly Magazines.

[RR] Are inserted below.]

LETTER I.

London, April 26, 1770.

Dear Mother,

HERE I am, safe, and in high spirits—To give you a journal of my tour would not be unnecessary. After riding in the basket to Brislington, I mounted the top of the coach, and rid easy, and agreeably entertained with the conversation of a Quaker in dress, but little so in personals and behaviour. This laughing friend, who is a Carver, lamented his having sent his tools to Worcester, as otherwise he would have accompanied me to London. I left him at Bath; when, finding it rained pretty fast, I entered an inside passenger to Speenhamland, the half-way stage, paying seven shillings. 'Twas lucky I did so, for it snowed all night, and on Marlborough Downs the snow was near a foot high.

At seven in the morning I breakfasted at Speenhamland, and then mounted the coach-box for the remainder of the day, which was a remarkable fine one.—Honest gee-ho complimented me with assuring me, that I sat bolder and tighter than any person who ever rid with him.—Dined at Stroud most luxuriantly, with a young Gentleman who had slept all the preceding night in the machine; and an old mercantile genius, whose school-boy son had a great deal of wit, as the father thought, in remarking that Windfor was as old as our Saviour's time.

Got into London about five o'clock in the evening—called upon Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Fell, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Doddsley. Great encouragement from them; all approved of my design;—shall soon be settled.—Call upon Mr. Lambert; shew him this, or tell him, if I deserve a recommendation, he would oblige me to give me one—if I do not, it will be beneath him to take notice of me. Seen all aunts, cousins—all well—and I am welcome. Mr. T. Wenley is alive, and coming home.—Sister, grandmother, &c. &c. &c. remember.—I remain,

Your dutiful son,

T. Chatterton.

LETTER II.

Shoreditch, London, May 6, 1770.

Dear Mother,

I am surprised that no letter has been sent in answer to my last. I am settled, and in such a settlement as I would desire. I get four guineas a month by one Magazine: shall engage to write a History of England, and other pieces, which will more than double that sum. Occasional essays for the daily papers would more than support me. What a glorious prospect! Mr. Wilkes knew me by my writings since I first corresponded with the Booksellers here. I shall visit him next week, and by his interest will insure Mrs. Ballance the Trinity-House. He affirmed that what Mr. Fell had of mine could not be the writings of a youth; and expressed a desire to know the author. By the means of another Bookseller I shall be introduced to Townshend and Sawbridge. I am quite familiar at the Chapter Coffee-house, and know all the geniuses there. A character is now unnecessary; an author carries his character in his pen. My sister will improve herself in drawing. My grandmother is, I hope, well. Bristol's mercenary walls were never destined to hold me—there, I was out of my element; now, I am in it—London! Good God! how superior is London to that despicable place Bristol!—Here is none of your little meanesses, none of your mercenary securities, which disgrace that miserable hamlet.—Dress, which is in Bristol an eternal fund of scandal, is here only introduced as a subject of praise; if a man dresses well, he has taste; if careless, he has his own reasons for so doing, and is prudent. Need I remind you of the contrast? The poverty of authors is a common observation, but not always a true one. No author can be poor who understands the arts of Booksellers—Without this necessary knowledge, the greatest genius may starve; and, with it, the greatest dunce live in splendor. This knowledge I have pretty well dipped into.—The Levant man of war, in which T. Wenley went out, is at Portsmouth; but no news from him yet.—I lodge in one of Mr. Walmley's best rooms. Let Mr. Cary copy the letters on the other side, and give them to the persons for whom they are designed, if not too much labour for him.

I remain, yours, &c.

T. Chatterton.

P. S. I have some trifling presents for my mother, sister Thorne, &c.

Sunday morning.

For Mr. T. CARY.

I have sent you a task. I hope no unpleasing one. Tell all your acquaintance for the future to read the Freeholder's Magazine. When you have any thing for publication, send it to me, and it shall most certainly appear in some periodical compilation. Your last piece was, by the ignorance of a corrector, jumbled under the considerations in the acknowledgements. But I rescued it, and insisted on its appearance.

Your friend,

T. C.

Direct for me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-house, Pater-noster-row.

Mr.

Mr. HENRY KATOR.

If you have not forgot Lady Betty, any Complaint, Rebus, or Enigma, on the dear charmer, directed for me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-house, Pater-noster-row—shall find a place in some Magazine, or other; as I am engaged in many.

Your friend,

T. Chatterton.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH.

When you have any poetry for publication, send it to me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-house, Pater-noster-row, and it shall most certainly appear.

Your friend,

T. C.

Mrs. BAKER.

The sooner I see you the better—send me as soon as possible Rymdyk's address. (Mr. Cary will leave this at Mr. Flower's, Small-street.)

Mr. MASON.

Give me a short prose description of the situation of Nash—and the poetic addition shall appear in some Magazine. Send me also whatever you would have published, and direct for me, to be left at the Chapter Coffee-house, Pater-noster-row.

Your friend,

T. Chatterton.

Mr. MAT. MEASE.

Begging Mr. Mease's pardon for making public use of his name lately—I hope he will remember me, and tell all his acquaintance to read the Freeholder's Magazine for the future.

T. Chatterton.

T E L L—

Mr. Thaire	Mr. Rudhall	Mr. Ward
Mr. Gaster	Mr. Thomas	Mr. Kalo
Mr. A. Broughton	Mr. Carty	Mr. Smith
Mr. J. Broughton	Mr. Hanmor	&c. &c.
Mr. Williams	Mr. Vaughan	

to read the Freeholder's Magazine.

L E T T E R III.

King's Bench, for the present, May 14, 1770.

Dear Madam,

Don't be surprized at the name of the place. I am not here as a prisoner. Matters go on swimmingly: Mr. Fell having offended certain persons, they have set his creditors upon him, and he is safe in the King's Bench. I have been bettered by this accident: His successors in the Freeholder's Magazine, knowing nothing of the matter, will be glad to engage me, on my own terms. Mr. Edmunds has been tried before the House of Lords, sentenced to pay a fine, and thrown into Newgate. His misfortunes will be to me of no little service. Last week, being in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, I contracted an immediate acquaintance (which you know is no hard task to me) with a young Gentleman in Cheap-side; partner in a music-shop, the greatest in the city. Hearing I could write, he desired me to write a few songs for him: this I did the same night, and conveyed them to him the next morning. These he shewed to a Doctor in Music, and I am invited to treat with this Doctor, on the footing of a composer, for Ranelagh and the Gardens. *Bravo, bey boys, up we go!*—Besides the advantage of visiting these expensive and polite places gratis; my vanity will be fed with the sight of my name in copper-plate, and my sister will receive a bundle of printed songs, the words by her brother. These are not all my acquisitions: a Gentleman who knows me at the Chapter, as an author, would have introduced me as a companion to the young Duke of Northumberland, in his intended general tour. But, alas! I speak no

tongue but my own!—But to return once more to a place I am sickened to write of, Bristol. Though, as an apprentice, none had greater liberties, yet the thoughts of servitude killed me: now I have that for my labour, I always reckoned the first of my pleasures, and have still, my liberty. As to the clearance, I am ever ready to give it; but really I understand so little of the law, that I believe Mr. Lambert must draw it. Mrs. L. brought what you mention. Mrs. Hughes is as well as age will permit her to be, and my cousin does very well.

I will get some patterns worth your acceptance; and wish you and my sister would improve yourselves in drawing, as it is here a valuable and never-failing acquisition.—My box shall be attended to; I hope my books are in it—if not, send them; and particularly Catcott's Hutchinsonian jargon on the Deluge, and the MS. Glossary, composed of one small book, annexed to a larger.—My sister will remember me to Miss Sandford. I have not quite forgot her; though there are so many pretty milleners, &c. that I have almost forgot myself.—Carty will think on me: upon inquiry, I find his trade dwindled into nothing here. A man may very nobly starve by it; but he must have luck indeed, who can live by it.—Miss Rumsey, if she comes to London, would do well, as an old acquaintance, to send me her address.—London is not Bristol—We may patrol the town for a day, without raising one whisper, or nod of scandal.—If she refuses, the curse of all antiquated virgins light on her: may she be refused, when she shall request! Miss Rumsey will tell Miss Baker, and Miss Baker will tell Miss Porter, that Miss Porter's favoured humble servant, though but a young man, is a very old lover; and in the eight-and-fiftieth year of his age: but that, as Lappet says, is the flower of a man's days; and when a Lady can't get a young husband, she must put up with an old bed-fellow. I left Miss Singer, I am sorry to say it, in a very bad way; that is, in a way to be married.—But mum—Ask Miss Suky Webb the rest; if she knows, she'll tell ye.—I beg her pardon for revealing the secret; but when the knot is fastened, she shall know how I came by it.—Miss Thatcher may depend upon it, that, if I am not in love with her, I am in love with nobody else: I hope she is well; and if that whining, sighing, dying pulpit-fop, Lewis, has not finished his languishing lectures, I hope she will see her amorous next Sunday.—If Miss Love has no objection to having a crambo song on her name published, it shall be done.—Begging pardon of Miss Cotton for whatever has happened to offend her, I can assure her it has happened without my consent. I did not give her this assurance when in Bristol, lest it should seem like an attempt to avoid the anger of her furious brother. Inquire, when you can, how Miss Broughton received her billet. Let my sister send me a journal of all the transactions of the females within the circle of your acquaintance. Let Miss Watkins know, that the letter she made herself ridiculous by, was never intended for her; but another young Lady in the neighbourhood, of the same name. I promised, before my departure, to write to some hundreds, I believe; but, what with writing for publications, and going to places of public diversion, which is as absolutely necessary to me as food, I find but little time to write to you. As to Mr. Barrett, Mr. Catcott, Mr. Burgum, &c. &c. they rate literary lumber so low, that I believe an author, in their estimation, must be poor indeed! But here matters are otherwise: had Rowley been a Londoner, instead of a Bristowyan, I could have lived by copying his works.—In my humble opinion, I am under very few obligations to any persons in Bristol: one, indeed, has obliged me; but, as most do, in a manner which makes his obligation no obligation.—My youthful acquaintances will not take it in dudgeon, that I do not write oftener to them, than I believe I shall: but, as I had the happy art of pleasing in conversation, my company was often liked, where I did not like: and to continue a correspondence under such circumstances, would be ridiculous. Let my sister improve in copying music, drawing, and every thing which requires genius: in Bristol's mercantile style those things may be useless, if not a detriment

detriment to her; but here they are highly profitable.—Inform Mr. Rhife that nothing shall be wanting, on my part, in the business he was so kind as to employ me in; should be glad of a line from him, to know whether he would engage in the marine department; or spend the rest of his days, safe, on dry ground.—Intended waiting on the Duke of Bedford relative to the Trinity-House; but his Grace is dangerously ill. My grandmother, I hope, enjoys the state of health I left her in. I am Miss Webb's humble servant. Thorne shall not be forgot, when I remit the small trifles to you. Notwithstanding Mrs. B.'s not being able to inform me of Mr. Garfed's address, through the closeness of the pious Mr. Ewer, I luckily stumbled upon it this morning.

I remain, &c. &c. &c. &c.

Monday Evening.

Thomas Chatterton.

(Direct for me, at Mr. Walmsley's, at Shore-ditch—only.)

LETTER IV.

Tom's Coffee-house, London, May 30, 1770.

Dear Sister,

There is such a noise of business and politicks in the room, that my inaccuracy in writing here, is highly excusable. My present profession obliges me to frequent places of the best resort. To begin with, what every female conversation begins with, dress: I employ my money now in fitting myself fashionably, and getting into good company; this last article always brings me in interest. But I have engaged to live with a Gentleman, the brother of a Lord (a Scotch one indeed), who is going to advance pretty deeply into the bookfelling branches: I shall have lodging and boarding, genteel and elegant, gratis: this article, in the quarter of the town he lives, with worse accommodations, would be 50l. per annum. I shall have, likewise, no inconsiderable premium; and assure yourself every month shall end to your advantage: I will send you two silks this summer; and expect, in answer to this, what colours you prefer. My mother shall not be forgotten. My employment will be writing a voluminous History of London, to appear in numbers the beginning of the next winter. As this will not, like writing political essays, oblige me to go to the coffee-house, I shall be able to serve you the more by it: but it will necessitate me to go to Oxford, Cambridge, Lincoln, Coventry, and every collegiate church near; not at all disagreeable journeys, and not to me expensive. The Manuscript Glossary, I mentioned in my last, must not be omitted. If money flowed as fast upon me as honours, I would give you a portion of 5000l. You have, doubtless, heard of the Lord Mayor's remonstrating and addressing the King: but it will be a piece of news, to inform you that I have been with the Lord Mayor on the occasion. Having addressed an essay to his Lordship, it was very well received; perhaps better than it deserved; and I waited on his Lordship, to have his approbation, to address a second letter to him, on the subject of the remonstrance, and its reception. His Lordship received me as politely as a citizen could; and warmly invited me to call on him again. The rest is a secret.—But the devil of the matter is, there's no money to be got of this side the question. Interest is of the other side. But he is a poor author, who cannot write on both sides. I believe I may be introduced (and, if I am not, I'll introduce myself) to a ruling power in the Court party. I might have a recommendation to Sir George Colebrook, an East-India Director, as qualified for an office no ways despicable; but I shall not take a step to the sea, whilst I can continue on land. I went yesterday to Woolwich, to see Mr. Wensley; he is paid to-day. The artillery is no unpleasant sight, if we bar reflection, and do not consider how much mischief it may do. Greenwich Hospital and St. Paul's Cathedral are the only structures which could reconcile me to any thing out of the Gothic. Mr. Carty will hear from me soon: multiplicity of literary business must be my excuse.—I condole with him, and my dear Miss Sandford, in the misfortune of Mrs. Carty: my physical advice is, to leech her temples plentifully:

VOL. IV.

keep her very low in diet; as much in the dark as possible. Nor is this last prescription the whim of an old woman: whatever hurts the eyes, affects the brain: and the particles of light, when the sun is in the summer signs, are highly prejudicial to the eyes; and it is from this sympathetic effect, that the headache is general in summer. But, above all, talk to her but little, and never contradict her in any thing. This may be of service. I hope it will. Did a paragraph appear in your paper of Saturday last, mentioning the inhabitants of London's having opened another view of St. Paul's; and advising the corporation, or vestry of Redcliff, to procure a more compleat view of Redcliff church? My compliments to Miss Thatcher: if I am in love, I am; though the devil take me, if I can tell with whom it is. I believe I may address her in the words of Scripture, which no doubt she reveres; "If you had not ploughed with my heifer" (or bullock rather); "you had not found out my riddle." Humbly thanking Miss Rumsey for her complimentary expression, I cannot think it satisfactory. Does she, or does she not, intend coming to London? Mrs. O'Coffin has not yet got a place; but there is not the least doubt but she will in a little time.

Essay-writing has this advantage, you are sure of constant pay; and when you have once wrote a piece which makes the author enquired after, you may bring the Booksellers to your own terms. Essays on the patriotic side fetch no more than what the copy is sold for. As the patriots themselves are searching for a place, they have no gratuities to spare. So says one of the beggars, in a temporary alteration of mine, in the Jovial Crew:

A patriot was my occupation

It got me a name but no pelf:

Till, starv'd for the good of the nation,

I begg'd for the good of myself.

Fal, lal, &c.

I told them, if 'twas not for me,

Their freedoms would all go to pot;

I promis'd to set them all free,

But never a farthing I got.

Fal, lal, &c.

—On the other hand, unpopular essays will not even be accepted; and you must pay to have them printed: but then you seldom lose by it. Courtiers are so sensible of their deficiency in merit, that they generally reward all who know how to daub them with an appearance of it. To return to private affairs—Friend Slade may depend upon my endeavouring to find the publications you mention. They publish the Gospel Magazine here. For a whim I write in it. I believe there are not any sent to Bristol; they are hardly worth the carriage—methodistical, and unmeaning. With the usual ceremonies to my mother, and grandmother; and sincerely, without ceremony, wishing them both happy; when it is in my power to make them so, they shall be so; and with my kind remembrance to Miss Webb, and Miss Thorne; I remain, as I ever was,

Yours, &c. to the end of the chapter,

Thomas Chatterton.

P. S. I am this minute pierced through the heart by the black eye of a young Lady, driving along in a Hackney-coach.—I am quite in love: if my love lasts till that time, you shall hear of it in my next.

LETTER V.

June 19, 1770.

Dear Sister,

I have an horrid cold—The relation of the manner of my catching it may give you more pleasure than the circumstance itself. As I wrote very late Sunday night (or rather very early Monday morning), I thought to have gone to bed pretty soon last night: when, being half undressed, I heard a very doleful voice, singing Miss Hill's favorite bedlamite song. The hum-drum of the voice so struck me, that though I was obliged to listen a long while before I could hear the words, I found the similitude in the

7 S

found

We shall add two farther specimens of his satirical poetry [SS]. The first is on the Art of

found. After hearing her with pleasure drawl for above half an hour, she jumped into a brisker tune, and hobbled out the ever-famous song, in which poor Jack Fowler was to have been satirized.—“ I put my hand into a bush: I prick'd my finger to the bone: I saw a ship sailing along: I thought the sweetest flowers to find:” and other pretty flowery expressions, were twanged with no inharmonious bray.—I now ran to the window, and threw up the sash; resolved to be satisfied, whether or no it was the identical Miss Hill, *in propria persona*.—But, alas! it was a person whose twang is very well known, when she is awake, but who had drank so much royal bob (the gingerbread-baker for that, you know), that she was now singing herself asleep. This somnifying liquor had made her voice so like the sweet echo of Miss Hill's, that if I had not considered that she could not see her way up to London, I should absolutely have imagined it hers.—There was a fellow and a girl in one corner, more busy in attending to their own affairs, than the melody.

This part of the letter, for some lines, is not legible.
 the morning) from Marybone gardens; I saw the fellow in the cage at the watch-house, in the parish of St. Giles; and the nymph is an inhabitant of one of Cupid's inns of Court.—There was one similitude it would be injustice to let slip. A drunken fishman, who sells sousé mackarel, and other delicious dainties, to the eternal detriment of all two-penny ordinaries; as his best commodity, his salmon, goes off at three halfpence the piece: this itinerant merchant, this moveable fish-stall, having likewise had his dose of bob-royal, stood still for a while; and then joined chorus, in a tone which would have laid half a dozen lawyers, pleading for their fees, fast asleep: this naturally reminded me of Mr. Haythorne's song of

“ Says Plato, who oy oy oy should man be vain?”

However, my entertainment, though sweet enough in itself, has a dish of four sauce served up in it; for I have a most horrible wheezing in the throat: but I don't repent that I have this cold; for there are so many nostrums here, that 'tis worth a man's while to get a distemper, he can be cured so cheap.

June 29th, 1770.

My cold is over and gone. If the above did not recall to your mind some scenes of laughter, you have lost your ideas of risibility.

LETTER VI. (*)

Dear Mother,

I send you in the box—six cups and saucers with two basons, for my sister—If a china tea pot and cream pot, is in your opinion, necessary, I will send them, but I am informed they are unfashionable, and that the red china, which you are provided with, is more in use—a cargo of patterns, for yourself, with a snuff box, right French and very curious in my opinion.

Two fans—the silver one, is more graver than the other, which would suit my sister best—But that I leave to you both.

Some British herb snuff, in the box; be careful how you open it—(This I omit lest it injure the other matters)

Some British herb tobacco for my grandmother, some trifles for Thorne. Be assured whenever I have the power, my will won't be wanting to testify, that I remember you—

Yours,

July 8, 1770.

T. Chatterton.

N. B.—I shall forestall your intended journey, and pop down upon you at Christmas—

I could have wished, you had sent my red pocket book, as 'tis very material.

I bought two very curious twisted pipes for my grandmother; but both breaking, I was afraid to buy others lest they should break in the box; and being loose, injure the china. Have you heard any thing further of the clearance—

Direct for me at Mrs. Angels', Sack-maker, Brookstreet, Holborn.

“ Mrs. Chatterton.”

LETTER VII.

Dear Sister,

I have sent you some china and a fan. You have your choice of two. I am surprised that you chose purple and gold. I went into the shop to buy it: but it is the most disagreeable colour I ever saw—dead, lifeless, and inelegant. Purple and pink, or lemon and pink, are more genteel and lively. Your answer in this affair will oblige me. Be assured, that I shall ever make your wants, my wants; and stretch to the utmost to serve you. Remember me to Miss Sandford, Miss Rumsey, Miss Singer, &c. &c. &c.

As to the songs, I have waited this week for them, and have not had time to copy one perfectly: when the season's over, you will have 'em all in print. I had pieces last month in the following Magazines:

Gospel Magazine,

Town and Country, viz.

Maria Friendless,

Falfe Step.

Hunter of Oddities,

To Miss Bush, &c.

Court and City. London. Political Register, &c. &c.

The Christian Magazine, as they are not to be had perfect, are not worth buying—I remain,

Yours,

July 11, 1770.

T. Chatterton.

LETTER VIII.

I am now about an Oratorio, which, when finished, will purchase you a gown. You may be certain of seeing me before the 1st of January, 1771.—The clearance is immaterial.—My mother may expect more patterns.—Almost all the next Town and Country Magazine is mine. I have an universal acquaintance:—my company is courted every where; and, could I humble myself to go into a compter, could have had twenty places before now:—but I must be among the great; state matters suit me better than commercial. The Ladies are not out of my acquaintance. I have a deal of business now, and must therefore bid you adieu. You will have a longer letter from me soon—and more to the purpose.

Yours,

20th July, 1770.

T. C.

[SS] Two farther specimens of his satirical Poetry.]

THE ART OF PUFFING,

By A BOOKSELLER'S JOURNEYMAN.

VERS'D by experience in the subtle art,
 The myst'ries of a title I impart:
 Teach the young author how to please the town;
 And make the heavy drug of rhyme go down.
 Since Curl, immortal, never dying name,
 A double pica in the book of fame,
 By various arts did various dunces prop,
 And tickled every fancy to his shop:
 Who can like Pottinger ensure a book?
 Who judges with the solid taste of Cooke?
 Villains exalted in the midway sky,
 Shall live again, to drain your purses dry:

Nor

(*) Chatterton had probably changed his lodging a little before he wrote this letter. It is a remarkable passage where he says, he wishes she had sent him up his red pocket book, “ as 'tis very material.” “ More graver,” in the 11th line, confirms Mr. Bryant's opinion, p. 481, “ that he was not well grounded in the first principles of Grammar.”

of Puffing, and the other an Extract from the unpublished Manuscript of the Poem entitled "Kew Gardens." A fac-simile of this extract is given by Dr. Gregory.]

Nor yet unrivall'd they; see Baldwin comes,
Rich in inventions, patents, cuts and hums:
The honorable Boswell writes, 'tis true,
What else can Paoli's supporter do?

The trading wits endeavour to attain,
Like booksellers, the world's first idol—gain:
For this they puff the heavy Goldsmith's line,
And hail his sentiment tho' trite, divine;
For this, the patriotic bard complains,
And Bingley binds poor liberty in chains:
For this was every reader's faith deceiv'd,
And Edmund swore what nobody believ'd:
For this the wits in close disguises fight;
For this the varying politicians write;
For this each month new magazines are sold,
With dulness fill'd and transcripts of the old.
The Town and Country struck a lucky hit,
Was novel, sentimental, full of wit:
Apeing her walk, the same success to find,
The Court and City hobbles far behind:
Sons of Apollo learn, merit's no more
Than a good frontispiece to grace her door;
The author who invents a title well,
Will always find his cover'd dullness sell;

Flexney and every bookseller will buy,
Bound in neat calf, the work will never die.
V A M P.

July 22, 1770.

K E W G A R D E N S .

WHAT are the wages of the tuneful nine,
What are their pleasures when compar'd to mine?
Happy I eat and tell my num'rous pence,
Free from the servitude of rhyme and sense;
Tho' sing-song Whitehead ushers in the year,
With joy to Britain's King and Sovereign dear:
And in compliance to an ancient mode,
Measures his syllables into an ode;
Yet such the scurvy merit of his muse,
He bows to Deans and licks his Lordship's shoes.
Then leave the wicked barren way of rhyme,
Fly far from poverty, be wise in time:
Regard the office more, Parnassus less,
Put your religion in a decent dress:
Then may your interest in the town advance,
Above the reach of muses or romance.

A P P E N D I X, No. II.

V O L. IV. Page 544.

* * [CRUDEN, (ALEXANDER), M. A. was the second son of Mr. William Cruden, Merchant, and one of the Baillies of Aberdeen, an office similar to that of Alderman in England, and was born in the year 1701. He received his education in the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and was a schoolfellow with the late George Earl Marischal, and James, afterwards the celebrated Field Marechal Keith, who in the school catalogue were distinguished by *Dominus Georgius Keith*, and *Magister Jacobus Keith*. At the expiration of the usual number of years, Mr. Cruden entered as Student of Marischal College. From his close attendance at the Divinity Lectures of Mr. Blackwell, father to the late Principal Blackwell, he appears to have had thoughts of the church, as a profession; and although prevented by the melancholy change of mind which took place about this time, he preserved through the whole of life the impression that he was appointed by Heaven to preach the gospel and reform mankind.

It is uncertain to what that insanity which now appeared in his words and actions, and which with few intervals accompanied him to his grave, is to be attributed. Some thought it was occasioned by the bite of a mad dog; but nothing can be gathered from the history of that dreadful distemper which favours this opinion. Others derived his madness from disappointment in a love affair, but it is uncertain whether this operated as a cause or consequence. Some uncommon circumstances with which it was attended, however, will apologize for making mention of it in this place. The object of his affection was the daughter of a Clergyman of Aberdeen. Cruden courted her with enthusiasm and perseverance, but the Lady thought proper to reject his addresses, and his behaviour becoming outrageous and troublesome, her father ordered his doors to be shut against him. This increased his passion, and his friends soon found it necessary to confine him for a considerable time in prison. The young Lady in the mean while became pregnant, which was with too much reason attributed to a criminal intercourse with her own brother (a). She was sent into the country, and never returned. That Mr. Cruden shared in the general horror which this event produced may be easily believed. He never mentioned the name of the unhappy woman but with the bitterest grief and most tender compassion.

(a) As there are some relations of the parties yet living the names are omitted.

On his release from confinement, he gave up the pursuit of his studies at Aberdeen, and resolved to leave his native country. In the year 1722 he came to London, and engaged in several families as private Tutor to young persons at School, or who were intended for the University. In this employment he spent some years in the Isle of Man. In the year 1732, we find him in London again, as corrector of the press, and bookseller. His shop was under the Royal Exchange. While in this situation an incident happened which Mr. Cruden numbered among the most remarkable occurrences of his life. A Gentleman from Aberdeen (b), who wished to serve Cruden, offered to introduce him to a Mer-

(b) Father to the writer of this article.

a Merchant near the Royal Exchange, a near relation of the young Lady above-mentioned. When they knocked at the door of this Merchant's house, it was opened by the young Lady herself, who, unknown to Mr. Cruden or his friend, had found an asylum here. Mr. Cruden started back, with visible signs of wonder, and agony, and grasping his friend's hand, exclaimed wildly, "Ah! she has still her fine black eyes." It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that his hopes of intimacy in this family were now at an end. He did not then, nor ever after, enter the house, nor court the acquaintance of its owner, who was indeed a younger brother of the Lady.

The year after, he began to compile the work which entitles him to be ranked among the friends of literature, and consequently to a place in these records. He had long meditated "A Complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament." If the merit of labour only be given to this work, it must be acknowledged that it required labour to which it is impossible to make any addition, and perseverance that knows no interval. Mr. Cruden was well qualified for such an undertaking; for habits of industry were familiar to him, and his inclination led him to form the plan and indeed to execute the whole before he had received any encouragement from the public. The first edition was published in the year 1737. The preface explains his plan and his views in publishing [A]. The book was dedicated to Queen Caroline, who had given the author some reason to expect a gratuity on its being presented to her. But a very few days before its publication, the Queen died [B], and Cruden lost his Patroness. His affairs were now embarrassed; the time he had bestowed on his work was not productive of immediate profit, and his reward was no longer to be expected; for that he did expect a reward from her Majesty appeared by visible symptoms of the keenest disappointment. He disposed of his stock in trade and shut up his shop. Without employment, without friends, and without hope, he became again a prey to his phrenetic disorder, and it was found necessary to confine him in a private Madhouse at Bethnal Green. As soon as he was released he took revenge on his keepers, and on those who were the cause of his confinement, by publishing a pamphlet, entitled "The London Citizen exceedingly injured, giving an account of his adventures during the time of his severe and long campaign at Bethnal Green, for nine weeks and six days, the Citizen being sent thither in March 1738, by Robert Wightman a notoriously conceited whimsical man, where he was chained, hand-cuffed, strait-waistcoated and imprisoned, &c. &c." He also commenced an action against Dr. Monro, and other defendants, which was tried in Westminster-Hall, July 17, 1739, when a verdict was given in favour of the defendants. After

[A] *His views in publishing.* After reviewing the principal works of this kind which had appeared, Mr. Cruden says, "Thus it appears that we have had Concordances to the Bible some centuries ago; and the world has been so sensible of their usefulness, that many of them have been composed and published in different languages. But as there are several in our language, it may be enquired, What occasioned my undertaking this great and laborious work, or what advantage it has above any other hitherto published?"

"When I first began this work, I designed to compose an useful Concordance in octavo; but after I had printed several specimens, I found it necessary to alter my scheme, and to compile one to be printed in this large volume, in order to make those improvements which now render it preferable to any other.

"The method is easy and regular, and each text of Scripture is generally contained in one line, whereby the reader may readily find the place he wants, if he remembers any material word. When there are two or more texts of Scripture that are parallel, I have generally mentioned the first that occurs in order in the Bible, and have directly added the parallel texts. It is printed with a good letter, though pretty small, which was necessary in order to bring it into this volume, and make it contain *multum in parvo*, much in a little compass; and great care has been taken that the figures referring to the chapters and verses of the Bible be exact and correct. When a text is marked with a †, it denotes a marginal reading.

"This CONCORDANCE is divided into three alphabets. The first alphabet contains the appellative or common words, which is the principal part. It is very full and large, and any text may be found by looking for any material word, whether it be substantive, adjective, verb, &c.

"In this part I have given the various significations of the principal words, which, I hope,

"will be esteemed an useful improvement, there not being any thing of this kind in the other large Concordances: By this improvement the reader will have many texts explained, and difficulties removed; and the meaning of the Scripture may be here known by that which is accounted the best rule of interpreting Scripture, namely, by comparing one Scripture with another. There is so large a collection of the various significations of many words in Scripture, as may, perhaps, be not only useful to private Christians, but also to those who preach the Gospel, for hereby many important things may be observed at one view, without the trouble of turning over several volumes; and occasion is sometimes taken to give an account of the Jewish customs and ceremonies, by which the reader is led into the meaning of many passages of Scripture, as may be seen in the words, Elder, Ephod, Synagogue, &c.

"The second alphabet contains the proper names in the holy Scriptures, which the reader will receive with improvements, as in Abraham, David, &c. The texts referred to, where those names are mentioned, give a short historical account of the remarkable things recorded in Scripture concerning them. To this part is prefixed a table, containing the significations of the words in the original languages from which they are derived.

"The third and last alphabet is a Concordance for those books that are called APOCRYPHAL, which is only added that this work might not be deficient in any thing that is treated of in any other Concordance; those books not being of divine inspiration, nor any part of the Canon of Scripture, and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God (1)."

[B] *The Queen died.* Mr. Cruden says in a note to his Dedication, that it "was presented Nov. 3, 1737, to her Majesty, who departed this life the 20th of that very month." It was presented, however, before it was published.

(1) Preface to the first edition.

the verdict was given, Cruden said, "I trust in God." The Chief Justice, Sir William Lee, replied, "I wish you had trusted more in God, and not have come hither." Mr. Cruden had recourse again to his pen, and published an account of the trial with remarks on the Oeconomy of Private Madhouses, which he dedicated to the late King.

After this he lived chiefly by correcting the press, and under his inspection several editions of the Greek and Roman Classics were published with great accuracy. He rendered himself useful to the booksellers and printers in various ways. His manners were inoffensive: he was always to be trusted, and performed his engagements with strict fidelity. In these occupations he employed several years, until the return of his disorder obliged his friends a third time to shut him up in a madhouse. When he was released, he published his case with the whimsical title of "The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector."—Three parts afterwards appeared under the same title. It is not easy to characterize them. They are a faithful transcript of a wild mind, various, whimsical, serious and jocose. His madness was *sui generis*. We find nothing like it in the Annals of Medicine, nor can it be accounted for on any known principles of physiology. The faculty are seldom called in, and seldom attend to cases like that of Cruden; and the world either laughed at or pitied him: in his worst paroxysms it appears that he was perfectly harmless, and it is more than probable that the severity of confinement, unnecessarily added to his disorder [C].

In September 1753, when last released, he undertook what was more difficult to effect than all his former attempts. He endeavoured to persuade one or two of his friends who had confined him, to submit to be imprisoned in Newgate, as a compensation for the injuries they had brought upon him. To his sister he proposed what he thought very mild terms; she was to have her choice of four prisons; Newgate, Reading and Aylesbury Jails, and the prison in Windsor Castle. When he found that his persuasions were of no avail, he commenced an action against her and three others, and stated his damages at 10,000*l*. The cause was tried in February, 1754, and a verdict given in favour of the defendants. Cruden had now no remedy but in an appeal to the public: accordingly he published an account of this trial in a six-penny pamphlet, dedicated to the King. He went to St. James's Palace to present it, but was prevented, and denied the honour of Knighthood, to which, at this time, he aspired.

His phrenzy, indeed, was now at its height. He called himself "Alexander the Corrector," and gave out that he was commissioned by Heaven to reform the manners of the age, particularly to restore the due observance of the Sabbath. To raise the public belief in his favour, he produced and printed certain prophecies of eminent Ministers and others, all anonymous, or with the initials only of names. The substance of these prophecies was, that "Mr. Cruden was to be a second Joseph, to be a great man at Court, and to perform great things for the spiritual Israel in this sinful Egypt, &c." Furnished with such credentials, he went to Oxford and Cambridge, and exhorted the Ladies and Gentlemen, whom he found in the public walks on the Sabbath, to go home and keep that day holy. But his advice was not welcomed as he wished. And on one occasion he narrowly escaped corporal chastisement for having been too bold in his addresses to a young Lady, who happened to be walking with a Student in Clare-Hall walks. He generally followed his advice with a denunciation of eternal wrath in case of non-compliance.

On his return to London his ambition increased; for ambition he certainly indulged from the idea that he was destined to a superior station in life; and the general election approaching, Mr. Cruden determined to stand candidate for the city of London, and in a Common Hall was nominated by Mr. Sheriff Chitty, whom he had importuned to do this office for him. What will be thought very remarkable, Mr. Cruden had the satisfaction to see several hands held up for him; but he declined the poll which was instituted by the other party, and consequently lost his election. It is scarcely possible to record this event with historical gravity; but it is worthy of notice that he had actually received promises of support, and was comforted by the reflection, as he says himself, that if he had not the hands, he had the hearts of the citizens. His advertisements on this occasion are too curious not to be preserved [D]. They are specimens of his manner of speaking and writing

[C] *Unnecessarily added to his disorder.* They put a straight waistcoat upon him, and beat him, which he relates thus: "When the *Corrector* went to bed, the barbarous *Inskip* (one of his keepers) bound him very closely in the *straitwaiste-coat*. This academical garment is made of strong tick, with long sleeves which come below the ends of the fingers, and the prisoner's arms being clasped upon his breast, and brought round his sides towards his back, his hands are tied there very firmly with strong strings of tape.—The *Corrector* was very ill used this night: particularly *Inskip* swore at him for calling out in his pain, alas! alas! And a common method with *Inskip* and *Hare*, upon his calling out through pain, was to give him a blow

VOL. IV.

"or two on the breast, and to put a pillow or handkerchief upon his mouth." Usage like this was certainly not to be justified by any part of Mr. Cruden's conduct, and must have aggravated his distemper.

[D] *Not to be preserved.* "Wednesday, April 17, it appeared from what one of the door-keepers of the palace said to the *Corrector*, that the letter sent by him to the personage of the highest rank (*asking the honour of knighthood*) came safe to hand. The *Corrector*, perceiving that he was not likely to succeed at present in obtaining the honour of knighthood; and the election for the Representatives of the City of London in Parliament coming on the 30th instant, it was full time to declare his

7 T

"re-

writing concerning himself, when his phrenzy was at its height. About the same time he paid his addresses to a Lady, but lamented that in this as in every other great design, he could not command success.

Amidst this series of wild attempts and undertakings Mr. Cruden devoted his best hours to study. He was continually making additions to the Concordance, the second edition of which was published in 1761 [E]. At this time he was corrector of the press to the Public Advertiser published by the late Mr. Woodfall. He laboured, indeed, incessantly at some employment or other; and apportioned his time so judiciously that only when he appeared in public could he be said to do nothing. The business of the Printing-Office was rarely over before one o'clock in the morning, when the paper was put to press. Cruden seldom slept more than four or five hours, and before six in the morning

" resolution to offer himself a candidate, though not yet graced with the order of knighthood. If it should be asked, why the *Corrector* was so desirous of the honour of being a knight; he answers, that thinking men often seek after titles rather to please others than themselves.

" Thursday, April 18, the *Corrector* now suspended his going to Court, and wrote an appendix to his *Adventures*, containing the motives of his being a candidate for the City of London, and next day caused copies of it to be dispersed in the coffee-houses near the Royal Exchange.

" Saturday, April 20, was the first day the *Corrector* made known his being a candidate in the News papers. He was this morning at the Chapter Coffee-house, where some cloudy-headed Bookfellers and Printers dissuaded him from it, and told him it was now too late: but the *Corrector* replied, that he was not to look backward but forward. The appendix was from henceforth distributed, and when the *Corrector* himself had an opportunity of delivering a copy of it to a Liveryman, he desired the favour of him to read it, and then to vote as his conscience should direct him. It was replied by some, that nothing could be fairer. Several thousands of the appendix were distributed before and on the day of election.

" Tuesday, April 23, the *Corrector*, a Citizen and Liveryman of the Company of Stationers, thought it proper to acquaint the *Sheriffs* of his being a candidate, and therefore sent each of them the following letter:

" To the honourable Alderman Chitty and Alderman Blakiston, the two *Sheriffs* of London.

" Gentlemen,

" I humbly propose myself one of the candidates to be a Representative for the City of London, at the ensuing election; which may be looked upon as an extraordinary step. This is not denied, but I trust I am under divine direction, and I entirely refer the issue to the supreme disposer of all things. I hope that whatever pleaseth God shall please me, being altogether resigned to his will and pleasure. It ought to be my care to do my duty, and then to refer all events to God: It is the opinion of the *Corrector* that all the prophecies concerning him will come to pass in God's own time and way. The LORD was with JOSEPH, and that which he did the LORD made it to prosper.

" May the great God be pleased powerfully and graciously to incline the hearts of the Liverymen to act from the best principles, and to choose those who will be faithful, and will answer the ends of so great a trust: and may the persons who shall be chosen be inclined and determined to act zealously for the reformation, the peace and prosperity of the City.

" Heartily wishing you happiness in this world and in the world to come,

" I am, with great respect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient

North's Coffee-house, " And most humble servant,

near Guildhall,

April 23, 1754. " ALEXANDER CRUDEN."

" Thursday, April 25, the *Corrector* caused the following letter, addressed to the Liverymen of London, to be dispersed:

" Gentlemen of the Livery,

" I have acquainted the *Sheriffs* of my humbly proposing to be a candidate for one of the Representatives in Parliament of the City of London: which may be looked upon as an extraordinary step. This is not denied, but I trust I am under the direction of a gracious providence, and I desire to be entirely resigned to the will of God the supreme disposer of all things. In the appendix to *Alexander the Corrector's Adventures*, I have acquainted you with some of my motives for being a candidate, which are such as, I hope, will be approved of by every good man, as they are by my own conscience.

" If there is any just ground to hope that God will be pleased to make the *Corrector* an instrument to reform the nation, and particularly to promote the reformation, the peace and prosperity of this great City, and to bring its inhabitants to a more religious temper and conduct, no good men in such an extraordinary case will deny the *Corrector* his vote: and the *Corrector's* election may be a means to pave the way to his being a JOSEPH, and an useful prosperous man.

" May God be pleased to give a happy turn to the minds of the electors to act from the best principles, and to choose those who will be faithful to their trust, and study to promote the temporal and eternal happiness of the people.

" My earnest prayers are put up from time to time for your happiness in this world, and the world to come through JESUS CHRIST.

" I am very respectfully,

" Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient

" And affectionate humble servant,

North's Coffee-house,
near Guildhall,

April 25, 1754. " ALEXANDER CRUDEN (2)." (2) *Adventures*

[E] Was published in 1761.] And dedicated to his present Majesty. A short preface informs us, that "as to what respects this NEW EDITION, notwithstanding the great pains taken in the first, there was room for improvements. The filling up of the lines to make the text fuller could not so well be done in the manuscript copy, as in the printed. This renders the sentences more complete in many thousands of places: moreover the texts are more distinct in many places by the leading words being distinguished in *Italic characters*. Some texts are added, and some improvements are made in the *significations* of words, and an historical account is given of some eminent persons under their proper names; and other things that need not here be particularly mentioned.

" The labours of many persons to compile Concordances to the Bible, and their acceptance from time to time by the public, shew their usefulness: It may be reckoned a good sign that religion is revived in some considerable degree in the present age, by the great demand for Concordances and religious books. The first edition of several thousands in number has been long sold off, which shews this book's favourable reception from the public; and a demand has long been made for a new edition." June 11, 1761, A. C.

he might always be found turning over his Bible, adding, amending, and improving his Concordance with great and scrupulous attention: at this he continued till evening, when he went to the Printing Office. This assiduous attention to useful objects, it was hoped, would restore his mind to a state of calm regularity, and in some degree this was the case. His next appearance in public will be seen with satisfaction.

In 1762, one Richard Potter, a Sailor, was tried and capitally condemned at the Old Bailey for forging, or rather uttering, knowing it to be forged, a Seaman's Will, a crime which then, as well as now, is rarely pardoned. It appeared, however, from the evidence, that Potter was a poor illiterate creature, the tool of another, and ignorant of the nature of the crime he committed. Fortunately for him Mr. Cruden happened to be in Court; and was so firmly convinced that Potter was a proper object of the Royal clemency, that he determined to interfere in his behalf.—To be more fully satisfied, however, he visited Potter in Newgate, examined him, and found that his crime was the crime of ignorance, without any evil intention on his part. But it was not to save him from the sentence of the law only that Cruden meditated. He prayed with him, exhorted him, taught him the principles of religion, and gave him a proper sense of the wickedness of his past life, and the enormity of the crime for which he was condemned: in a word, he made a convert of a poor wretch who had scarcely ever heard of a God. He then began to devise means to obtain a pardon, and improbable as it appeared, his repeated applications succeeded, and Potter's sentence was changed into transportation. Mr. Cruden accompanied his petition to the Earl of Halifax, then Secretary of State, with a copy of the second edition of the Concordance, to which was prefixed an elegant Latin Dedication to his Lordship [F]. The tenderness with which Mr. Cruden visited, exhorted, fed and cloathed his pupil, the anxiety he felt, and the unceasing importunity of his applications to every person that could be useful to Potter, deserve to be remembered with approbation, and to reconcile us to all his oddities. A particular account of the whole affair was published the same year, entitled "The History of Richard Potter, &c. &c."

The success Mr. Cruden had enjoyed in reforming this poor criminal induced him to continue his labours among the other felons in Newgate. He visited them every day, gave them New Testaments, Catechisms, &c. catechised them, and bestowed small pecuniary rewards on the most apt scholars. His labour, however, was lost; the books were soon exchanged for money, and the money spent in drinking; and Cruden discontinued his practice when he found it produced no better effects. A regard for the eternal welfare of his fellow-creatures was a predominant feature in his character. He was peculiarly elated when he had succeeded in rescuing any poor creature from the barbarity of ignorance or the practice of wickedness. Of this we have another instance, but at what period it happened cannot now be remembered. Returning one Sunday evening from a place of worship, he accidentally met with a man whose looks betrayed anxious sorrow, melancholy, and, as Cruden imagined, despair. He immediately accosted the man, and drew from him a confession that the extreme poverty of his family, and other causes, had driven him to the desperate resolution of committing suicide. Mr. Cruden expostulated with him, displayed the wickedness of his intention, and administered such friendly consolation, accompanied with pecuniary assistance and a promise of future support, that the poor man became chearful, resigned and hopeful. In such acts Mr. Cruden delighted.

At the time when the disputes between Mr. Wilkes and the Government agitated the nation, Mr. Cruden wrote a small pamphlet against that Gentleman, whom he never could bear named with patience. He testified his aversion to him in a way peculiar to himself, by effacing No. 45, wherever he found it chalked on doors or window-shutters. His instrument was a large piece of sponge, which he carried in his pocket, partly for this purpose, and partly that no words, offensive to good morals, might be allowed to disgrace the walls, doors, &c. of the metropolis. This employment rendered his walks through the city very tedious.

In the year 1769 he visited Aberdeen, the place of his nativity, and in a public hall gave a lecture on the cause of reformation; contended that he was born to reform the age, and exhorted all ranks to amend their ways. There was nothing in this advice improper or absurd—but Mr. Cruden's manner was always at variance with his matter, and he met with no better success here than in other places. Many anecdotes are related of his labours

[F] *Dedication to his Lordship.* The dedication is the following.

Nobilissimo, Consultissimo, Excellentissimoque Viro GEORGIO MONTAGU DUNK, COMITI de HALIFAX, Serenissimo REGI GEORGIO TERTIO à Secretis fidelissimo, nec non per multos annos Commercii Insularum occidentalium & Coloniarum in America primario Gubernatori felicissimo, et nuper Praefecto supremo in Hibernia dignissimo, et ab omnibus Hiberniae Incolis dilectissimo, ac etiam durante praesenti infelici motu intestino in BRITANNIA ab omnibus cujuscunque ordinis probatissimo.

Hoc Dictionarium Christianum, Scripturarum sacrarum Concordantia, in signum ingentis observantiae, et verae gratitudinis propter insignam benevolentiam tuam in ansultando supplicationibus meis ardentibus, & RICHARDUM POTTER à mortis pena liberando, humillime offertur: Et COMITI DE HALIFAX omnimodam felicitatem & gratiam ac pacem à DEO per CHRISTUM precatur

ALEXANDER CRUDEN.

Londini, Ivy-lane, Idibus Septembris, Anno Æræ Christianæ, 1763.

here,

here. Among others, he printed the Fourth Commandment in the form of a hand-bill, and distributed them to all persons, without distinction, whom he met in the streets on Sunday. To a young Clergyman whom Cruden thought too conceited and modern, he very gravely and formally presented a little catechism, used by children in Scotland, called "The Mother's Catechism," dedicated to the *Young and Ignorant*. For young people he always had his pockets full of religious tracts, such as Guyse's Sermons, &c. which he bestowed with pleasure on such as promised to read them.

After residing about a year at Aberdeen he returned to London, and took lodgings in Camden-street, Islington, where he died. In the morning of Thursday, November 1, 1770, he was found dead on his knees, apparently in the posture of prayer. He had complained for some days of an asthmatic affection, but it did not seem attended with danger. As he never married, he bequeathed his moderate savings to his relations, except a certain sum to the city of Aberdeen to be employed in the purchase of religious books for the use of the poor; and he founded a bursary (or exhibition) of five pounds sterling *per annum*, to assist in educating a Student at the Marischall College. This bursary was to be obtained on certain terms specified in his will, one of which was a perfect acquaintance with Vincent's Catechism.

In private life Mr. Cruden was courteous and affable; prone to give his opinions, and firm in all his religious persuasions. To the poor he was as liberal of his money as of his advice: he seldom, indeed, separated the one from the other. His concern for them must have been sincere, for interest he could have none; and his generosity must have been pure, for he often gave more than he retained for his own uses. To such young men, especially from Aberdeen, as were recommended to him, he acted like a father, or affectionate friend and tutor. Among men of genius he cannot be classed: but in his greatest labours he experienced no fatigue, and the utility of his literary projects will not admit of a dispute. His Concordance was his favourite work [G]; and it is probable that the attention he bestowed upon it was favourable to the state of his mind, although it could not altogether prevent the return of that phrenzy which gave a certain colour to all his actions, and suggested to him those whimsical plans of reformation, and those hopes of superiority, which were as useless to himself as unprofitable to others. In conversation and in writing his style was stiff and awkward. He does not appear to have had a prompt memory, and his words came slowly. In religion he professed Calvinism, as appears from the definitions in his Concordance of the words *grace, faith, predestination*, &c. But it must be added, that he had not an intolerant spirit, and often with severity he censured the principles and practices of narrow-minded men. During the greatest part of his life in London, he joined in communion with Dr. Guyse's Independent Meeting; but about the year 1761-2, when age and infirmities obliged the Doctor to resign, and Dr. Stafford succeeded him, Mr. Cruden attended Dr. Conder on the paved stones, Moor-fields, and went to Dr. Guyse's Meeting on the first Sunday of every month only, when the Sacrament was administered.]

[G] *His Concordance was his favourite work.* The last edition of this work was the fourth, published in 1786. The two former editions as well as this are

embellished with a head of the author. That published in 1769 is the most striking likeness.

7

DANIEL

D.

DANIEL (SAMUEL), an eminent Poet and Historian [A], in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. was the son of a Music-master; and born near Taunton in Somersetshire (a), in the year 1562. In 1579 (b), he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford; where he continued about three years, and, by the help of an excellent Tutor, made a considerable improvement in academical

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England. Som. rf. p. 28.

(b) Langbaine, ubi infra, says, in 1581.

[A] *An eminent Poet and Historian.* Mr. Daniel's Poetical Works, consisting of Dramatic and other Pieces, are as follows. I. *The Complaint of Rosamond*. London, 1594, 1598, 1611, and 1623, in 4to. II. *A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius*. London, 1611, in 8vo. (1). These two pieces resemble each other both in the subject and stile, being written in the Ovidian manner, with great tenderness and variety of passions. The measure is stanzas of seven lines, of which take the following specimen, where he makes Rosamond speak of Beauty in as expressive a manner as description can reach.

Ah! Beauty, Syren, fair enchanting good,
Sweet silent rhet'rick of persuading eyes;
Dumb eloquence, whose pow'r doth move the blood,
More than the words or wisdom of the wise;
Still harmony, whose diapason lies
Within a brow; the key, which passions move,
To ravish sense, and play a world in love (2).

(1) Wood, *Arch. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 447, 448.

(2) Poetical Works of Mr. S. Daniel. Lond. 1718. 8vo. vol. i. p. 41.

(3) Wood, *ibid.*

(4) *Id. ibid.*

(5) *Id. ibid.*

III. *Hymen's Triumph: A Pastoral Tragi-Comedy. Presented at the Queen's Court in the Strand, at her Majesty's magnificent entertainment of the King's most excellent Majesty, being at the nuptials of the Lord Roxborough.* London, 1623, 4to. second edition (3). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the most excellent Majesty of the highest born Princess, Anne of Denmark, Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.* It is introduced by a pretty contrived Prologue, by way of dialogue, in which *Hymen* is opposed by *Avarice*, *Envy*, and *Jealousy*, the disturbers of quiet marriage. In this piece, our author sometimes touches the passions with a very delicate hand. IV. *The Queen's Arcadia: A Pastoral Tragi-Comedy. Presented to her Majesty and her Ladies, by the University of Oxford, in August, 1605.* London, 1623, 4to. (4). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the Queen's most excellent Majesty.* V. *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, presented in a Mask, the eighth of January, at Hampton-Court, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty and her Ladies.* London, 1604, 8vo. and 1623, 4to. Some copies have it, *The Wisdom of the Twelve Goddesses, &c.* (5). It is dedicated to the Right Honourable the Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford. It had been printed without the author's leave, and so imperfectly, that, to prevent the prejudice it might suffer thereby, he published it from his own copy. His design, under the shapes, and in the persons of twelve goddesses, was, to shadow out the blessings, which the nation enjoyed under the peaceful reign of King James I. By *Juno* was represented *Power*; by *Pallas*, *Wisdom* and *Defence*; by *Venus*,

Love and *Amity*; by *Vesta*, *Religion*; by *Diana*, *Chastity*; by *Proserpine*, *Riches*; by *Macaria*, *Felicity*; by *Concordia*, the *Union of Hearts*; by *Astræa*, *Justice*; by *Flora*, the *Beauties of the Earth*; by *Ceres*, *Plenty*; and by *Tethys*, *Naval Power*. All these allegorical personages were properly attired, and offered up the several emblems of their power to the temple of *Peace*, erected upon four pillars, representing the four Virtues, that supported a globe of the earth. 1. *Juno*, in a sky-coloured mantle, embroidered with gold, and figured with peacocks feathers, wearing a crown of gold on her head, presents a sceptre. 2. *Pallas* (which was the person her Majesty chose to represent) was attired in a blue mantle, with a silver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war, with an helmet on her head; and presents a lance and target. 3. *Venus*, in a mantle of dove-colour, and silver embroidered doves, presented (instead of her *Cestus*, the Girdle of Amity) a scarf of divers colours. 4. *Vesta*, in a white mantle embroidered with gold flames, and dressed like a Nun, presented a burning lamp in one hand, and a book in the other. 5. *Diana*, in a green mantle embroidered with silver half-moons, and a crescent of pearl on her head, presents a bow and a quiver. 6. *Proserpine*, in a black mantle embroidered with gold flames, with a crown of gold on her head, presents a mine of gold ore. 7. *Macaria*, the Goddess of Felicity, in a mantle of purple and silver, embroidered with the figures of Plenty and Wisdom (which concur to the making of true happiness) presents a *Caduceus* with the figure of Abundance. 8. *Concordia*, in a party-coloured mantle of crimson and white (the colours of England and Scotland joined) embroidered with silver hands in hand, with a head-dress likewise of party-coloured roses, presents a branch thereof in a wreath or knot. 9. *Astræa*, in a mantle of crimson embroidered with silver, figuring the sword and balance (the emblems of Justice) which she presented. 10. *Flora*, in a mantle of divers colours, embroidered with all sorts of flowers, presents a pot of flowers. 11. *Ceres*, in a straw-colour and silver embroidery, with ears of corn, and a head-dress of the same, presents a sickle. 12. *Tethys*, in a sea-green mantle, with a silver embroidery of waves, and a head-dress of reeds, presents a trident (6). VI. *The Tragedy of Cleopatra.* (6) Poetical Lond. 1594 and 1598, 4to (7). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the Right Honourable the Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke.* VII. *The Tragedy of Philotas.* London, 1611, &c. 8vo. (8). It is dedicated by a copy of verses *To the Prince*, afterwards King Charles I. This play met with some enemies, not on the score of the wit, or conduct of the design;

(6) Poetical Works, &c. vol. i. p. 228, &c. (7) Wood, ubi supra. (8) *Ibid.*

demical learning. But his genius inclining him more to studies of a softer and gayer nature, he left the University without a degree, and applied himself to English History and

sign; but because it was reported, that the character of *Philotas* was drawn for the unfortunate Earl of Essex; which obliged the author to vindicate himself from this charge in an *Apology*, printed at the end of the play. Both this play, and that of *Cleopatra*, are written after the manner of the antients, with a chorus between each act; and were much esteemed in their time. VIII. *The History of the Civil Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster*. A Poem in eight books. London, 1604, 8vo. and 1623, 4to. with his picture before it (9). It is dedicated *To the High and most Illustrious Prince Charles His Excellence*. The introduction to this Poem is plainly an imitation of the beginning of *Lucan's Pharsalia*.

(9) Wood, *ubi supra*.

I sing the Civil Wars, tumultuous broils,
And bloody factions of a mighty land;
Whose people, haughty, proud with foreign spoils,
Upon themselves turn back their conqu'ring hand;
Whilst kin their kin, brother the brother foils;
Like ensigns all against like ensigns band;
Bows against bows, the crown against the crown;
Whilst all pretending right, all right's thrown down.

What fury, O! what madness held thee so,
Dear England, too, too prodigal of blood,
To waste so much, and war without a foe;
Whilst France, to see thy spoils, at pleasure stood!
How much might'st thou have purchas'd with less woe,

T' have done thee honour, and thy people good?
Thine might have been whatever lies between
The Alps and us, the Pyrenees and Rhene (10).

(10) Poetical Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 5, 6.

IX. *Funeral Poem upon the Death of the late Earl of Devonshire*. London, 1623, 4to. X. *A Panegyrick Congratulatory, delivered to the King's most excellent Majesty at Burleigh-Harrington, in Rutlandshire*. London, 1604 and 1623, 4to. XI. *Epistles to various great Personages in Verse*. London, 1601 and 1623, 4to. (11). XII. *The Passion of a distressed Man, who being in a Tempest on the Sea, and having in his Boat two Women (of whom he loved the one, that disdained him; and scorned the other, who affected him) was by Commandment from Neptune to cast out one of them, to appease the Rage of the Tempest; but which was referred to his own choice* (12). If the reader is curious to know the determination of this man's choice, it is summed up in the concluding line of the Poem;

(11) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(12) Poetical Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 364.

She must be cast away, that wou'd not save.

(13) Wood, *ibid.* XIII. *Musophilus, containing a general Defence of Learning*. Printed with the *Epistles*, &c. (13). It is addressed *To the Right worthy and judicious Favourer of Virtue, Mr. Fulke Grevil*. XIV. *Various Sonnets to Delia* (14). They are fifty-seven in number. XV. *An Ode*. XVI. *A Pastoral*. XVII. *A Description of Beauty, translated out of Marino*. XVIII. *To the Angel Spirit of the most excellent Sir Philip Sydney*. XIX. *To the Right Reverend Father in God James Montague, Bishop of Winchester* (15). *A Defence of Rhime*. Lond. 1611, 8vo. (16). The title, at length, is; *A Defence of Rhime, against a Pamphlet, intituled, Observations on the Art of English Poesy: wherein is demonstratively proved, that Rhime is the fittest Harmony of Words, that comports with our Language*. It is dedicated *To all the worthy Lovers and learned Professors of Rhime within his Majesty's Dominions*; and it is addressed to his patron, *William Herbert Earl of Pembroke*. This piece is in prose. All these pieces are published together, in two volumes, 12mo. under the title of *The Poetical Works of Mr. Samuel Daniel, author of the English History*. London, 1718. We must not omit the praises bestowed on Mr. Daniel, as a Poet, by contemporary writers; one of whom, in a copy of verses on the *Time Poets* (17), styles him

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Poetical Works, &c. vol. ii. p. 418, &c.

(16) Wood, *ibid.*

(17) See *Choice Drollery*, in 8vo. Lond. 1636, p. 6.

The pithy *Daniel*, whose salt lines afford
A weighty sentence in each little word.

Another author, in a copy called *A Censure of the Poets* (18), speaks of him thus:

(18) See *Sportive Wit*, 8vo. p. 70.

Amongst these *Samuel Daniel*, whom I
May speak of, but to censure do deny:
Only have heard some wise men him rehearse
To be too much Historian in verse.
His rhimes were smooth, his metres well did close;
But yet his manner better fitted prose.

His good friend Mr. Charles Fitz-Geoffry wrote the following Latin epigram in his praise (19):

(19) *Vide Epigr. in 8vo. Oxon. 1601.*

Spenserum si quis nostrum velit esse Maronem,
Tu, Daniele, mihi Naso Britannus eris.
Sin illum potius Phæbum velit esse Britannum,
Tum, Daniele, mihi tu Maro noster eris.
Nil Phæbo ulterius; si quid foret, illud haberet
Spenserus, Phæbus tu, Daniele, foret.
Quippe loqui Phæbus cuperet si more Britanno,
Haud scio quo poterat, ni velit ore suo.

If Spenser merits Roman Virgil's name,
Daniel, at least, comes in for Ovid's fame.
If Spenser rather claims Apollo's wit,
Virgil's illustrious name will Daniel fit.
No higher than Apollo we can go:
But, if a loftier title you can show,
That greater name let Spenser's Muse command,
And Daniel be the Phæbus of our land.
For, in my judgment, if the god of verse
In English wou'd heroic deeds rehearse,
No language so expressive he cou'd chuse,
As that of English Daniel's lofty Muse.

We come now to consider Mr. Daniel as an *Historian*, in which capacity he wrote: *The First Part of the History of England, in three Books*. London, 1613, 4to. reaching to the end of King Stephen. To which he afterwards added a *Second Part*, reaching to the end of King Edward III. London, 1618, 1621, 1623, and 1634. This History was continued to the end of King Richard III. by John Trussell, a Trader and Alderman of the city of Winchester (20). Of Mr. Daniel's History a certain writer (21) gives this character: 'It is written with great brevity and politeness; and his political and moral Reflections are very fine, useful, and instructive.' Mr. Langbaine takes it to be the *Crown* of all our author's Works (22); and Dr. Fuller tells us (23), 'he was a judicious Historian; witness his Lives of our English Kings, since the conquest, until King Edward the Third; wherein he hath the happiness to reconcile brevity with clearness, qualities of great distance in other authors.' Dr. Heylin (24), speaking of the chief Historians of this nation, has these words: *And, to end the bead-roll, Half the story of this realm done by Mr. Daniel, of which I believe that which himself saith of it in his Epistle to the reader, that there was never brought together more of the main.* To conclude the character of this performance, I shall transcribe what Dr. Kennet says of it (25). 'Mr. Daniel's History follows next, containing the reigns of William I. and II. Henry I. King Stephen, Henry II. Richard I. King John, Henry III. Edward I. II. and III. The author had a place at Court in the reign of King James I. and seems to have taken all the refinement a Court could give him. It is said, he had a good vein in Poetry, and it is certain he has shewn great judgment in keeping it, as he did, from infecting his prose, and destroying that simplicity, which is a principal beauty in the stile of an Historian. His narration is smooth and clear, and carries every where an air of good sense and just eloquence; and his English is much more modern than *Milton's*, though he lived before him. But Mr. *Milton* chose to write

(20) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(21) Bohun's Translation of *Wheat's Method. legendi Histor.* p. 171.

(22) Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 104.

(23) Worthies of England. Somers. p. 23.

(24) In the Preface to his *Comography*.

(25) In the Preface to his *Complete History of England*.

(if

(c) Wood's *Art.*
Oxon. vol. i. col.
447.

(d) *Id. ib.*

(b) Fuller, *ibid.*

and Poetry (c) under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family [B]. Afterwards he became Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford [C], and, upon the death of the famous Spenser, was appointed Poet Laureat to Queen Elizabeth. In King James's reign, he was made Gentleman Extraordinary, and afterwards one of the Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the Queen Consort, who took great delight in his conversation and writings (d). He rented a small house and garden in Old-street near London, where in private he composed most of his Dramatic Pieces (e). Towards the end of his life, he retired to a farm, which he had at Beckington near Philips-Norton in Somersetshire (f), where, after some time spent in the enjoyment of the Muses and religious contemplation, he died, and was buried [D], in the year 1619 (g). He left no issue by his wife Justina, to whom he was married several years (h).

(e) Langhaine's
Account of the
Dramatic Poets.
Oxford 1691.
p. 100. and
Winstanley's
Live: of the
Poets. Lond.
1687. p. 111.
(f) Fuller, *ubi*
supra, says, near
the Devises in
Wiltshire.
(g) Wood, *ubi*
supra, col. 448.

' (if the expression may be allowed) a hundred years backwards; whereas it is particularly to be admired how Mr. Daniel could, so long ago, express himself with the same purity and grace as our most sensible writers do now, though we flatter ourselves, that we have considerably improved the language.'

[B] — under the encouragement and patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family.] This may be gathered from a hint in his *Defence of Rhime*, dedicated to William Herbert Earl of Pembroke. For, addressing himself to that Lord, he says (26): 'We are told, how that our measures go wrong, all rhiming is gross, vulgar, barbarous; which if it be so, we have lost much labour to no purpose; and for my own particular, I cannot but blame the fortune of the times, and my own genius, that cast me upon so wrong a course, drawn with the current of custom, and an unexamined example: Having been first encouraged and framed thereunto by your most worthy and honourable Mother, and received the first notion for the formal ordering of those compositions at Wilton, which I must ever acknowledge to have been my best school, and thereof always am to hold a feeling and grateful memory. Afterwards, drawn farther on by the well-liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of me and my Muse, I adventured to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiving it agreed so well, both with the complexion of the times, and my own constitution.'

[C] He was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford.] This we learn from his epitaph (27). By the way it must be noted, that this Lady Anne, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, was the same person, who lived like a Princess, for many years after our author's death, in Westmorland; was a great lover and encourager of learning and learned men, hospitable, charitable to the poor, and of a most generous and public spirit. She died the 22d of March, 1675, aged 87, and was buried under a stately monument in the church of Appleby, in Westmorland (28).

[D] — was buried.] On the wall over his grave is this inscription (29): *Here lies, expecting the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the dead body of Samuel Daniel, Esq; that excellent Poet and Historian, who was Tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford in her youth, she that was daughter and heir to George Clifford Earl of Cumberland; who in gratitude to him erected this monument to his memory, a long time after, when she was Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery. He died in Octob. an. 1619.* B.

*. [The writers of the *Biographia Dramatica* have remarked, that there is an evident confusion in the account which some authors have given of Mr. Daniel's Life. But the confusion is solely owing to a blunder of Langhaine's that is flagrantly absurd. Langhaine, after stating the time of Mr. Daniel's birth and death in the same manner as is done in the article above, unaccountably adds, that he lived to fourscore years of age. This gross mistake has been copied by Gildon and Jacob (30).

Mr. Granger observes, on Samuel Daniel's having succeeded Spenser as Poet-Laureat to Queen Elizabeth, that he was then thought to have merited the Laurel. "His prose," adds Mr. Granger, "has much more simplicity and elegance than is to be found in the generality of the writers of his

age; but his poetry is too prosaic to gain many admirers in the present (31)." It appears, from the lines quoted in note [A], that the same objection was made to him by some of his contemporaries.

Mr. Headley, in the *Biographical Sketches* prefixed to his "Select Beauties of ancient English Poetry," has given the most accurate estimate that has yet been formed of Daniel's poetical character. Speaking of the dialogue between Ulysses and the Syren, in one of our author's plays, and which he acknowledges to be only neat and unaffected, he adds:

"But Daniel has a right to the merit of still higher excellence. Though very rarely sublime, he has skill in the pathetic, and his pages are disgraced with neither pedantry nor conceit. We find, both in his poetry and prose, such a legitimate and rational flow of language as approaches nearer the style of the 18th than the 16th century, and of which we may safely assert, that it will never become obsolete. He certainly was the Atticus of his day. It seems to have been his error to have entertained too great a diffidence of his own abilities. Constantly contented with the sedate propriety of good sense, which he no sooner attains than he seems to rest satisfied, though his resources, had he but made the effort, would have carried him much farther. In thus escaping censure, he is not always entitled to praise. From not endeavouring to be great, he sometimes misses of being respectable. The constitution of his mind seems often to have failed him in the sultry and exhausting regions of the Muses; for, though generally neat, easy, and perspicuous, he too frequently grows slack, languid, and enervated. In perusing his long historical poem we grow sleepy at the dead ebb of his narrative, notwithstanding being occasionally relieved with some touches of the pathetic. Unfortunate in the choice of his subject, he seems fearful of supplying its defects by digressional embellishment. Instead of fixing upon one of a more fanciful cast, which the natural coolness of his judgement would necessarily have corrected, he has cooped himself up within the limited and narrow pale of dry events: instead of casting his eye on the general history of human nature, and giving his genius a range over her immeasurable fields, he has confined himself to an abstract diary of Fortune: instead of presenting us with pictures of Truth from the effects of the Passions, he has verified the truth of action only. He has sufficiently, therefore, shewn the historian, but by no means the poet. For, to use a sentiment of Sir Wm. Davenant's, "Truth narrative and past is the idol of historians (who worship a dead thing,) and truth operative, and by its effects continually alive, is the mistress of poets, who hath not her existence in matter but in reason." Daniel has often the softness of Rowe without his effeminacy. In his *Complaint of Cleopatra* he has caught Ovid's manner very happily, as he has no obscurities either of style or language, neither pedantry nor affectation, all of which have concurred in banishing from use the works of his contemporaries. The oblivion he has met with is peculiarly undeserved: he has shared their fate, though innocent of their faults. Daniel enjoyed the friendship and the praises of the most eminent men of his age (32)."

We shall insert one of the specimens which Mr. Headley, in his collection, has produced of Daniel's poetical talents. It is the description of Richard the Second, the morning before his murder in Pomfret Castle.

"Whether

(31) *Biographical History of England*, vol. ii. p. 11, 12. 2d edit.

(32) *Select Beauties of ancient English Poetry*, vol. i. p. xlii, xliii.

(26) *Poetical Works*, &c. vol. i. p. 6.

(27) See the 1st Remark.

(28) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(29) *Id. ibid.*

(30) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. i. p. 110.

Whether the soul receives intelligence
By her near Genius, of the body's end,
And so imparts a sadness to the sense,
Foregoing ruin, whereto it doth tend;
Or whether Nature else hath conference
With profound sleep, and so doth warning send
By prophetizing dreams, what hurt is near,
And gives the heavy careful heart to fear:

"However, so it is; the now sad King
(Toss'd here and there, his quiet to confound)
Feels a strange weight of sorrows gathering
Upon his trembling heart, and sees no ground;
Feels sudden terror bring cold shivering:
Lifts not to eat; still muses; sleeps unbound:
His senses droop, his steady eyes unquick;
And much he ails, and yet he is not sick.

"The morning of that day which was his last,
After a weary rest rising to pain,
Out at a little grate his eyes he cast
Upon those bord'ring hills, and open plain,
And views the Town, and sees how people pass'd;
Where others liberty makes him complain
The more his own, and grieves his soul the more;
Conferring captive crowns, with freedom poor.

"O happy Man, saith he, that lo I see
Grazing his cattle in those pleasant fields!
If he but knew his good, (how blessed he
That feels not what affliction greatness yields!)
Other than what he is he would not be,
Nor change his state with him that sceptres wields.
Thine, thine is that true Life—that is to live,
To rest secure, and not rise up to grieve.

"Thou sitt'st at home safe by thy quiet fire,
And hear'st of others harms, but feelest none;
And there thou tell'st of Kings, and who aspire,
Who fall, who rise, who triumph, who do moan.
Perhaps thou talk'st of me, and dost enquire
Of my restraint, why here I live alone;
And pitiest this my miserable fall:
For pity must have part: envy not all.

"Thrice happy you, that look as from the shore,
And have no venture in the wreck you see;
No int'rest, no occasion to deplore
Other mens travels, while yourselves sit free.
How much doth your sweet rest make us the more
To see our misery, and what we be!
Whose blinded greatness ever in turmoil,
Still seeking happy life, makes life a toil.

"Great Dioclesian (and more great therefore,
For yielding up that whereto Pride aspires)
Reck'ning thy gardens in Illyria more
Than all the Empire, all what th' Earth admires;
Thou well didst teach, that he is never poor
That little hath, but he that much desires;
Finding more true delight in that small ground,
Than in possessing all the Earth was found.

Are Kings (that freedom give) themselves not free,
As meaner men, to take what they may give!
What! are they of so fatal a degree,
That they cannot descend from that, and live?
Unless they still be Kings, can they not be?
Nor may they their authority survive?
Will not my yielded crown redeem my breath?
Still am I fear'd?—is there no way but death (33)?" (33) *Ibid.* 111

With regard to Daniel's dramatic pieces, it is observed, in the *Biographia Dramatica*, that they are not equal to some other of his poetical works, and still less so to his histories, which are yet held in very high estimation. His tragedy, however, of *Cleopatra* was greatly esteemed in its time; and there is an edition of it in 1623, in which the author has made various alterations, much to its advantage. Both in this Tragedy and in his *Philotas*, Mr. Daniel has shewn great judgment, by treading in the steps of the ancients in the modelizing of his fable, and the conduct of his morals; two circumstances of principal importance, though frequently disregarded (34).

(34) *Biographia Dramatica*, vol. i. p. 111. vol. ii. p. 58. 221.

K.

DANVERS (HENRY), a brave warrior in the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth century; and created Earl of Danby by King Charles I. was the second son of Sir John Danvers, Knight [A], by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir to John Nevil the last Lord Latimer (a). He was born at Dantesey in Wiltshire, on the 28th day of June, 1573. After an education suitable to his birth, he went and served in the Low-Country wars, under Maurice Count of Nassau, afterwards Prince of Orange; and was engaged in many military actions of those times, both by sea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, occasioned in that kingdom by the League; and there knighted for his good service under Henry IV. King of France. Next, he was employed in Ireland (b), as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Serjeant-Major of the whole Army, under Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (c). Upon the accession of King James I. he was, on account of his family's deserts and sufferings [B], advanced, the twenty-first of July, 1603, to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the title of Baron of Dantesey (d): and in 1605, by a special act of Parliament, restored in blood, as heir to his father, notwithstanding the attainder of his elder brother, Sir Charles Danvers, Knight (e). Moreover, he was appointed Lord President of Munster in Ireland (f): and in 1620 made Governor of the Isle of Guernsey, for life (g). By King Charles I. he was created Earl of Danby (h), on February 5, 1625-6; and made of his Privy-Council; and Knight of the Order of the Garter (i). Being himself a man of learning, as well as a great encourager of it; and observing that opportunities were wanting in the University of Oxford for the useful study

(a) The Baronage of England, by Sir W. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 416. and vol. i. p. 313.

(b) See *Pacata Hibernia: Ireland appeased and reduced*, &c. by T. Stafford, edit. 1633. fol. p. 199. 233. and *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, &c. published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; in 1725. vol. i. p. 370.

(c) Dugdale, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 416, 417.

(d) Pat. 18. Jac. p. 13.

(e) Dugdale, *ut supra*, p. 417.

[A] Was the second son of Sir John Danvers, Knt.] That family was originally of *Anvers* or *Antwerp*, as their surname implies. The greatest accession to their honour and fortune (1), came by the marriage of Sir John Danvers with Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, and one of the co-heiresses to John Lord Latimer: Whose three other daughters, were, Catherine, wife of Henry Earl of Northumberland; Dorothy, wife of Tho. Cecill, the first Earl of Exeter; and Lucy, wife of Sir William Cornwallis, Knt. (2). Sir Henry Danvers's elder brother, was Sir Charles Danvers, Knt. who adhering to Robert Earl of Essex, in his disloyal designs against the Court, fell a sacrifice to

(1) See Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1722. fol. col. 920.

(2) Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 313.

the Cecilian faction, and was attainted of high-treason, and beheaded in 1601 (3). The reader is to observe, that this family's surname is sometimes written *Danvers*, and sometimes *Davers* (4).

[B] On account of his family's deserts and sufferings.] For, both the Earl of Essex, Sir Charles Danvers, and the rest that then suffered, were thought to have fallen a sacrifice to the King of Scots succession; and the Earl of Essex was considered by King James I. as his martyr (5).

(3) See Rayn's *H. of England*; in the beginning of K. James the 1st's reign, or vol. ii. edit. 1733. fol. p. 159.

(d) *Ibid.* & Pat. i. Jac. p. 14. The Danvers were descended from the ancient family of Dantesey.

Camden's *Britannia*, edit. 1722. col. 105.

(e) Dugdale, *ib.* and *Journal of Parliament*.

(f) Dugdale, *ib.* p. 417.

(g) Pat. i. Car. I. p. 7. Camden's *Brit.* col. 911.

(3) See Camden's *Annals of Q. Elizabeth*, under the year 1601.

(4) See Dugdale, and Camden, *ib.* and Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 416, 417. and *Hinc ni Pacata*, by T. Stafford, *ubi sup.*

of Botany, he purchased a piece of ground by the river Charwell, opposite to Magdalen-College; which he encompassed with a curious wall of square polished stone, and replenished with a great variety of plants and herbs proper for the study of Physic and Botany [C]. He founded also an Alms-house, and a Free-school, at Malmesbury in Wiltshire (k). In his latter days he chose a retired life; and (upon what account is not well known) fell under the displeasure of the Court [D]. At length, he died at his house in Cornbury Park in Oxfordshire, January the 20th, 1643-4, in the seventy-first year of his age: and was buried in the Chancel of the Parish-church of Dantesey, under a noble monument of white marble, with an epitaph [E], which contains the best character that can be given of him. He was never married (l).

His younger brother and heir, was Sir John Danvers, Knight, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber to King Charles I. who was so ungrateful and inhuman, as to sit in judgment upon his gracious Master, that unfortunate Prince, and to be one of those who signed the warrant for his execution. He died before the Restoration of King Charles II. but, however, all his estates both real and personal were confiscated in 1661 (m). His character is given below [F].

[C] *Proper for the study of Physick and Botany.* In order to put this noble design in execution, he purchased for the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, five acres of ground, in the place mentioned above; which had formerly served for a burying place to the Jews (residing in great numbers at Oxford, till they were expelled England by King Edward I. in 1290). His right and title to that piece of land, he conveyed to the University, on the 27th of March, 1622. And the ground being first considerably raised, to prevent its being overflowed by the river Charwell; the Heads of the University laid the first stones of the walls, on the 25th of July following. They were finished in 1633, being fourteen foot high: and cost the noble benefactor about five thousand pounds. The entrance into the garden, is on the north side under a stately gate, the charge of building which amounted to between five and six hundred pounds. Upon the front of that gateway, is this Latin inscription: *Gloria Dei Opt. Max. Honori Caroli Regis, in usum Acad. et Reipub. Henricus Comes Danby, D. D. MDCXXXII. i. e.* 'To the Glory of God, and the Honour of King Charles, for the use of the University and the Kingdom, Henry Earl of Danby gives and dedicates [this Garden.]' For the maintenance of it, and of a Gardener, the noble founder left, by Will, the impropriate rectory of Kirkdale in Yorkshire: which was afterwards settled for the same purpose, by his brother and heir, Sir John Danvers, Knt. The Earl of Danby's Will bore date the 14th of December, 1640 (6).

[D] *Fell under the displeasure of the Court.* For, he was fined five thousand pounds in the Star-Chamber, for having felled timber in Wichwood-forest, without licence (7). This was such a severe punishment, as would not have been inflicted upon him, had he been in the good graces of the Court.

[E] *With an epitaph.* Being as follows: 'Henry Earl of Danby, second son to Sir John Danvers, Knight, and Dame Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to John Nevil Lord Latimer; born at Dauntsey, in the county of Wiltshire, the 28th day of June, Ann. Dom. 1573, and baptized in this church, the first of July following, being Sunday. He departed this life on the Twentieth day of January, Ann. Dom. 1643, and lyeth here interred. He was partly bred up in the Low-Country-wars, under Maurice E. of Nassau (afterwards Prince of Orange) and in many other military actions of those times both by sea and land. He was made a Captain in the wars of France, and there knighted for

his good service, under Henry the Fourth, then French King. He was employed as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and Serjeant-Major of the whole army in Ireland, under Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Baron of Montjoy, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was made Baron of Dauntsey, and Peer of this realm, by King James the First; and by him made Lord President of Munster, and Governor of Garnesey. By King Charles the First, he was created Earl of Danby; made of his Privy Council, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. But, declining more active employments, in his later time (by reason of his imperfect health;) full of honour, wounds, and dayes, he died at his house, in Cornbury Park, in the county of Oxford, in the 71 year of his age (8).'

Laus Deo.

Sacred marble, safely keep
His dust, who under thee must sleep,
Untill the years again restore
Their dead, and time shall be no more.
Meane while, if he (which all things wears)
Does ruine thee; or if thy tears
Are shed for him: dissolve thy frame,
Thou art requited: for his fame,
His vertue, and his worth, shall be
Another monument to thee.

G. Herbert.

[F] *His character is given below.* From the Lord Clarendon (9), who delivers it in the following words: 'The other (10) was Sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, who was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.'

M.

DAVENANT (JOHN), Bishop of Salisbury in the seventeenth century, was born in Watling-street, London, where his father was an eminent Merchant, but originally descended from the antient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Essex (a) [A]. What school he was educated in, we cannot find. But, on the fourth of July, 1587, he was admitted Pensioner of Queen's College in Cambridge (b). He regularly

[A] *Descended from the antient family of the Davenants of Sible Heningham in Essex.* And of Davenant's-lands in that parish; where his father was

born, and his ancestors had continued in a worshipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry the Third (1).

(b) From the College Register. It does not appear by it that he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner, as T. Fuller affirms. *Ib.*

(1) Fuller, *ubi supra*.

(k) Camden's Britannia, *ut supra*, col. 105.

(l) Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 417.

(m) See Register and Chronicle, &c. by Bishop Kennet. Lond. fol. 1728. p. 156. 178. 490.

(6) A. Wood, Hist. & Antiquitates Univ. Oxon. edit. 1674. lib. ii. p. 45. See also the Present State of England, &c. by J. Chamberlayne. Part i. ch. 12. (7) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, vol. ii. Part ii. edit. 1735. 8vo. p. 644.

(a) T. Fuller's Church Hist. edit. 1655. B. xi. p. 176.

took his degrees in Arts; that of Master in 1594 (c). A Fellowship was offered him about the same time; but his father would not permit him to accept of it on account of his plentiful fortune: however, after his father's decease, he accepted of one (d), into which he was admitted September 2, 1597 (e). Being thus settled in the College, he distinguished himself, as he had already done before [B], by his learning and other excellent qualifications (f). In the year 1601 he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity: and that of Doctor in 1609 (g). This same year last-mentioned he was elected Lady Margaret's Professor, which place he enjoyed till 1621 (h). He was also one of her Preachers in 1609 and 1612. On the 20th of October 1614, he was admitted Master of his College, and continued in that station till April 20, 1622 (i). And so considerable did he become, that he was one of those eminent English Divines, sent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618 [C]. He returned to England in May 1619 (k), after having visited the most eminent cities, and other remarkable places, in the Low-Countries (l). Upon the death of his brother-in-law Dr. Robert Townson, he was nominated Bishop of Salisbury; and was elected June 11, 1621, confirmed November 17 following, and consecrated the 18th of the same month (m). He continued in favour during the remainder of King James the First's reign: but in Lent 1630-1, he incurred the Court's displeasure, for meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the predestinarian controversy [D]; "all curious search" into which, his Majesty had strictly enjoined "to be laid aside (n)." For this pretended contempt of the King's Declaration, he was not only reproved, the same day; but also summoned to answer, two days after, before the Privy Council. And though he was dismissed without farther trouble, and even admitted to kiss the King's hand [E], yet he was never afterwards in favour at Court (o). He died of a consumption April 20, 1641 (p), to which a sense

(f) T. Fuller, *ib.*
(g) University Register.

(l) T. Fuller, *ubi supra*, Book x. p. 82.

(n) In his Declaration prefixed to the XXXIX Articles, in 1628: which has frequently been reprinted at the head of them.

(o) Fuller, *ubi supra*, Book xi. p. 138, 139, 140.

[B] He distinguished himself, as he had already done before.] In his youthful exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr. Whitacre hearing him dispute, said, 'That he would in time prove the honour of the University; a prediction that proved not untrue, as T. Fuller observes (2).

(2) Fuller, *ubi supra*.

[C] He was one of those eminent English Divines, sent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618.] The others were, George Carleton, D. D. then Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chichester; Joseph Hall, D. D. then Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Norwich; and Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of Sidney-College, Camb. and Archdeacon of Taunton. [But the air not agreeing with Dr. Hall, he obtained leave to return to England about Christmas, and Thomas Goade, D. D. was sent in his room (3).] They embarked Octob. 17 (4), landed at Middleburgh the 20th; came to the Hague the 27th of the same month; and thence removed to Dort, where the Synod was opened November 3, O. S. and ended April 29 (5). They came back to England May 7 (6). During their stay in Holland, these four Divines had ten pounds a day allowed them by the States; and a present of two hundred pounds, at their departure, for their charges; besides a golden medal, to each of them, whereon was represented the Synod sitting (7).

(3) T. Fuller, *ubi supra*, Book x. p. 77, 78, 79, 80.
(4) Camdeni *Annales*, *ubi supra*. p. 37.

(5) Fuller, *ib.* p. 78.
(6) Camden, *ib.* p. 45.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 79. 82.

[D] For meddling (in a Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the Predestinarian controversy.] As soon as his Sermon was ended, it was signified to him, That his Majesty was much displeased, that he had stirred this question, which his Majesty had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other: the Bishop's answer was, That he had delivered nothing, but the received doctrine of our Church, established in the 17th Article, and that he was ready to justify the truth of what he had then taught. He was told, The doctrine was not gain-said, but his Majesty had given command, these questions should not be debated, and therefore he took it more offensively that any should be so bold, as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. To this he replied, That he never understood his Majesty had forbidden the handling of any doctrine comprised in the Articles of our Church, but only raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto, which he had not done, nor ever should do. Two days after, when he appeared before the Privy-Council, Dr. Sam. Harfnet, Archbishop of York, made a speech nearly half an hour long, aggravating the boldness of Bishop Davenant's offence, and shewing many inconveniences that it was likely

to draw after it. When the Archbishop had finished his speech, the Bishop desired, That since he was called thither as an offender, he might not be put to answer a long speech upon the sudden, but that his Grace would be pleased to charge him point by point, and so to receive his answer; for he did not yet understand wherein he had broken any commandment of his Majesty's, which was taken for granted. After some pause, the Archbishop told him, He knew well enough the point which was urged against him, namely the breach of the King's declaration. Then he stood upon this defence, That the doctrine of Predestination which he taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration: 1st. Because in the Declaration all the Articles are established, amongst which, the Article of Predestination is one. 2. Because all Ministers are urged to subscribe unto the truth of the Article, and all subjects to continue in the profession of that as well as of the rest. Upon these and such like grounds, he gathered, that it could not be esteemed amongst forbidden, curious, or needless doctrines; and here he desired that out of any clause in the Declaration it might be shewed him, that keeping himself within the bounds of the Article, he had transgressed his Majesty's command; but the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it: only this was urged, That the King's will was, that for the peace of the Church these high questions should be forborne. He added, That he was sorry he understood not his Majesty's intention; which if he had done before, he should have made choice of some other matter to treat of, which might have given no offence; and that for the time to come, he should conform himself as readily as any other to his Majesty's command; whereupon he was dismissed. At his departure, he entreated the Lords of the Council, to let his Majesty understand, that he had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, against his Declaration, meddled with the forenamed point; and that now understanding fully his Majesty's mind, and intention, he should humbly yield obedience thereunto (8).

[E] And even admitted to kiss the King's hand.] When he came into the royal presence, his Majesty declared to him his resolution, That he would not have this high point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, because it was too high for the people's understanding; and other points which concern reformation and newness of life, were more needful and profitable. The Bishop promised obedience therein, and so kissing his Majesty's hand departed (9).

(c) From the University Register. The Register-book, wherein his Bachelor of Arts degree was entered, is lost.

(d) T. Fuller, *ibid.*

(e) College Register.

(h) Catalogue of those Professors; before the Lady Margaret's Funeral Sermon, reprinted at London, 1709.

(i) College Register.

(k) G. Camdeni *regni Regis Jacobi I. Annales*, Apparatus. edit. 1691. 4to. p. 45. ad callem ipsius Epistol.

(m) T. Fuller, *ibid.* 1691. and J. Le Neve's *Fossi Ecclesie Anglicanae*, Sec. edit. 1716. fol. p. 261.

(p) Godwin de *Præulibus*, cum continuatione Cl. Vir. Gul. Richardson. Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 353.

(8) This account is taken from Bp. Davenant's relation of the whole matter in a letter to Dr. Ward. See Fuller, *ubi supra*, B. xi. p. 139, 140.

(9) Fuller, *ib.*

of

of the sorrowful times, that he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse, did not a little contribute (q). Among other benefactions, he gave to Queen's College in Cambridge, the perpetual Advowsons of the Rectories of Cheverel Magna, and Newton Tony in Wiltshire; and a Rent-charge of thirty-one pounds ten shillings *per annum*, for the founding of two Bible-Clerks, and buying books for the library, in the same College (r). We shall give an account of what he published in the note [F]. As to his character; He was humble, and hospitable; painful in preaching and writing; and behaved in every station with exemplary gravity and moderation (s). He was a man of great learning, and an eminent Divine (t); but strictly attached to Calvinism, with all its absurdities of unconditionate Predestination, &c. Whilst he was at the Synod of Dort, he inclined to the doctrine of Universal Redemption; and was for a middle way between the two extremes, maintaining The Certainty of the Salvation of a certain number of the Elect; and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all that should believe and repent, but to all that heard the Gospel: that Grace sufficient to convince and persuade the impenitent (so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves) went along with these offers; that the Redemption of Christ and his Merits were applicable to these; and consequently there was a possibility of their Salvation (u). He was buried in Salisbury Cathedral.

(q) Fuller, *ibid.* p. 176.

(t) *Summa fuit eruditionis, & magni nominis theologus.* Richardion, *ubi supra.*

(r) From the information of the present worthy Master.

(s) Fuller, *ubi supra*, p. 176.

(u) The History of the Reformation, &c. in the Low-Countries. fol. by Ger. Brandt, vol. iii. p. 256.

[F] *We shall give an account of what he published.* I. A Latin Exposition on St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. *Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Joannem Sarisburiensem Episcopum in lucem edita: Olim ab eodem, Dominae Margaretae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professore Theologico, dictata*, fol. The third edition was printed at Cambridge in 1639. It is the substance of Lectures read by our author as Lady Margaret Professor. So was also the following; II. *Praelectiones de duobus in Theologia controversis Capitibus: De Jure Controversiarum, primo; De Justitia habituali & actuali, altero: Per Reverendissimum Virum Joan. Davenantium, S. Theol. Doctorem (nunc Episcopum Sarisburiensem) ante aliquot annos in celeberrima Academia Cantabrigiensi*

Theologiae professorem pro Domina Margareta, in Scholis Theologicis auditoribus suis dictatae. Cantab. 1631, fol. i. e. Lectures on the two controverted points, 1. The Judge of controversies; 2. Habitual and actual Righteousness, &c. III. In 1634, he published the Questions, which he had disputed upon in the schools, 49 in number, under this title, *Determinationes Quæstionum quarundam Theologicarum, per Reverendissimum Virum Joannem Davenantium, &c.* fol. IV. The last thing he published, was, 'Animadversiones upon a treatise lately published and intitled, 'God's Love to Mankind, manifested by disproving his absolute Decree for their Damnation.' Cambr. 1641, 8vo. This treatise was written by S. Hoard.

M.

D'AVENANT or DAVENANT (WILLIAM), Poet-Laureat in the reigns of Charles the First and Charles the Second. He was the younger son of an honest citizen of Oxford, one Mr. John Davenant, who kept that which was afterwards the Crown-Tavern there, and was a person of a very grave disposition, as well as unblemished reputation (a). William Davenant, of whom we are to speak, was born in the latter end of the month of February 1605, and, on the third of March following, was christened at St. Martin's Church, in which parish his father's house stood (b). While he was a child he was very much taken notice of for his brisk and lively parts, and for his early inclination to letters, more especially to Poetry, hinted by some, and asserted by others, to have been owing to some very singular accidents, as to which it may not be amiss to enter into a few particulars, though the reports themselves deserve but little credit (c). [A]. He received the first rudiments of polite learning from Mr. Edward Sylvester, who

(a) *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii.* p. 168.

(b) Langbaine's English Dramatic Poets, p. 106.

(c) Winstanley's Lives of English Poets, p. 185.

kept,

[A] *Deserve but little credit.* We are obliged to Mr. Wood for a double account of this celebrated Poet. In his Latin work, which was translated for him, and is thought sometimes to express the sentiments also of Dr. Fell, under whose auspice that translation was performed; there is a succinct account of the different humours of John Davenant the father, and William Davenant the son (1). But in Mr. Wood's English History of Oxford writers, we have his sentiments a little more at large; for, having told us who his father was, and that the tavern he kept was afterwards known by the sign of the Crown, he proceeds thus (2): 'His mother was a very beautiful woman, of a good wit and conversation, in which she was imitated by none of her children, but by this William. The father, who was a very grave and discreet citizen (yet an admirer and lover of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journies between Warwickshire and London) was of a melancholic disposition, and was seldom or never seen to laugh, in which he was imitated by none of his children, but by Robert his eldest son, afterwards Fellow of St. John's college, and a venerable Doctor of Divinity.' That there is somewhat of mystery in this account, and more especially in the parenthesis relating to Shakespeare, the

reader will easily discern; but whether a modern writer has truly interpreted Mr. Wood's meaning, must be left to the reader's judgment (3). 'His father's house, says Mr. Jacob, being frequented by the famous Shakespeare in his journies to Warwickshire, his poetical genius in his youth, was, by that means, very much encouraged, and some will have it, that the handsome landlady, as well as the good wine, invited the Tragedian to those quarters.' Thus much is certain, that our author admired Shakespeare more than any English Poet, and that one of the first essays of his muse was a poem upon his death, which happened when Davenant was about ten years old. The reader perhaps will not be displeased to see it (4).

(3) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, vol. ii. p. 58.

(4) Davenant's Works, P. i. p. 218.

ODE in remembrance of Master William Shakespeare.

I.

Beware delighted Poets! when you sing,
To welcome nature in the early spring,
Your num'rous feet not tread
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r
As it ne'er knew or sun or show'r,
Hangs there the pensive head.

Each

(1) *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii.* p. 168.

(2) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 411.

kept, at that time, a grammar-school in the parish of All Saints in Oxford (*d*), where he was so happy as to breed up several persons, who, afterwards, became eminent for their learning and abilities. In the year 1621, the same in which his father was Mayor of the city, he was entered a member of the University of Oxford in Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Mr. Daniel Hough (*e*): but the Oxford Historian is of opinion, that he did not stay there long (*f*), but, being strongly affected to lighter studies, and perhaps encouraged by some of the young Noblemen and Gentlemen with whom he became acquainted there, he quitted the seat of the Muses, in hopes of making his fortune at Court, where he became first Page to Frances Duchefs of Richmond, a Lady very famous in those days, who had a great influence at Court, and who kept a kind of court of her own (*g*). He afterwards removed into the family of Sir Fulk Grevile Lord Brooke, who being himself a man of parts and learning, and much addicted to Poetry, he stood very high in his favour, and might, very probably, have made a figure in the world under his patronage, if that noble Peer had not been suddenly deprived of life by the hands of a barbarous assassin, September 30th, 1628 (*h*). By this unfortunate accident Mr. Davenant was left quite at large, but, however, without any detriment to his fortune, since we find that the year ensuing he produced his first play to the world, which was very well received, and to which some very honourable recommendations were prefixed when it was printed [*B*]. He spent the next eight years of his life in a constant attendance upon the Court, where nobody was better received, or more highly careffed, being particularly intimate with Thomas Carew, Esq; Endymion Porter, Esq; Sir John Suckling, Mr. Henry Jermyn, the Honourable Henry Howard, and, in a word, with all the great wits of that time: nor was he less regarded by the Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Weston, and other great men (*i*), notwithstanding an unlucky accident that did no small injury to his handsome face, which the Oxford Historian assures us, arose from his familiarity with a handsome black girl in Axe-yard, in Westminster (*k*), and which exposed him to a good deal of raillery [*C*]. In this space of time he wrote several plays, and many more poems, which

(*d*) Wood's *Art.*
Oxon. vol. ii. col.
411. 505.

(*e*) *Hist. et Antiq.*
Oxon. Lib. ii.
p. 168.
(*f*) *Atb. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 411.

(*h*) Dugdale's
Baronage, vol. ii.
p. 443.

(*i*) As appears
from the poems
addressed to them
in his *Miscellane-
ies*, and from his
Dedications.

(*g*) Wilson's
*Reign of King
James I.* in the
Compleat Hist.
of England, vol.
ii. p. 777.

(*k*) *Atben. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 412.

II.

Each tree, whose spreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath than shade,
(Unwilling now to grow)
Looks like the plume a Captain wears,
Whose rifled falls are steeped with tears,
Which from his last rage flow.

III.

The pitious river wept itself away,
Long since (alas! to such a swift decay,) *[B]*
That reach the map and look,
If you a river there can spie,
And for a river your mock'd eye,
Will find a shallow brook.

Will Dav'nant asham'd of a foolish mischance,
That he had got lately trav'ling in France;
Modestly hop'd th' handsomeness of 's muse,
Might any deformity about him excuse.

Surely the company had been content,
If they could have found any precedent;
But in all their records, in verse or in prose,
There was none of a Laureat who wanted a nose.

And, as if this had been a jest that could never die,
in a poem written some years after with the same
title, there was another bold stroke at poor Sir Wil-
liam Davenant's disfigured visage, but with more of
ill nature, and much less of wit in it (*10*).

[B] Were prefixed when it was printed. The title
of this first dramattick piece of our author's runs
thus:

I. ALBOVINE *King of the Lombards, his Tragedy*,
Lond. 1629, 4to.

This work is founded upon true History, and our
author seems to have drawn his materials both from
antient and modern writers (*5*). He imitates Shake-
speare in many places, and copies him in some. Mr.
Langbaine says it was dedicated to the Right Ho-
nourable the Duke of Somerset (*6*), in which strange
mistake he is followed by later writers; but the Play
itself plainly proves, that it was addressed to the un-
fortunate Robert Ker, Earl of Somerset (*7*); and it
is very evident from thence, that this Nobleman was
not so little considered under his misfortunes as is
generally imagined. It was justly esteemed a very
good first Play, and as such is commended to the
world by eight copies of verses, all written by emi-
nent men, of whom we will mention three, Sir
Henry Blount, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of
Clarendon, and the Honourable Henry Howard.

[C] To a good deal of raillery. The plain fact is,
that Mr. Davenant, being very amorous, was so un-
lucky as to carry the tokens of his irregular gallan-
tries in the depression of his nose, which afforded the
satyrick wits of those times a pregnant subject for a
kind of familiar abuse, which affected him as little,
or perhaps less, than it would any other man (*8*).
This accident happened pretty early in his life, since
it gave occasion to the following stanzas in Sir John
Suckling's *Sessions of the Poets*, which I have tran-
scribed from a very correct copy (*9*).

Damn'd Holden, with's dull German Princess
appear'd,

Whom if Dav'nant begot, as some do suppose,
Apollo said the pillory should crop off his ears,
And make them more suitable unto his nose.

But, what is most extraordinary, Mr. Davenant
himself could not forget the authorefs of his misfor-
tune, but has introduced her into his *Gondibert*, and,
as the Criticks think, a little improperly. He brings
two friends, Ulfinoe the elder, and Goltho the
younger, on a journey to the Court of Gondibert;
but in their passage, to shew, as he would suggest,
the frailty of youth, they were arrested by a very un-
looked-for accident, in spite of the wise counsels
which Ulfinoe had just received from his father (*11*).

For a black beauty did her pride display,
Through a large window, and in jewels shone,
As if to please the world, weeping for day,
Night had put all her starry jewels on.

This beauty gaz'd on both, and Ulfinoe
Hung down his head, but yet did lift his eyes
As if he fain would see a little more,
For much, though bashful, he did beauty prize.

Goltho did like a blushless statue stare,
Boldly her practis'd boldness did out-look,
And ev'n for fear she would mistrust her snare,
Was ready to cry out, That he was took!

She,

(*5*) *Paulus Dia-
conus de Gestis
Langobardorum*,
Lib. ii. c. 28.
*Gregorius Episc.
Turonensis Hist.
Francorum*,
Lib. ii. c. 28.
*Belleforest Hist.
Tragiques*, tom.
iv. n. 19.
(*6*) Langbaine's
English Poets,
p. 107.
*Jacob's Lives of
English Poets*,
vol. i. p. 59.
(*7*) Davenant's
Works, P. ii.
p. 414.

(*8*) *Atben Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 412.

(*9*) The Works
of Sir John
Suckling, p. 6, 7.

(*10*) Dryden's
Miscellanies,
vol. ii. p. 95.

(*11*) *Gondibert*,
B. iii. Cant. 6.
Stanza 31.

which he addressed to the principal persons of the Court, and was also employed in framing several masques, that were acted at court, not only by the principal nobility of both sexes, but one in which even the Queen herself vouchsafed to take a share, though it gave very high offence to the scrupulous moralists of those times (l). By these performances he raised his poetical character to a very great height; most of his pieces, whatever may be thought of them now, being then esteemed the best of their kind, and, as such, highly applauded by those who were thought the ablest judges (m). We shall mention their titles, and a few remarkable particulars that relate to them, in the notes [D]. Upon the death of the justly celebrated Benjamin Johnson, in 1637, our Poet succeeded to his laurel; which gave very high offence to Mr. Thomas May, who was his competitor; and though it was well enough known, that Mr. Davenant owed his preferment to the favour of the Queen, yet his rival carried his spleen still higher, and, from being a warm courtier, became not only a warmer malecontent, but distinguished himself afterwards against his Royal Master, both as an Advocate and an Historian to the Parliament (n). As for Mr. Davenant, he continued very stedfast in his old road, adhered to his old principles, and his old friends, writing from time to time new poems, exhibiting new plays, and having the chief direction and management of the Court diversions, so long as the disorders of those times would permit (o). Of these pieces also we shall say so much as is necessary at the bottom of the page [E]. When the troubles began, Mr. Davenant had an early share in them;

(l) Langbaine's English Dramatic Poets, p. 110.

(m) As appears by the commendatory verses of Sir John Suckling, Mr. Waller, Mr. Cowley, Mr. Carew, &c.

(n) Wood's Athl. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 413, 414.

(o) Phillips's Theatre Poeticum, P. ii. p. 191.

She, with a wicked woman's prosp'rous art,
A seeming modesty, the window clos'd;
Wisely delay'd his eyes, since of his heart
She thought she had sufficiently dispos'd.

E're he could more lament, a little page,
Clean and perfum'd, one whom this Dame did
breed
To guess at ills too manly for his age,
Steps swiftly to him, and arrests his steed:

With civil whisper cries, *My Lady, Sir!*—
At this Goltho alights as swiftly post,
As posterns mount by ling'ring loth to err;
As wind-bound men, whose sloth their first wind
lost.

They enter, and ascend, and enter then
Where DALGA with black eyes does sinners
draw;
And with her voice holds fast repenting men,
To whose warm jet light Goltho is but straw.

Nicely as bridegroom's was her chamber dress'd,
Her bed as bride's, and richer than a throne;
And sweeter seem'd than the Circania's nest,
Though built in Eastern groves of cinnamon.

The price of Princes pleasure, who her love
(Though but false ware) at rates so costly
bought;
The wealth of many, but may hourly prove
Spoils to some one by whom herself is caught.

She, sway'd by sinful beauty's destiny,
Finds her tyrannick pow'r must now expire,
Who meant to kindle Goltho in her eye,
But to her breast has brought the raging fire.

Yet even in simple love she uses art,
Though weepings are from looser eyes but leaks,
Yet eldest lovers scarce would doubt her heart,
So well she weeps, and thus to Goltho speaks.

[D] That relate to them in the notes.] We will in this note give a list of such of his works, as were written within this period, that is, before he was honoured with the title of Poet Laureat, and which, in the judgment of those times, were generally thought to have deserved it.

II. *The JUST ITALIAN*, a Tragi-Comedy, London, 1630, 4to.

This dramattick performance is dedicated to Edward Earl of Dorset, whose favourable opinion of it saved it from the condemnation of a hasty audience. It is introduced by two copies of verses, one written by Mr. William Hopkins, and the other by Mr. Thomas Carew; and it cannot certainly be denied to have

VOL. IV.

much wit, deep contrivance, and a quick succession of busy scenes handsomely expressed. Some of our later Poets, who had read this piece, lost nothing by their reading; and if it were not an invidious task, one might shew where and what they gained.

III. *The CRUEL BROTHER*, a Tragedy, London, 1630, 4to.

This is dedicated to Richard Lord Weston, at that time Lord High Treasurer of England. The author acknowledges, in this Dedication, some errors in the piece itself; and in this, no doubt, the Criticks will allow him a sound judgment: it seems however to have been pretty well received.

IV. *COELUM BRITANNICUM*, a Masque at Whitehall, in the Banqueting-House, on Shrove Tuesday night, the 18th of February 1633.

It was attributed to our author, though the machinery, which was very fine, was contrived and executed by Inigo Jones, and part of the piece itself written by Tho. Carew (12). The King himself wore a mask in this piece, and the rest of the performers were men of the first quality in the three nations (13). This we find omitted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue.

(12) Athl. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 413.

(13) Sir Wm. Davenant's Works, p. 382.

V. *Triumphs of Prince D'Amour*, a Masque, presented by his Highness at his palace in the Middle Temple the 24th of February 1635, 4to.

This masque, at the request of the honourable society of the Middle Temple, was invented and written by our author in three days, and was presented by the members thereof as an entertainment to the Prince Elector. The musick of the songs and symphonies was composed by Mr. Henry and Mr. William Lawes, his Majesty's servants (14).

(14) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 11.

VI. *Platonick Lovers*, a Tragi-Comedy, London, 1636, 4to.

VII. *The Wits*, a Comedy, London, 1636, 4to. This play is dedicated to our author's true friend, and early patron, Endymion Porter, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber. There is a copy of verses in vindication of it, prefixed by Thomas Carew, Esq. It was favourably received by the publick after it's first performance, in which it ran some risk of being lost, and was for many years acted with great applause.

VIII. *BRITANNIA TRIUMPHANS*, a Masque presented at Whitehall by the King's Majesty and his Lords, on Sunday after Twelfth night, anno 1637, 4to.

This piece is not inserted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue, or in the folio edition of our author's works, but has been very lately printed in Ireland.

IX. *The TEMPLE of LOVE*, a Masque, presented by the Queen's Majesty and her Ladies at Whitehall.

[E] At the bottom of the page.] Within the space prescribed to this note, his performances were but few:

X. *SALMACIDA SPOLIA*, a Masque, presented to the King and Queen at Whitehall, the 21st of January 1639, London, 1639, 4to.

7 Y

The

them; for he was accused to the Parliament of being embarked in a design in May 1641, for bringing up the army for the defence of the King's person, and the support of his authority, into which he was very probably drawn by his friends, there being many of them deep in this scheme, such as Mr. Henry Piercy, afterwards Lord Piercy, Mr. Goring, Mr. Jermyn, Mr. Ashburnham, Sir John Suckling, and others (p). Most of these, upon the discovery of their design, sought to secure themselves by flight, and Mr. Davenant among the rest; but a Proclamation being published for apprehending him, he was stopped at Feverham, sent up to town, and put into the custody of a Serjeant at Arms (q). In the month of July following he was bailed, and, not long after, finding it expedient to withdraw to France, he had the misfortune to be seized again in Kent, by the Mayor of Canterbury. At last, however, he had the good luck to compleat his intention, and to retire beyond the seas, where he continued for some time (r). But the Queen sending over a considerable quantity of military stores, for the use of the Earl of Newcastle's army, Mr. Davenant (s) came over with them, offered his service to that noble Peer, who was his old friend and patron, and was by him made Lieutenant General of his Ordnance (t), to the no small dislike of some, who thought that a poet very unfit for a Poet; in which, however, they made no great compliment to their General, who wrote poems and plays as well as Mr. Davenant (u). It is very probable, that he took some pains to qualify himself effectually for his duty in that capacity, since, in the month of September, 1643 (w), he received the honour of knighthood from the King, at the siege of Gloucester, as a mark of the satisfaction he took in his services, at a season when he had a very fair opportunity of discovering who they were that deserved that character. His Muse, in the midst of these toils and troubles, sometimes raised her voice, and the same gratitude he had expressed to former patrons, he was inclined to shew to such as protected his fortunes now, some instances of which were made public [F]. It does not appear how he came to leave the northern army, nor have we any accounts of his military services after the time before-mentioned; but, after the King's affairs began to

(q) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 412.

(s) *May's Hist. of
the Parliament,*
B. ii. p. 53.

(t) *Life of Wm.
Duke of New-*
castle, written by
his Duchesse,
p. 150.

(u) *Warwick's
Memoirs,* p. 235,
236.

(w) *Walkeley's
catalogue of the
Dukes, Marquis-*
ses, Earls, Vis-
counts, Barons of
England, Baro-
nets, Knights,
&c. Lond. 1653.
8vo. p. 163.

(p) *May's Hist. of
the Parliament,*
B. i. p. 97.

(r) *Sir John
Mennes's Poems,*
p. 35.

(15) *Athen. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 413.

The subject was set down by our author and Inigo Jones; the invention, ornament, scenes, &c. by the latter, and what was spoken or sung was written by Mr. Davenant, then her Majesty's servant; and the musick composed by Lewis Richard, Master of her Majesty's musick (15). This piece is likewise omitted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue, and in the collections of Davenant's works, which however is a point of injustice: for though no question can be made that Inigo Jones was a man of exalted genius, yet convincing evidence might be brought to prove, that in matters of this nature few people had a more lively imagination, or a taste more correct, than our author.

It must have been some time within this period, that he published the first edition of his *Miscellaneous Poems*, which I must confess I have never seen, but I am acquainted with their contents from later editions. These consisted of addresses to his patrons and his friends, of new years compliments to the Queen, of prologues and epilogues to his own and other mens plays, and other things of a like nature. It must be confessed, that as a great part of them were written while he was a very young man, so they want this apology to palliate the roughness of some, and the want of ease and perspicuity in others; though in his succeeding works he is not at all liable to this censure. But whatever exceptions may be taken to his poetical character in these juvenile performances, we must allow, that the candour, gratitude, tenderness, friendship, and good nature, expressed in them, make sufficient amends, inasmuch as it plainly proves, that, if we allow for the state of our poetry at that time, he deserved to be admired for his parts. The many amiable qualities of his mind rendered him also very justly beloved.

[F] *Some instances of which were made publick.* It is very probable, that the two following pieces were written some years earlier than they were printed, for it can hardly be supposed, that after Mr. Davenant had fallen so grievously under the displeasure of the Parliament, he could have any great intercourse with his Stationer at London; so that it is more likely, these plays having been formerly acted with applause, were now printed in the absence, though not without the consent, of their author.

XI. *The unfortunate Lovers, a Tragedy*, London, 1643, and again in 1649, 4to.

This tragedy is founded upon an Italian story,

was received very kindly at the time of it's appearance, and was often acted after the Restoration. It is somewhat strange that this should be omitted in Mr. Langbaine's catalogue of our author's works, notwithstanding it is mentioned by Winstanley (16), and which is more in Mr. Langbaine's own catalogue of plays.

XII. *Love and Honour, a Tragi-Comedy*, Lond. 1649, 4to.

The scene is laid in Savoy, and after dramatick entertainments were revived again, Mr. Langbaine assures us, that he has seen this play often acted with applause, at the play-house in Lincoln's-inn fields, and afterwards at the theatre in Dorset Garden (17). In point of stile it resembled Shakespeare rather than Fletcher, and is more correctly finished than any of Sir William Davenant's former plays, which shews that he was not hurt by the applause that he had met with, but thought himself obliged to labour hard, and take so much the more pains to deserve it. Both these plays are without any testimonies of the author's friends before them, because published at a time, when, perhaps, there were not many who were inclined to inform the world that they were his friends.

XIII. *MADAGASCAR, with other poems*, London, 1648, 8vo. 2d edit.

His Madagascar was addressed to Prince Rupert, and must have been written many years before, since there are some commendatory verses addressed to him expressly upon this poem, by his old friend Sir John Suckling, who died about six years before the printing of this edition. There are some other commendatory verses also, that were prefixed to the first edition, and were reprinted now; and amongst these likewise there is a copy of Sir John Suckling's. We may discern from the printing of this second edition at that juncture, how much the poetick talent of Sir William Davenant was then admired, since it is plain he could then have no other patron than the publick, being himself an exile in France, and many of his friends with him. The dedicatory inscription before these poems is very singular and laudable, and as at the same time it is very short, the reader will probably be well pleased to peruse it. Thus it runs:

If these POEMS live, may their memories by whom they were cherished, ENDYM. PORTER, H. JERMYN, live with them.

(16) *Lives of the
most famous
English Poets,*
p. 186.

(17) *Account of
the English Dra-
matick Poets,*
p. 109.

decline,

decline, he judged it necessary to retire into France, where he was extremely well received by the Queen (x) and, it seems, was taken much into her confidence, since we find him embarked in a negotiation of great importance, when the King was at Newcastle, which was in the summer of 1646. Before this time Sir William had embraced the Popish Religion, which, we have reason to judge, might be a concurring, if not a principal, cause of his being employed at this time, and upon such an occasion. The noble Historian (y), who had always a particular friendship for him, has given a full account of it, though not much to his advantage, but still with all the tenderness due to his acknowledged sense of Sir William's good intentions, and of that long and intimate acquaintance that had subsisted between them; which is so much more worthy the reader's notice, as it has entirely escaped the observation of most of those, who have undertaken to give us this Gentleman's memoirs, though the most remarkable passage in his whole life (z) [G]. Upon his return to Paris, he fell in with that set of people, who laboured to silence the storm of their sorrows by some kind of amusement. His were literary; and the desire he had of writing an heroic poem, meeting with much leisure, and some encouragement, led him to undertake one of a new kind, the two first books of which he finished at the Louvre, where he lived with his old friend Lord Jermyn; and these, with a sensible preface, addressed to Mr. Hobbes, his answer, and some commendatory poems, were published in England (a). All, however, were not captivated by Sir William's verse, or frightened into silence by the Philosopher of Malmesbury's prose; so that the worth of this work was quickly drawn into question, and, upon this, the King's little Court were extremely divided (b). Fame, however, was so thin a diet, that Sir William Davenant was willing to venture into any climate that promised a better: yet, like a worthy man, he had a view to his country's good, while he consulted his own. He had heard, that vast improvements might be made in the loyal colony of Virginia, in case they had proper artificers, and, finding there were many of these in France, who were destitute of employment, he formed a very wise and honest project of removing industrious men, who were in want of bread, to a fruitful country that was in want of them; which having, by the assistance of Queen Henrietta-Maria, brought to bear, he embarked, with his little colony, at one of the ports in Normandy (c). But, as he was a most unlucky traveller, so, before his vessel was clear of the French coast, she was met by one of the Parliament ships of war, taken and carried into the Isle of Wight, where our disappointed projector was sent close prisoner to Cowes-Castle (d), and there had leisure enough, and, which is more extraordinary, wanted not inclination to resume his heroic poem; and, having written about half the third book, in a very gloomy prison, he thought fit to stop short again, finding himself, as he imagined, under the very shadow of death. This part of his poem was also published, and was, in those days, well received (e) [H]. In this situation

(x) *Atben. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 412.

(y) Clarendon's
Hist. Rebellion,
p. 495.

(a) Langbaine's
Engl. Dramatick
Poets, p. 112,
113.

(b) See certain
verses written by
the author's
friends, to be re-
printed with the
second edition of
Gondibert.

(c) *Atben. Oxon.*
vol. ii. col. 412.

(d) This appears
from his own
postscript to part
of the third
book of Gondi-
bert.

(z) Such as Lang-
baine, Winstan-
ley, &c.

(e) Langbaine's
English Poets,
p. 112.

[G] *Though the most remarkable passage in his whole life.* The King, in retiring to the Scots, had followed the advice of the French Ambassador, who had promised on their behalf, if not more than he had authority to do, at least more than they were inclined to perform. To justify however his conduct at home, he was inclined to throw the weight in some measure upon the King, and with this view, he, by an express, informed Cardinal Mazarine, that his Majesty was too reserved in giving the Parliament satisfaction, and therefore desired that some person might be sent over, who might have a sufficient degree of credit with that Monarch, to persuade him to such compliances as were necessary for his service. 'The Queen, says the Noble Historian

(18) Clarendon's
Hist. Rebellion,
p. 495.

' (18), who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her, and sent Sir William Davenant, an honest man and a witty, but in all respects inferior to such a trust, with a letter of credit to the King, who knew the person well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was intrusted, although her Majesty had likewise otherwise declared her opinion to his Majesty, "That he should part with the Church for his peace and security." Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French Ambassador, easy admission to the King, who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his Majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those scruples of conscience which his Majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he

took upon himself the confidence to offer some reasons to the King to induce him to yield to what was proposed, and among other things said, 'It was the opinion and advice of all his friends,' his Majesty asking 'What friends?' and he answering, said, 'that it was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn;' the King said, 'that the Lord Jermyn did not understand any thing of the Church.' The other said, 'the Lord Colepepper was of the same mind.' The King said, 'Colepepper had no religion,' and asked, 'Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of that mind?' to which he answered he did not know, for that he was not there, and had deserted the Prince, and thereupon said somewhat from the Queen, of the displeasure she had conceived against the Chancellor, to which the King said, 'The Chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church, and that he was sorry he was not with his son, but that his wife was mistaken.' Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church slightly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his Majesty was transported with so much indignation, that he gave him a sharper reprehension than was usual for him to give to any other man, and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

[H] *And was in those days well received.* He published at Paris a discourse upon this poem by way of preface to it, in a letter to Mr. Thomas Hobbes, dated from the Louvre at Paris, January 2, 1650, with the answer of Mr. Hobbes, dated at Paris, January

situation we find him in October 1650, and, indeed, in a worse situation no man could well be, the Parliament having delivered him over, by an ordinance, to be tried by a high

(19) Printed for John Holden, at the sign of the anchor in the New Exchange, 1651. 12mo.

(20) Reprinted also in the folio edition of his works.

(21) An account of the Dramatick Poets, p. 112.

(22) Preface to his translation of Rapin's Reflections on Aristotle's treatise of Poetry.

January 10, the same year (19). Mr. Waller and Mr. Cowley wrote commendatory verses on the two first books of this poem. The three first books of it were printed under the following title, *GONDIBERT, an Heroic Poem, written by Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT*. The seventh and last canto of the third book, was printed at London, in 8vo. 1685 (20). Mr. Hobbes, in his letter above-mentioned, affirms, that he never yet saw a poem that had so much shape of art, health of morality, and vigour and beauty of expression, as this of our author. But that gentleman observes in his letter to the Honourable Edward Howard, on his intended impression of his poem of the *British Princes*, dated at Chatsworth, November 6, 1668, 'that his judgment in poetry hath been once already censured by very good wits for commending Gondibert. But yet have they not I think, continues he, disabled my testimony. For what authority is there in wit? a jester may have it; a man in drink may have it, and be fluent overnight, and wise and dry in the morning. What is it? or, Who can tell whether it be better to have it or be without it, especially if it be a pointed wit? I will take my liberty to praise what I like, as well as they do to reprehend what they do not like.' Mr. Langbaine tells us, that it was designed by him to be an imitation of an English drama, it being to be divided into five books, as the other is into five acts; the cantos to be the parallel of the scenes, with this difference, that this is delivered narratively, the other dialogue-wise (21). The Honourable Edward Howard, Esq; tells us, 'that in this poem there are many remote and excellent thoughts, with apt and perspicuous expressions, the essential dignities of the Muses; whose chiefest beauties flow from the ornaments of words, and delightful variety of imagination; from which choice productions of nature, the Muses are most desirous to adopt their children, and, in no small degree, are justly acknowledged to the honour of his pen. Notwithstanding which, his heroick poem of *Gondibert*, coming into the world in a capricious time of censure, perhaps did not meet with a deserved reception, though the severest judges, I doubt not, are forced to grant, that there is in that work more to be praised than pardoned.' Mr. Thomas Rymer observes (22), that our author's wit is well known, and that in the preface to this poem there appear some strokes of an extraordinary judgment; that he is for unbeaten tracks and new ways of thinking; but that certainly in his untried seas he is no great discoverer. One design of the Epick Poets before him, was to adorn their own country, there finding their heroes and patterns of virtue, whose example, as they thought, would have the greatest influence and power over posterity. 'But this Poet, says Mr. Rymer, steers a different course: his heroes are all foreigners; he cultivates a country that is nothing akin to him; it is Lombardy that reaps the honour of all. Other Poets choose some action or hero so illustrious, that the name of the poem prepared the reader, and made way for it's reception. But in this poem none can divine what great action he intended to celebrate, nor is the reader obliged to know whether the hero be Turk or Christian. Nor do the first lines give any light or prospect into his design. Methinks, though his religion could not dispense with an invocation, he needed not have scrupled at the proposition. Yet he rather chooses to enter in at the top of the house, because the mortals of mean and satisfied minds go in at the door. And I believe the reader is not well pleased to find his poem begin with the praises of Aribert, when the title has promised a *Gondibert*. But before he falls on any other business, he presents the reader with a particular description of each hero, not trusting their actions to speak for them as former Poets have done. Their practice was fine and artificial, his he tells us is a new way. Many of his characters have but

little of the heroick in them; Dalgia is a jilt proper only for Comedy; BIRTHA, for a Pastoral; and Astragon, in the manner here described, yields no very great ornament to an heroick poem: nor are his battles less liable to censure than those of Homer. He dares not, as other Heroick Poets, heighten the action by making Heaven and Hell interested, for fear of offending against probability, and yet he tells us of

— Threads by patient Parca slowly spun.

And for being dead his phrase is,

Heaven call'd him where peacefully he rules a star.

And the emerald he gives to BIRTHA has a stronger tang of the old woman, and is a greater improbability, than all the enchantments in Tasso. A just medium reconciles the farthest extremes, and one preparation may give credit to the most unlikely fiction. In *Marino*, Adonis is presented with a diamond ring, where indeed the stone is much what of the same nature; but this present is made by Venus, and from a goddess could not be expected a gift of ordinary virtue. The same Critick afterwards tells us, 'that the sort of verse of which Sir William makes choice, might contribute much to the vitiating of his stile; for thereby he obliges himself to stretch every period to the end of four lines. Thus the sense is broken perpetually with parentheses, the words jumbled in confusion, and a darkness spread over all; so that the sense is either not discerned, or found not sufficient, for one just verse which is sprinkled on the whole tetrastich. In the Italian and Spanish, where all the rhymes are dissyllable, and the percussion stronger, this kind of verse may be necessary; and yet, to temper that grave march, they repeat the same rhyme over again, and then they close the stanza with a couplet farther to sweeten the severity. But in French and English, where we rhyme generally with only one syllable, the stanza is not allowed, much less the alternate rhyme in long verse, for the sound of the monosyllable rhyme is either lost before we come to it's correspondent, or we are in pain by the so long expectation and suspense. This alternate rhyme, and the downright morality throughout whole cantos together, shew DAVENANT better acquainted with the Quatrains of Pybrach which he speaks of, than with any true models of Epick Poesy. After all, DAVENANT is said to have a particular talent for the manners; his thoughts are great; and there appears something roughly noble throughout this fragment, which had he been pleased to finish, it would doubtless not have been left so open to the attack of Criticks.' All these objections to the measure of the verse, had been foreseen, considered, and answered, by Sir William DAVENANT: but instead of troubling the reader with what he has delivered very well, but very much at large, upon this subject, we will content ourselves with saying, that his reasons had so much weight with Mr. Dryden, a better Poet indeed than him, and at the same time a better Critick than Mr. Rymer, that he thought fit to imitate him in the choice of his stanza, and gives the following reasons for it in a letter to Sir Robert Howard (23). 'I have, says he, chosen to write my poem in quatrains or stanzas of four, in alternate rhyme, because I have ever judged them more noble, and of greater dignity, both for the sound and number, than any other verse in use amongst us, in which I am sure I have your approbation. The learned languages have certainly a great advantage over us, in not being tied to the slavery of any rhyme, and were less constrained in the quantity of every syllable, which they might vary with spondees or dactyls, besides so many other helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthening

(23) Preface to his *Annus mirabilis*, Lond. 1669. 8vo.

high commission Court, where, supposing that innocence might have been safe, it was pretty difficult to know how a man should prove himself innocent (*f*). He was conveyed from the Isle of Wight to the Tower of London, and, for some time, his life was in the utmost hazard; nor is it well known how it was saved. Some say, that two Aldermen of York, to whom he had been very kind when they were prisoners, and when he had a high command in the Marquis of Newcastle's army, interposed out of gratitude (*g*); others, that Milton was his friend (*h*), and prevented the utmost effects of party rage from descending on the head of this son of the Muses. But, whoever saved his life, we find him two years after a prisoner in the Tower, where he obtained some indulgence by the favour of the Lord Keeper Whitelocke (*i*); upon receiving which he wrote him a letter of thanks, that would have secured him the reputation of the politest pen of those times, if nothing of his had remained besides [*I*]. This liberty of his left him only room to solicit farther favours, which he likewise obtained, and was, at last, entirely delivered from every thing but the narrowness of his circumstances; and against these, encouraged by the interest of his friends, he likewise made a bold effort. He knew very well, that a Play-house was utterly inconsistent with the purity of those times, and yet, if he could open any thing like one, it would be sure to be well filled. He managed his project with great address, and by degrees brought it to bear: and, having the countenance of Lord Whitelocke, Sir John Maynard, and other persons of great rank (*k*), who were ashamed of the hypocrisy that then prevailed, he opened a kind of a theatre at Rutland-House, where several pieces were acted; and these, if they did not gain him reputation, brought him money, of which, at that time, he stood in great need. The first of these entertainments, for that was the name they originally bore, was performed May 21st, and published September the third, 1656 (*l*). As to the names and nature of these mixt compositions, we shall give the reader the best account we can in the notes [*K*]. After the

(*f*) Bates's *Elenachus Moruum*, p. ii. p. 81, 82.

(*g*) *Atben. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.
(*h*) Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost, by J. Richardson, p. xc.

(*i*) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

(*k*) *Atben. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 412.

(*l*) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 650.

or abbreviation of them, than the modern are in the close of that one syllable, which often confines, and more often corrupts, the sense of all the rest. But in this necessity of our rhymes I have always found the couplet verse most easy, though not so proper for this occasion; for there the work is sooner at an end, every two lines concluding the labour of the Poet; but in quatrains he is to carry it farther on, and not only so, but to bear along in his head the troublesome sense of four lines together. For those who write correctly in this kind must needs acknowledge, that the last line of the stanza is to be considered in the composition of the first. Neither can we give ourselves the liberty of making any part of a verse for the sake of rhyme, or concluding with a word which is not current English, or using the variety of female rhymes, all which our fathers practised, and for the female rhymes they are still in use amongst other nations; with the Italian in every line, with the Spaniard promiscuously, with the French alternately, as those who have read the *Alarique*, the *Pucelle*, or any of their later poems, will agree with me. And besides this they write in Alexandrins, or verses of six feet, such as, amongst us, is the old translation of Homer by Chapman. All which, by lengthening of their chain, makes the sphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt too long upon the choice of my stanza, which you may remember is much better defended in the Preface to *Gondibert*, and therefore I will hasten to acquaint you with my endeavours in the writing. A late learned Professor of Greek in the university of Aberdeen, censures the structure of the poem; but at the same time pays a compliment to the abilities of the author (*24*). 'It was indeed, says he, a very extraordinary project of our ingenious countryman, to write an Epick Poem without mixing allegory, or allowing the smallest fiction throughout the composition. It was like lopping off a man's limb, and then putting him upon running races, though it must be owned, that the performance shews with what ability he could have acquitted himself, had he been sound and entire.' After all, it will, in the eye of a judicious reader, pass for an incontestable proof of the merit of this poem, that it has been a subject of controversy for more than a hundred years, that is, from its first appearance to the present time. Perhaps the dispute had been long ago decided, if the author's leisure or inclination had permitted him to finish it. At present we see it to great disadvantage, and if, in spite of

this, it has any beauties, we may well conclude that it would have come much nearer perfection, if the story begun with so much spirit, had been brought to an end upon the author's plan.

[*I*] *If nothing of his had remained besides.* This short epistle, as it regards a very essential part of his personal history, so, as we hinted in the text, it affords incontestible evidence of his writing as easy and correct prose, with as much true spirit, and as far removed either from meanness or bombast, as any that can be produced in our language, even if liberty were given to translate from Voiture, or any other of the boasted letter-writers in a neighbouring nation (*25*).

(*25*) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 546, 547.

My Lord,

I AM in suspense, whether I should present my thankfulness to your Lordship for my liberty of the Tower, because, when I consider how much of your time belongs to the publick, I conceive, that to make a request to you, and to thank you afterwards for the success of it, is to give you no more than a succession of trouble; unless you are resolved to be continually patient and courteous to afflicted men, and agree in your judgment with the late wife Cardinal, who was wont to say, *If he had not spent as much time in civilities as in business, he had undone his master.*

But whilst I endeavour to excuse this present of thankfulness, I should rather ask your pardon for going about to make a present to you of myself; for it may argue me to be incorrigible, that, after so many afflictions, I have yet so much ambition as to desire to be at liberty, that I may have more opportunity to obey your Lordship's commands, and shew the world how much I am,

My Lord,

Tower, Aug. 9, 1652.

Your Lordship's most obliged, most humble, and obedient servant,
WILL. DAVENANT.

[*K*] *The best we can in the notes.* Some of the people then in power, it seems, were lovers of Musick, and, at bottom perhaps, were wise enough to know, that there was nothing scandalous or immoral in the diversions of the theatre: but this they did not think proper to own, and therefore persecuted the poor Players who attempted to act privately, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, as if they had held seditious or lewd assemblies (*26*). Sir William Davenant therefore, when he applied for permission, lish Stage, p. 8, 9.

(*24*) Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, Lond. 1735. 8vo. p. 141.

(*26*) *Historia Hispanica*, or an Historical Account of the English Stage, p. 8, 9.

(m) See this explained in the note.

(o) These poems are inserted in the general collection of his works.

the ice was thus broken, he grew a little bolder, and not only ventured to write, but to act, several new plays, which were also somewhat in a new taste; that is, they were more regular in their structure, and the language, generally speaking, smoother and more correct than in the old tragedies (m). These improvements, there is good reason to believe, were, in a great measure, owing to Sir William's long residence in France, which gave him an opportunity of reading their best writers, and hearing the sentiments of their ablest critics upon dramatic entertainments, when they were as much admired and encouraged there as, for some years, they had been slighted and discountenanced in England. That these were really improvements, and that the public stood greatly indebted to Sir William Davenant, as a Poet as well as Master of a Theatre, may be put out of all doubt, if there be any regard due to Mr. Dryden's judgment [L]. Upon the commotions which preceded the Restoration, and particularly upon Sir George Booth's insurrection, Sir William Davenant fell into fresh troubles, and underwent another imprisonment, from which, however, he was quickly released (n). He complimented General Monk upon his good designs, and the great capacity he had shewn in the execution of them, in a short poem, and his Majesty King Charles the Second, upon his return, in a very long one (o). Soon after the Restoration there were two companies of players form-

(n) Whitelocke's Mem. p. 682.

permission, called what he intended to represent an Opera; but, when he brought it upon the stage, it appeared quite another thing, which, when printed, had the following title:

XIV. *First Day's Entertainment at Rutland-House, by Declamation and Musick, after the manner of the Ancients.* Lond. 1656, 8vo.

This being an introductory piece, it required all the author's wit to make it answer different intentions; for, first, it was to be so pleasing as to gain applause; and next, it was to be so remote from the very appearance of a play, as not to give any offence to that pretended sanctity which was then in fashion. It began with musick, then followed a prologue, in which the author banters the oddity of his own performance. The curtain being drawn up to the sound of slow and solemn musick, there followed a grave declamation by one in a gilded rostrum, who personated Diogenes, and whose business was to rail at and expose publick entertainments. Then musick in a lighter strain, after which a person in the character of Aristophanes, the old comic Poet, answered Diogenes, and shewed the use and excellency of dramattick entertainments. The whole of the grave entertainment was concluded by a song, accompanied with musick, in which the arguments on both sides are succinctly and elegantly stated. The second part of the entertainment consisted of two lighter declamations; the first, by a citizen of Paris, who wittily rallies the follies of London; the other, by a citizen of London, who takes the same liberty with Paris, and it's inhabitants. To this was tacked a song, and after that came a short epilogue. The musick, which was very good, was composed by Dr. Coleman, Capt. Cook, Mr. Henry Lawes, Mr. George Hudson.

XV. *The Play-house to be Lett.*

This was another very singular entertainment, composed of five acts, each being a distinct performance. The first act is introductory, shews the distress of the players in the time of vacation, that obliges them to lett their house, which several offer to take for different purposes, amongst the rest a Frenchman, who had brought over a troop of his countrymen to act a farce. This is performed in the second act, which is a translation of Moliere's *Sganarelle*, or, the Cuckold in Conceit; all in broken French, to make the people laugh. The third act is a sort of comic opera, under the title of the History of Sir Francis Drake. The fourth act is a serious opera, representing the cruelties of the Spaniards in Peru. The fifth act is a burlesque in Heroicks, on the amours of Cæsar and Cleopatra; has a great deal of wit and humour, and was often acted afterwards by itself (27).

XVI. *News from Plimouth, a Comedy.*

XVII. *Law against Lovers, a Tragi-Comedy.*

This is composed out of two of Shakespeare's plays; *Measure for Measure*, and *Much ado about Nothing*. Mr. Langbaine gives a very good character of it (28); and, indeed, it is very smoothly and correctly written.

XVIII. *The Distresses, a Tragedy.*

In Mr. Langbaine's catalogue this is stiled a Tragi-Comedy (29), merely because it is fortunate in it's catastrophe.

XIX. *The Siege, a Tragi-Comedy.*

The scene is laid at Pisa in Italy, and it derives it's title from the same cause with the former.

XX. *The Fair Favourite, a Tragi-Comedy.*

All these plays were acted in the time of Oliver and Richard, first printed in quarto, and afterwards revised, and inserted in the author's works. To these we may add,

XXI. *The Siege of RHODES, in two parts.*

These were a kind of operas, and acted to musick. The author revised, altered, and augmented them, after the Restoration, when they had the honour of the King's presence: they were also printed and published in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and very much esteemed.

[L] If there be any regard due to Mr. Dryden's judgment.] What we have ventured to advance in the text and notes, in favour of an author and his works, now so little regarded, seems to stand in need of some support, and therefore we shall cite what so great a Poet, and so good a judge of Poetry, has written upon this subject, with regard to heroick plays. Mr. Dryden (30) tells us, 'The first light we had of them on the English theatre, was from the late Sir William Davenant. It being forbidden him, in the religious times, to act tragedies and comedies, because they contained some matter of scandal to those good people, who could more easily dispossess their lawful Sovereign, than endure a wanton jest, he was forced to turn his thoughts another way, and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse, and performed in recitative musick. The original of this musick, and of the scenes which adorned his work, he had from the Italian operas; but he heightened his characters, as I may probably imagine, from the examples of Corneille, and some French Poets. In this condition did this part of Poetry remain at his Majesty's return, when growing bolder, as now being owned by publick authority, Davenant reviewed his *Siege of Rhodes*, and caused it to be acted as a just drama. But, as few men have the happiness to begin and finish any new project, so neither did he live to make his design perfect. There wanted the fullness of a plot, and the variety of characters, to form it as it ought; and, perhaps, somewhat might have been added to the beauty of the stile; all which he would have performed with more exactness, had he pleased to have given us another work of the same nature. For myself, and others who come after him, we are bound, with all veneration to his memory, to acknowledge what advantage we received from that excellent ground-work which he laid; and, since it is an easy thing to add to what already is invented, we ought all of us, without envy to him, or partiality to ourselves, to yield him the precedence in it.'

(29) An account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 107.

(30) Essay on Heroick Plays.

(27) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 109, 110. Atken. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 413.
(28) An account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 108, 109. Atken. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 413.

ed,

(p) Apology for the life of Mr. Colley Cibber, p. 75.

(q) Life of Betterton, p. 5.

(r) *Historia Histronica*, or an Historical Account of the English Stage. Lond. 1699, 8vo. p. 18. Life of Betterton, p. 6.

ed, one under the title of the King's Servants, the other under that of the Duke's Company, both by patents from the Crown; the first granted to Henry Killigrew, Esq; and the latter to Sir William Davenant (p). The King's Company acted first at the Red Bull, at the upper end of St. John's-street; from thence they removed to a new Play-house in Vere-street, Clare-market; and, after playing a year or two there, they established themselves in the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. As for Sir William Davenant, it was some time before he compleated his Company, into which he took all who had formerly played under Mr. Rhodes, in the Cockpit in Drury-lane, and, amongst these, the famous Mr. Betterton, who appeared first to advantage, under the patronage of Sir William Davenant (q). He opened the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields with his own dramatic performance of *The Siege of Rhodes*, the House being finely decorated, and the Stage supplied with painted scenes, which were by him introduced at least, if not invented (r), affording certainly a great addition of beauty to dramatic entertainments, though some there are who have insinuated, that fine scenes proved the ruin of fine acting [M]. We must not omit that, upon the King's return, and Sir William Davenant's having an interest at Court, he gave a noble instance of his gratitude to Mr. Milton, who had been so instrumental in saving his life ten years before, by rendering him the like service, and preserving him from feeling the effects of that resentment which was so strong against him, that many writers have considered his as a kind of miraculous escape (s). After all the storms that he had met with, Sir William Davenant had the comfort of passing the last years of his life in credit and quiet. He transferred his company to the new and magnificent Theatre built in Dorset-Gardens (t), where some of his old plays were revived, with very singular circumstances of royal kindness and favour, and a new one, when brought upon the Stage, met with great applause. The last labour of his pen was in altering a play of Shakespeare's, so as to render it agreeable to that age, or rather, susceptible of those theatrical improvements which he had brought into fashion; and in this also he had as much success as he could expect; and, though he did not live to see the full effects of it, yet the highest tribute of praise has been paid, and the strictest justice done, to his memory and merit, by that excellent Poet, who succeeded to his laurel (u) [N].

(s) Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardson, p. xci.

(t) Life of Mr. Betterton, p. 7.

(u) See this at large in the note [N].

He

[M] *Proved the ruin of fine acting.* It may, possibly, afford some satisfaction to the reader, to have this point briefly explained. He has heard, that, in King Charles the First's time, dramatick entertainments were accompanied with rich scenery, curious machines, and other elegant embellishments, proceeding chiefly from the skill and care, the great capacity and wonderful dexterity, of that celebrated English Architect Inigo Jones. But these were employed only in masques at Court, and were too expensive for the little theatres in which plays were then acted. In them there was nothing more than a curtain, of some very coarse stuff, upon the drawing up of which the stage appeared either with bare walls on the sides, coarsely matted, or covered with tapestry, so that for the place originally represented, and all the changes successively in which the Poets of those times indulged themselves very freely, there was nothing to help the reader's understanding, or to assist the actor's performance, but bare imagination. It is true, that, while things continued in this situation, there were a great many play-houses, sometimes six or seven, open at once. Of these, some were large, and in part open, where they acted by day-light; others smaller, but better fitted up, where they made use of candles. The plainness of the theatre made the prices small, and this drew abundance of company; yet, upon the whole, it may be well doubted, whether the spectators, in all these houses, were really superior in number to those who have frequented the theatres in later times. If the spirit and judgment of the actors supplied all deficiencies, and made, as some would suggest, plays more intelligible without scenes than they afterwards were with them, it must be very astonishing at least, if not incredible: neither is it difficult to assign another cause why those, who were concerned in play-houses, were angry with scenes and decorations, which was, that, notwithstanding the advanced prices, their profits, from that time, were continually sinking. An author, who seems to be very well acquainted with the subject on which he writes, assures us, that the whole sharers in Mr. Hart's company divided a thousand pounds a year apiece, before these new and expensive decorations came into fashion (31). Sir William Davenant considered things in another light: he was well acquainted with the alterations

which the French theatre had received, under the auspice of Cardinal Richlieu, who had an excellent taste; and he remembered the elegant contrivances of Inigo Jones, which were not at all inferior to the designs of the best French masters. Sir William was likewise sensible, that the Monarch he served was an exquisite judge of every thing of this kind; and all these considerations, taken together, excited in him a passion for the advancement of the theatre, to which without dispute the great figure it has since made is chiefly owing. Mr. Dryden acknowledged his admirable talents in this way, and very gratefully remembers the pains taken by Sir William to set a work of his in the fairest light possible, and to which he very ingenuously ascribes, in a great measure, the success with which it was received.

[N] *By that excellent Poet, who succeeded to his laurel.* At the opening of the new play-house in Dorset-Gardens, Sir William Davenant's play, called *Love and Honour*, was acted before the Court; upon which occasion Mr. Betterton, who played Prince Alvaro, wore the King's coronation suit; his Royal Highness of York gave Mr. Harris, who played Prince Prospero, his; and Mr. Price, who performed the part of Lionel Duke of Parma, had a very rich suit, that was given him by the Earl of Oxford (32). We come now to the works penned by our Laureat in the evening of his days; the last of which were,

(32) Hist. of the Eng. Stage, p. 91.

XXII. *The Man's the Master*, a Comedy. Lond. 1669, 4to.

This play was acted in our author's life-time, with great applause, though not published till after his decease: the design, and part of the language, is borrowed from Scarron's *Jodelet, ou le Maître valet*, and part from *L'Heretier ridicule*, a Comedy of the same author's (33).

(33) Langbaine's English Poets, p. 109.

XXIII. *The Tempest, or the Inchanterd Island*, altered from Shakespeare by Sir William Davenant and Mr. Dryden. Lond. 1676, 4to.

In the preface to this play, which is dated Dec. 1st, 1669, Mr. Dryden gives the following account of the share our author had in this performance, and is that which we have hinted at in the text. 'Sir William Davenant, says he, who was a man of quick and piercing imagination, soon found that somewhat might be added to the design of Shakespeare, of which neither Fletcher nor Suckling had ever

(31) *Historia Histronica*, or an Historical account of the English Stage, p. 11.

He died at his house in little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, April 7th, 1668, aged sixty-three (w), and, two days afterwards, was interred in Westminster-Abbey, when, to the great grief of honest Mr. Wood, there was an inexcusable error committed in the ceremony; for, through haste, the laurel-wreath was forgotten, which should have been placed upon his coffin (x). On his grave-stone is inscribed, in imitation of Ben Jonson's short epitaph, O RARE SIR WILLIAM DAVENANT! It may not be amiss to observe, that his remains rest very near the place, out of which, those of Mr. Thomas May, Historian and Secretary to the Parliament, who caused him to be interred there with a fine monument and pompous inscription, were removed (y). As to the character of our author (z), the reader may easily collect it from this account of his life and works; to facilitate which still farther, some other particulars have been placed in the notes [O]. In regard to his family, we have

(x) *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.*

(y) *Antiquities of St. Peter's, Westminster, vol. ii. p. 23, in the Appendix.*

(z) *Langbaine's English Poets, p. 115.*

ever thought. And, therefore, to put the last hand to it, he designed the counterpart to Shakespeare's plot, namely, that of a man who had never seen a woman, that, by this means, those two characters, of Innocence and Love, might the more illustrate and commend each other. This excellent contrivance he was pleased to communicate to me, and to desire my assistance in it. I confess, that, from the very first moment, it so pleased me, that I never writ any thing with more delight. I might likewise do him that justice to acknowledge, that my writing received daily his amendments, and that is the reason why it is not so faulty as the rest which I have done, without the help or correction of so judicious a friend. The comical parts of the failors were also of his invention, and, for the most part, his writing, as you will easily discover by the stile.

[O] *Have been placed in the notes.* We have already mentioned a poem written some years after the Restoration, under the same title with Sir John Suckling's, viz. *The Sessions of the Poets*: in this our author is a little severely, not to say rudely, handled in the following stanzas (34).

Will. Davenant would fain have been steward o' th' court,
To have fin'd and amerc'd each man at his will,
But Apollo, it seems, had heard a report,
That his choice of new plays did shew h'ad no skill.

Besides, some critics had ow'd him a spite,
And a little before had made the god fret,
By letting him know the Laureat did write
That damnable farce, *The House to be Lett*.

The Historian of Oxford takes some pains to inform us, that, while our author was in that University, he made but a small progress in the severer parts of learning, but striking out into the smoother road of Poetry, he at once indulged his own inclination, and discovered the force of his natural genius, which, without the assistance of any guides, and with but a very small acquaintance with the ancients, enabled him to aspire unto, and even acquire, the Laurel. This is very handsomely expressed by Dr. Fell, or whoever translated Mr. Wood's sentiments upon that

(35) *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 163.*

subject (35). *Sed ingenium ipsius, tam asperis & horridis studiis semper aversum ad amœniores Poeticæ campos statim properavit. In his nemo letiori decursu, nemo feliciori volatu lauream promeruit, & quamvis omnibus veterum subsidiis destitutus solâ tamen ingenii vi, eos ita assequutus videtur, ut grande profectò rarissimique exempli documentum dederit, quantum sine arte sola natura præstare valeat.* Mr. Dryden, who knew him better, and who was also a better judge, has given us a true picture of his poetick character (36). "I found

(36) *Preface to the Tempest.*

him, says he, of so quick a fancy, that nothing was proposed to him on which he could not suddenly produce a thought, extremely pleasant and surprising, and those first thoughts of his, contrary to the old Latin proverb, were not always the least happy. And, as his fancy was quick, so likewise were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other, and his imaginations were such as could not easily enter into any other man. His corrections were sober and judicious, and he corrected his own writings much more severely than those of another man, bestowing twice the time and labour in polishing which he used in invention.

Thus, with all the industry in our power, we have collected, and, with all the care and application possible, have digested, the scattered memoirs of this once celebrated Poet; and, to justify our diligence therein, we will sum up all by putting posterity in mind, that it is to him we owe the setting our theatre upon a level with those of France and Italy (37), the preserving the greatest genius for Poetry this nation ever produced (38), and the bringing upon the stage, and instructing, the ablest actor that ever trod thereon (39).

(37) *Hist. et Antiq. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 169.*

(38) *Explanatory Notes, &c. by J. Richardson, p. xci.*

(39) *Life of Betterton, p. 5.*

* * [The obligations of the English Theatre to Sir William Davenant have been celebrated by various writers, and are sufficiently displayed by our ingenious predecessor. It is remarkable, that not one of the numerous plays, which were written by Sir William, holds, at present, the possession of the stage. This, however, is not owing to their want of merit; for it is said that there are certainly some among them which much better deserve the honour of being acted, than many pieces that are very frequently and successfully represented (40).

(40) *Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 117.*

The grand object on which Sir William Davenant's poetical reputation depends is his *Gondibert*; and there still remains a diversity of opinion concerning the light in which it ought to be considered. As, when it was first published, it was condemned by some persons, and applauded by others, so, among the critics of the present day, it has met both with censurers and defenders.

Mr. Granger has spoken of it with a severity which we do not usually find in that amiable writer. "Sir William Davenant," says he, "was a man of great natural and improved talents, which he unfortunately misapplied. He distinguished himself by a bold, but unsuccessful attempt to enlarge the sphere of poetry. He composed an heroic poem, called "*Gondibert*" in five books, after the model of the Drama; applauded himself greatly upon this invention; and looked upon the followers of Homer as a timorous, servile herd, that were afraid to leave the beaten track. This performance, which is rather a string of Epigrams than an Epic Poem, was not without its admirers, among whom were Waller and Cowley. But the success did not answer his expectation. When the novelty of it was over, it presently sunk into contempt; and he at length found, that when he strayed from Homer he deviated from nature (41)."

(41) *Granger, vol. iv. p. 43.*

Mr. Knox is also on the unfavourable side of the question. "The *Gondibert* of Davenant," says this Gentleman, "has been the subject of critical controversy from the time of its publication. Its plan was originally defended by the great Hobbes, and its execution has been greatly praised. Yet few have attended to it with any pleasure, and still fewer have had a degree of patience sufficient to bear them through the perusal of it. The truth is, the stanza which he has adopted, is better suited to elegiac than to heroic poetry. A beautifully descriptive passage, interspersed in the course of two or three hundred lines, will not alleviate the tedium of the rest; as an occasional flash of lightning cannot illuminate the continued gloominess of an extensive prospect (42)."

(42) *Knox's Essays, vol. ii. p. 377.*

The objections of Bishop Hurd to the *Gondibert* are still more important. "When a writer," says this ingenious and elegant critic, "who is driven by so many powerful motives to the imitation of preceding

have not been able to collect any distinct account of it, farther than what regards two of his sons, concerning whom the reader will receive all the information we can give in the succeed-

ing models, revolts against them all, and determines, at any rate, to be *original*, nothing can be expected but an awkward straining in every thing. *Improper method, forced conceits, and affected expression*, are the certain issue of such obstinacy. The business is to be *unlike*; and this he may very possibly be, but at the expence of graceful ease and true beauty. For he puts himself, at best, into a convulsed, unnatural state; and it is well, if he be not forced, beside his purpose, to leave *common sense*, as well as his *model*, behind him. Like one, who would break loose from an impediment, which holds him fast; the very endeavour to get clear of it throws him into *uneasy attitudes, and violent contortions*; and, if he gain his liberty at last, it is by an *effort*, which carries him much farther than the *point*, he would wish to stop at.

“And, that the reader may not suspect me of asserting this without experience, let me exemplify what has been here said in the case of a very eminent person, who, with all the advantages of art and nature that could be required to adorn the true poet, was ruined by this single error. The person I mean was Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT; whose *Gondibert* will remain a perpetual monument of the mischiefs, which must ever arise from this affectation of originality in lettered and polite poets.

“The great author, when he projected his plan of an heroic poem, was so far from intending to steer his course by *example*, that he sets out, in his preface, with upbraiding the followers of Homer, as a base and timorous crew of *coasters*, who would not adventure to launch forth on the vast ocean of invention. For, speaking of this poet, he observes, “that, as sea marks are chiefly used by coasters, “and serve not those who have the ambition of “discoverers, that love to sail in untried seas; so he “hath rather proved a guide for those, whose “satisfied wit will not venture beyond the track of “others; than to them, who affect a new and remote way of thinking; who esteem it a deficiency “and meanness of mind, to stay and depend upon “the authority of example.”

“And, afterwards, he professedly makes his own merit to consist in “an endeavour to lead truth “through unfrequented and new ways, and from “the most remote shades; by representing nature, “though not in an affected, yet in an unusual “dress.” These were the principles he went upon; let us now attend to the success of his endeavours.

“The *METHOD* of his work is defective in many respects. To instance in the two following. Observing the large compass of the antient epic, for which he saw no cause in nature, and which, he supposed, had been followed merely from a blind deference to the authority of the first model, he resolved to construct an heroic poem on the narrower, and, as he conceived, juster plan of the dramatic poems. And, because it was their practice, for the purpose of *raising the passions* by a close accelerated plot, and for the convenience of *representation*, to conclude their subject in *five acts*, he affects to restrain himself within the same limits. The event was, that, cutting himself off, by this means, from the opportunity of digressive ornaments, which contribute so much to the pomp of the epic poetry; and, what is more essential, from the advantage of the most gradual and circumstantiated narration, which gives an air of *truth and reality* to the fable, he failed in accomplishing the proper *end* of this poem, *ADMIRATION*; produced by a grandeur of design and variety of important incidents, and *sustained* by all the energy and minute particularity of description.

“2. It was essential to the antient epos to raise and exalt the fable by the intervention of *supernatural agency*. This, again, the poet mistook for the prejudice of the affected imitators of Homer, “who had “so often led them into heaven and hell, till, by “conversation with gods and ghosts, they sometimes

“deprive us of those natural probabilities in story, “which are instructive to human life.” Here then he would needs be original; and so, by recording only the affairs of men, hath fairly omitted a necessary part of the epic plan, and that which, of all others, had given the greatest state and magnificence to its construction. Yet here, to do him justice, one thing deserves our commendation: It had been the way of the Italian romancers, who were at that time the best poets, to run very much into prodigy and enchantment. “Not only to exceed the *work*, but “also the *possibility* of nature, they would have impenetrable armors, enchanted castles, invulnerable bodies, iron men, flying horses, and a thousand other such things, which are easily feigned by “them that dare.” These conceits, he rightly saw, had too slender a foundation in the serious belief of his age to justify a relation of them. And had he only dropped these, his conduct had been without blame. But, as it is the weakness of human nature, the observation of this extreme determined him to the other, of admitting nothing, however well established in the general opinion, that was *supernatural*.

“And as here he did too much, so in another respect it may be observed, he did too little. The romancers, before spoken of, had carried their notions of *gallantry* in ordinary life, as high, as they had done those of *preternatural agency*, in their marvellous fictions. Yet here this original genius, who was not to be held by the shackles of superstition, suffered himself to be entrapped in the silken net of *love and honour*. And so hath adopted, in his draught of *characters*, that elevation of sentiment which a change of manners could not but dispose the reader to regard as *fantastic* in the Gothic romance, at the same time that he rejected what had the truest grace in the antient epic, a *sober intermixture of religion*.

“The *execution* of this poem was answerable to the general *method*. His *SENTIMENTS* are frequently forced, and so tortured by an affectation of wit, that every stanza hath the air of an epigram. And the *EXPRESSION*, in which he cloaths them, is so quaint and figurative, as turns his description almost into a continued riddle.

“Such was the effect of a studious affectation of *originality* in a writer, who, but for this misconduct, had been in the first rank of our poets. His endeavour was to keep clear of the models, in which his youth had been instructed, and which he perfectly understood. And in this indeed he succeeded. But the success lost him the possession of, what his large soul appears to have been full of, a true and permanent glory; which hath ever arisen, and can only arise, from the unambitious simplicity of nature; *contemplated* in her own proper form, or, by *reflexion*, in the faithful mirror of those very models, he so much dreaded (43).”

While we strongly feel the force of the sentiments which are here advanced, it is no small pleasure to us, that so much justice is done to Sir William Davenant's great abilities. If he had not pursued a mistaken plan, it is allowed that he would have been in the first rank of our poets.

With all its faults, the *Gondibert* has still its sincere and ardent admirers. The editor of the *Biographia Dramatica* is of opinion, that the severity of criticism to which the poem has been exposed, has arisen much more from envy than from justice; “for,” says he, “though the story of it may not “perhaps be so interesting (and that too in a great “measure from its not being so well known) as “those of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*, and that the fetters “of rhyme, and still more so, those of stanza poetry, “lay it under very great restraint, yet it must be “acknowledged, even by its strongest opponents, “that there runs through the whole of it a sublimity “in the sentiments, a nobleness in the manners, a “purity in the diction, and a luxuriancy in the conceptions, that would have done honour to any “writer

(43) Hurd's Critical Commentaries, Notes, and Dissertations, vol. iii. p. 138—144.

succeeding articles. Sir William Davenant's works entire were published by his widow in 1673, and dedicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. and,

(44) *Biog. Dram.* "writer of any age or country whatsoever (44)." *ubi supra.*

Mr. Headley, whose premature decease will be reflected upon with concern by every lover of polite literature, has distinguished himself in behalf of the Gondibert. It is to this poem, he observes, that Davenant has to trust for his fame, and he adds, that it particularly merits a republication. "From its total rejection," continues Mr. Headley, "of supernatural agency, it has afforded the critics an ample subject of contention. After all, it seems but candid to examine every work by those rules only which the author prescribed himself in the composing of it: every contrary step is but trying a man of one country by the laws of another. What right have we, therefore, to be offended at not finding the critical acts passed by Aristotle originally, and re-echoed by Bosiu and the French critics, rigidly observed, when it was the author's professed intention to write without them? We may, nearly with the same propriety, accuse Shakespeare for not adhering to the unities. It was Davenant's intention to make an experiment, and let him be heard in his own words: 'If I be accused of innovation, or to have transgressed against the method of the ancients, I shall think myself secure in believing that a poet, who hath wrought with his own instruments at a new design, is no more answerable for disobedience to predecessors than law-makers are liable to those old laws which themselves have repealed.' In Bishop Hurd our author has found a formidable accuser. I transcribe the following very sensible passage from his *Essays on Chivalry and Romance*: 'Pagan gods and Gothic fairies were equally out of credit when Milton wrote; he did well, therefore, to supply their room with angels and devils. If these too should wear out of the popular creed (and they seem in a hopeful way, from the liberty some late critics have taken with them), I know not what other expedients the Epic poet might have recourse to; but this I know, the pomp of verse, the energy of description, and even the finest moral paintings, would stand him in no stead. Without admiration (which cannot be effected but by the marvellous of celestial intervention, I mean the agency of superior natures really existing, or by the illusion of the fancy taken to be so), no Epic poem can be long lived'—It is to be wished (though we have no demand upon him for such a condescension) that the ingenious Bishop had given us his idea of a substitute, for what he here represents as already exploded, as well as for what he imagines as soon likely to be so. Poetry, no doubt, in being thus deprived of these her magical supports, will lose much of her attraction. Yet, in the case of Davenant (supposing him amenable to a court of criticism), many palliations may be urged in his defence. There can scarcely subsist a doubt but that, in denying himself the opportunity of indulging his fancy in the appendages of divine assistance, the dignity of the poem has been considerably diminished: yet, if we recollect the situation he stood in as to time, it will appear that his conduct did not result from a perverse and affected determination of deviating from rules long established, and long approved, but from a serious and sensible conviction that such machinery as those rules supplied him with was no longer practicable. The spirit of common-sense, which in his day began to shew itself, would certainly have revolted against heathen mythology; the Gothic system, which the Italian school presented him with, was already hack-nied and worn out, and no longer fostered and kept alive by the relish for chivalry, which prevailed even when Spenser wrote; the religion of his country afforded no instance that might serve to keep him in countenance, or justify an application of such hallowed materials to so light, and perhaps so unworthy, a purpose. These united objections made (if I may be allowed the expression) a sort of poetical atheist of Davenant, and reduced him to the necessity of pursuing a plan of his own, and of relying on the natural powers of his genius. With his pen in his hand, he

seems boldly to have exclaimed, in the language of Mezentius,

"*Dextra mihi Deus et telum quod missile libro* (45)." (45) *Biographical Sketches prefixed to Headley's Collection, vol. i. p. xlviii, xlix.*

But the Gentleman who has most eminently laboured to rescue the Gondibert from oblivion, and to recommend its beauties to the attention of the world, is Dr. Aikin. This ingenious writer has devoted a long essay to the subject; and, after having vindicated the general method of the poem, in answer to Dr. Hurd's objections, he proceeds to a more particular analysis of it, the length of which shall not deter us from laying it before our readers; partly because it conduces so highly to Sir William Davenant's reputation, and partly because it affords so agreeable a specimen of candid and judicious criticism. It will, at the same time, communicate to many persons, such a knowledge of the Gondibert as is wholly new to them. "I should now hope," proceeds Dr. Aikin, "that the reader would set out with me upon a nearer inspection of this poem, with the general idea of its being the work of an elevated genius, pregnant with a rich store of free and noble sentiment, fashioned by an intimate commerce with the great world, and boldly pursuing an original, but not an unskilful plan."

"The measure chosen for this poem is that which we now almost confine to elegy. This choice does not appear very judicious; for although our elegiac stanza possesses a strength and fullness which renders it not unsuitable to heroic subjects, yet in a piece of considerable length, every returning measure must become tiresome from its frequent repetitions. And this is not the worst effect of returning stanzas, in a long work. The necessity of comprizing a sentence within the limits of the measure is the tyranny of Procrustes to thought. For the sake of a disagreeable uniformity, expression must constantly be cramped or extenuated. In general the latter expedient will be practised, as the easiest; and thus both sentiment and language will be enfeebled by unmeaning expletives. This, indeed, in some measure is the effect of rhyme couplets; and still more of the Latin hexameter and pentameter. In our author, a redundancy of thought, running out into parentheses, seems to have been produced, or at least encouraged by the measure. But I think he has generally preserved a force and majesty of expression."

"It would have been highly injudicious for one who has rejected all poetical machinery, to have begun his poem with the antient form of invoking a Muse. Indeed, in all modern writers this invocation appears little better than an unmeaning ceremony, practised by rote from antient custom; and very properly makes a part of the receipt for an epic poem humourously laid down after the exact model of mechanical imitation, in the Spectator. Our author, with simple and unaffected dignity, thus opens at once into his subject:

"Of all the Lombards, by their trophies known,
Who fought fame soon, and had her favour long,
King ARIBERT best seem'd to fill the throne,
And bred most business for heroick song.

"This conquering monarch, we are soon acquainted, was blest with an only child, the heroine of the story,

"Recorded RHODALINE! whose high renown
Who miss in books not luckily have read;
Or vex'd with living beauties of their own
Have shunn'd the wise records of lovers dead.

"Descriptions of female beauty have engaged the powers of poets in every age, who have exhausted all nature for imagery to heighten their painting; yet the picture has ever been extremely faint and inadequate. Our poet judiciously confines his description

and, in her dedication, she tells him, that his Royal Father was not displeased with her husband's writings, that the Queen his Mother graciously took him into her family, was diverted

tion of Rhodolind to the qualities of her mind, contenting himself with general praises, though in the high-flown gallantry of the times, of her personal charms.

" Her looks like empire shew'd, great above pride;
Since pride ill counterfeits excessive height:
But nature publish'd what she fain would hide,
Who for her deeds, not beauty, lov'd the light.

" To make her lowly mind's appearance less,
She us'd some outward greatness for disguise;
Esteem'd as pride the cloyst'ral lowliness,
And thought them proud who even the proud despise."

" Oppressors big with pride, when she appear'd
Blush'd, and believ'd their greatness counterfeit;
The lowly thought they them in vain had fear'd;
Found virtue harmless, and nought else so great.

" Her mind (scarce to her feeble sex a-kin)
Did as her birth, her right to empire show;
Seem'd careless outward when employ'd within;
Her speech, like lovers watch'd, was kind and low.

" The court of Aribert could not want men of high rank and accomplishments to pay their devotions at such a shrine. Among these "OSWALD the great, and greater GONDIBERT" moved in the most exalted sphere of renown. These noble personages are characterized and contrasted with so masterly a hand that it would be an injury not to transcribe the whole.

" In court Prince Oswald costly was and gay,
Finer than near vain kings their fav'rites are!
Outshin'd bright fav'rites on their nuptial day;
Yet were his eyes dark with ambitious care.

" Duke Gondibert was still more gravely clad,
But yet his looks familiar were and clear;
As if with ill to others never sad,
Nor tow'rd's himself could others practice fear.

" The Prince could porpoise-like in tempests play,
And in court storms on shipwreck'd greatness feed;
Not frightened with their fate when cast away,
But to their glorious hazards durst succeed.

" The Duke would lasting calms to courts assure,
As pleasant gardens we defend from winds;
For he who bus'ness would from storms procure,
Soon his affairs above his manage finds.

" Oswald in throngs the abject people sought
With humble looks; who still too late will know
They are ambition's quarry, and soon caught
When the aspiring eagle stoops so low.

" The Duke did these by steady virtue gain;
Which they in action more than precept taste;
Deeds shew the good, and those who goodness feign
By such even through their vizards are outfac't.

" Oswald in war was worthily renown'd;
Though gay in courts, coarsely in camps could live;
Judg'd danger soon, and first was in it found;
Could toil to gain what he with ease did give.

" Yet toils and dangers through ambition lov'd,
Which does in war the name of virtue own:
But quits that name when from the war remov'd,
As rivers theirs when from their channels gone.

" The Duke (as restless as his fame in war)
With martial toil could Oswald weary make,
And calmly do what he with rage did dare,
And give so much as he might deign to take.

" Him as their founder cities did adore;
The court he knew to steer in storms of state;
In fields a battle lost he could restore,
And after force the victors to their fate.

" Of these great rivals, Gondibert was he whom the King had destined for his son-in-law, and the heir of his throne; and Rhodolind too, in the privacy of her own breast, had made the same choice. This is related in a manner little inferior to Shakespeare's famous description of concealed love.

" Yet sadly it is sung that she in shades
Mildly as mourning doves love's sorrows felt;
Whilst in her secret tears her freshness fades,
As roses silently in lymbecks melt.

" Gondibert, however, though of a nature by no means unsusceptible of the tender passion, had not as yet felt it for a particular object; and Oswald, who stood forth as the public suitor to the Princess, was incited by no other motive than ambition. Not Rhodolind herself (says the Poet)

" Could he affect but shining in her throne.

" His cause was powerfully pleaded with the Princess by his sister Gartha, with whom we are next brought acquainted. A bold, full, majestic beauty; and a corresponding mind, high, restless, and aspiring, are her distinguishing features. The Prince and Duke were urged on to ambitious pursuits by their respective armies, which, just returned from conquest, lay encamped, the one at Brescia, and the other at Bergamo. That of Gondibert was composed of hardy youth whom he had selected from his father's camp, and educated in martial discipline under his own inspection. Temperance, chastity, vigilance, humanity, and all the high virtues of chivalry remarkably distinguish these young soldiers from those of later times. Beauty, indeed, commanded no less regard amongst them than in a modern camp; but it was an object of passion, and not of appetite; and was the powerful engine in their education which inspired them with noble and exalted sentiments. This is an idea on which our author, true to the principles of chivalry, very frequently enlarges, and always with peculiar force and dignity. In the present instance it is thus finely expressed.

" But tho' the Duke taught rigid discipline,
He let them beauty thus at distance know;
As priests discover some more sacred shrine,
Which none must touch, yet all to it may bow.

" When thus as suitors mourning virgins pass
Thro' their clean camp, themselves in form they draw,
That they with martial reverence may grace
Beauty, the stranger, which they seldom saw.

" They vail'd their ensigns as it by did move,
Whilst inward, as from native conscience, all
Worship'd the poet's darling godhead, Love;
Which grave philosophers did Nature call.

" Indeed, the influence of this passion in its purest and most exalted state, during the course of education, is a subject that might, perhaps, shine as much in the hands of a moralist as of a poet.

" The soldiers of Oswald were his father's brave veterans, in whose arms he had been bred. The story thus opened, and our attention awakened to the expectation of important events, the first canto is closed.

diverted by, and often smiled upon, his endeavours; and that the latter part of his life had been spent in the study and labour to entertain his Majesty and his Royal Highness.

"The second canto introduces us to a solemn annual hunting, held by Duke Gondibert in commemoration of a great victory gained on this day by his grandfire. His train was adorned by many gallant and noble persons, the friends of his family, and commanders in his army. The hunting, which is described with much poetical spirit, terminates in a combat. As Gondibert and his party are returning weary homeward, an antient ranger hastily brings the tidings that Oswald, who had lain in ambush with a body of chosen horse, is advancing upon them. The Duke, rejecting all counsels of flight, prepares to receive his foes; and with an account of their principal leaders, and the order of their march, the canto concludes.

"A parley between the chiefs now succeeds, in which the character of each is well preserved. Oswald warmly accuses his rival for usurping his claims on the Princess and the kingdom. Gondibert defends himself with temper, and disavows all ambitious designs. The other disdains accommodation; and the conference ends in a generous agreement to decide their differences in single fight.

"When every thing is prepared for the combat, Hubert, the brother of Oswald, steps forth with a general challenge to the opposite party. This is instantly accepted, and serves for a prelude to so many others, that a general engagement seems likely to ensue; when Oswald reproves their disobedient ardour: and, upon Hubert's insisting to share his fate from the rights of brotherhood, it is at length decided that three persons of each party should enter the lists along with their generals. The duel then comes on, in the fourth canto; in which Oswald, Hubert, Paradine and Dargonet, are severally matched with Gondibert; Hurgonil, the lover of Orna, the Duke's sister; and Arnold and Hugo, generous rivals in Laura. Descriptions of battle are so frequent in epic poetry that scarcely any circumstances of variety are left to diversify them. Homer and his imitators have attempted novelty in the multiplicity of their combats by every possible variation of weapon, posture, and wound. They considered the human body with anatomical nicety; and dwelt with a savage pleasure upon every idea of pain and horror that studied butchery could excite. I shall leave it to the professed admirers of antiquity to determine under what head of poetical beauty such objects are to be ranged. The terrible is certainly a principal source of the sublime; but a slaughter-house or a surgery would not seem proper studies for a poet. D'avenant has drawn little from them. His battles are rendered interesting chiefly by the character and situation of the combatants. When Arnold, the favoured lover of Laura, is slain by Paradine, Hugo, who had overthrown his antagonist, springs to avenge his rival, with these truly gallant expressions.

"Vain conqueror, said Hugo then, return!
Instead of laurel which the victor wears,
Go gather cypress for thy brother's urn,
And learn of me to water it with tears.

"Thy brother lost his life attempting mine;
Which cannot for Lord Arnold's loss suffice:
I must revenge, unlucky Paradine!
The blood his death will draw from Laura's eyes.

"We rivals were in Laura; but tho' she
My griefs derided, his with sighs approv'd,
Yet I, in love's exact integrity,
Must take thy life for killing him she lov'd.

"His generosity, however, was fatal both to his foe and himself.

"Hubert, disabled by a wound in his arm, is dishonoured by receiving his life from his conqueror; upon which occasion the poet thus beautifully apostrophises,

"O Honour, frail as life thy fellow flower!
Cherish'd and watch'd and hum'rously esteem'd,
Then worn for short adornments of an hour;
And is when lost, no more than life redeem'd.

"The two chiefs are still left closely engaging; and when Hurgonil approaches to assist his lord, he is warmly commanded to retire. At length, after many mutual wounds, Oswald falls.

"The death of the Prince at the same time takes off all restraint from his party, and incites them to revenge. Led by the wounded Hubert, old Vasco, and Borgio, they attack the hunters, who, besides the fatigue of the chase, are represented as somewhat inferior in number. A furious battle, the subject of the fifth canto, now ensues. Gondibert shines forth in all the splendor of a hero. By his prowess his friends are rescued, and the opposite leaders overthrown in various separate encounters; and by his military skill the brave veterans of Oswald are defeated. The whole description of the battle is warm and animated.

"In Gondibert's generous lamentation over the fallen, every heart must sympathize with the following pathetic tribute to the rival lovers.

"Brave Arnold and his rival strait remove,
Where Laura shall bestrew their hallow'd ground;
Protectors both, and ornaments of love;
This said, his eyes out wept his widest wound.

"Tell her now these, love's faithful saints, are gone
The beauty they ador'd she ought to hide;
For vainly will love's miracles be shown,
Since lover's faith with these brave rivals dy'd.

"Say little Hugo never more shall mourne
In noble numbers, her unkind disdain;
Who now, not seeing beauty, feels no scorn;
And wanting pleasure, is exempt from pain.

"When she with flowers Lord Arnold's grave shall strew,
And hears why Hugo's life was thrown away,
She on that rival's hearth will drop a few,
Which merits all that April gives to May.

"The Duke now draws off his remaining friends towards Bergamo: but on the journey, overcome by fatigue and loss of blood, he falls into a deadly swoon. His attendants, amidst their anxiety and confusion upon this event, are surprised, in the sixth canto, with the approach of a squadron of horse. This, however, proves to be a friendly body, led by old Ulfen; who, after recovering the Duke by a cordial, declares himself to have been a page to his grandfire, and gives a noble relation of the character and exploits of his great master. The rumour of Oswald's attack brought him to the relief of Gondibert; and we have a description, which will be thought too much bordering upon the ludicrous, of the strange confusion among his maimed veterans, who in their haste had seized upon each other's artificial limbs. This unsightly troop, with the deficiencies of hands, arms, legs and eyes, can scarcely, with all the poet's art, be rendered a respectable object. Such instances of faulty judgment are frequent in the writings of an age which was characterized by vigour of imagination rather than correctness of taste. Ulfen leads the Duke to the house of the sage Altragon, where, with the approach of night, the canto and the first book conclude.

"In the beginning of the second book, the poet carries us with Hurgonil and Tybalt and their noble lead, to Verona. The distant turrets first appearing, and then the great objects opening, one by one; the river, the palace, the temple, and the amphitheatre of Flaminius, form a landscape truly noble and picturesque. The view of the temple gives occasion

occasion to one of those elevated religious sentiments which dignify this poem.

" This to soothe heaven the bloody Clephes built;
As if heaven's king so soft and easy were,
So meanly hous'd in heaven, and kind to guilt,
That he would be a tyrant's tenant here.

" We have then a lively description of a city morning; with the various and uncertain rumours of the late event, among the people. The rest of the canto is employed in a debate, rather tedious, though intermixed with fine sentiments, concerning the propriety of granting funeral rites to those who had perished in the quarrel.

" The progress of the fatal news is traced in the next canto. Aribert appears sitting in council in all the regal dignity. Tybalt relates the story. The King in a majestic speech complains of the toils and cares of empire, and predicts the baneful consequences likely to ensue. A more interesting scene is then disclosed, in which Tybalt declares the melancholy events of the combat to Rhodolind and the other Ladies of the court. Great art is shown in the delicate ambiguity by which they are prepared to receive the tidings. Laura is overpowered by her loss; and calling on Arnold's name, is conveyed away by her female attendants. This tender scene of sorrow is finely contrasted by the abrupt entrance of Gartha, in all the wild pomp of mingled rage and grief.

" No sooner was the pity'd Laura gone,
But Oswald's sister, Gartha the renown'd,
Enters as if the world was overthrown,
Or in the tears of the afflicted drown'd.

" Unconquer'd as her beauty was her mind,
Which wanted not a spark of Oswald's fire;
Ambition lov'd but ne'er to love was kind;
Vex'd thrones did more than quiet shades desire.

" Her garments now in loose neglect she wore,
As suited to her wild dishevell'd hair.

" In the fury of her passion she breaks out into execrations against the innocent.

" Blasted be all your beauties, Rhodolind!
Till you a shame and terror be to sight;
Unwing'd be Love, and slow as he is blind,
Who with your looks poison'd my brother's sight!

" At length she mounts her chariot, and flies with the wings of revenge to the veteran camp at Brescia. The terror impressed on the people by her hasty departure is imaged with great sublimity.

" She seem'd their city's Genius as she pass'd,
Who, by their sins expell'd, would ne'er return.

" The third canto brings us to Brescia, where Hubert's arrival with the dead body of Oswald excites every emotion of surprize, grief and fury in the breasts of the brave veterans. They spend the night in this storm of contending passions; and at day-break assemble round the tent of Hubert, who by a noble harangue gives additional fire to their revenge. They instantly arm, and demand to be led to Bergamo; when Gartha arrives. She turns their vengeance against the court, where she represents the triumph of Gondibert's faction, and the dishonour cast upon their own. The rage discovered in her countenance, overpowering the symptoms of grief, is painted with amazing grandeur in the following simile:

" The Sun did thus to threat'ned nature show
His anger red, whilst guilt look'd pale in all,
When clouds of floods did hang about his brow;
And then shrunk back to let that anger fall.

" This tempest is, however, allayed in the next canto by the arrival of the wise Hermegild; who, though grown aged in war and politics, is possessed with a youthful passion for Gartha. He solemnly

binds his services to their party, for the reward of Gartha's love; but persuades them to submit to more cautious and pacific measures. Gartha returns with him to the court; and the funeral of Oswald with Roman rites, " Which yet the world's last law had not forbid," is described in the remaining part of the canto.

" From scenes of rage and tumult the poet then leads us to the quiet shades of philosophy in the house of Astragon. This change is not better calculated for the reader's relief, than for a display of the richness and elevation of the writer's mind. That the friend of Hobbes should despise the learned lumber of the schools will not be thought extraordinary; but that he should distinctly mark out such plans of acquiring knowledge as have since been pursued with the greatest success, may well be deemed a remarkable proof of high and comprehensive genius. In Astragon's domain is a retired building, upon which is written in large letters, GREAT NATURE'S OFFICE. Here sit certain venerable sages, stiled *Nature's Registers*, busied in recording what is brought them by a throng called their *Intelligencers*. These men are diversly employed in exploring the haunts of beasts, of birds, and of fishes, and collecting observations of their manners, their prey, their increase, and every circumstance of their œconomy. Near this place is NATURE'S NURSERY, stocked with every species of plants, of which the several properties and virtues are diligently examined. Is it not striking to find in the *house of Astragon* so exact a model of the *school of Linnaeus*?

" We are next led to the CABINET OF DEATH; a receptacle for skeletons and anatomical curiosities of every kind: and from thence, by a pleasing analogy, to the library, or, as it is termed, the MONUMENT OF BANISH'D MINDS. The feelings of his guests on entering this room are thus described;

" Where, when they thought they saw in well-fought books
Th' assembled souls of all that men held wise,
It bred such awful rev'rence in their looks
As if they saw the bury'd writers rise.

" The poet then goes through a particular survey of the authors, distinguished into their several periods, countries, and professions; in which he exhibits a great extent of learning, and, much more to his honour, a sound and liberal judgment of what is truly valuable in learning. Of this, his account of the polemic divines will be thought no unfavourable specimen.

" About this sacred little book did stand
Unwieldy volumes, and in number great;
And long it was since any reader's hand
Had reach'd them from their unfrequented seat:

" For a deep dust (which time does softly shed,
Where only time does come) their covers bear;
On which grave spiders streets of webs had spread,
Subtle, and slight, as the grave writers were.

" In these heaven's holy fire does vainly burn,
Nor warms, nor lights, but is in sparkles spent;
Where froward authors with disputes have torn
The garment seamless as the firmament.

" If the subjects of this canto appear more noble and elevated than those which usually employ the episodes of heroic poetry, that of the ensuing one must strike with still superior dignity. Having acquainted us with the philosophy of his admired sage, the poet now, by a beautiful kind of allegory, instructs us in his religion. Astragon had dedicated three temples, to PRAYER, to PENITENCE, and to PRAISE. The *Temple of Prayer* is described as a building quite plain, open, and without bells; since nothing should tempt or summon to an office to which our own wants invite us. The duty of *Penitence* being a severity unpleasing to nature, its temple is contrived, by its solemn and uncommon appearance, to catch the sense. It is a vast building of black marble, hung with black, and furnished with that

"dim religious light" which poets have so finely employed to excite kindred ideas of gloom and melancholy: but none, I think, have painted it with such strength of colouring as our author:

"Black curtains hide the glass; whilst from on high
A winking lamp still threatens all the room,
As if the lazy flame just now would die:
Such will the sun's last light appear at doom.

"A tolling bell calls to the temple; and every other circumstance belonging to it is imagined with great propriety and beauty.

"But the poet's greatest exertions are reserved for his favourite *temple of Praise*. A general shout of joy is the summons to it. The building in its materials and architecture is gay and splendid beyond the most sumptuous palace. The front is adorned with figures of all kinds of musical instruments; all, as he most beautifully expresses it,

"That joy did e'er invent, or breath inspir'd,
Or flying fingers touch'd into a voice.

"The statues without, the pictures within, the decorations, and the choir of worshippers, are all suited with nice judgment, and described with genuine poetry. This distinguished canto concludes with these noble stanzas, the sum and moral, as it were, of the whole.

"Praise is devotion fit for mighty minds;
The differing world's agreeing sacrifice;
Where heaven divided faiths united finds:
But Prayer in various discord upward flies.

"For Prayer the ocean is, where diversly
Men steer their course, each to a sev'ral coast;
Where all our interests so discordant be
That half-beg winds by which the rest are lost.

"By Penitence when we ourselves forsake,
'Tis but in wise design on piteous heav'n;
In Praise we nobly give what God may take,
And are without a beggar's blush forgiv'n.

"Its utmost force, like powder's, is unknown;
And tho' weak Kings excess of Praise may fear,
Yet when 'tis here, like powder, dangerous grown,
Heav'n's vault receives what would the palace tear.

"The last thought will be termed, in this cold age,
a conceit; and so may every thing that distinguishes
wit and poetry from plain sense and prose.

"The wonders of the *house of Astragon* are not yet exhausted.

"To Astragon heaven for succession gave
One only pledge, and BIRTHA was her name.

"This maid, her father's humble disciple and assistant, educated in the bosom of rural simplicity, is rendered a more charming object than even the renowned Rhodalind upon her throne.

"Courts she ne'er saw, yet courts could have undone
With untaught looks and an unpractis'd heart;
Her nets the most prepar'd could never shun,
For Nature spread them in the scorn of Art.

"But I check my desire of copying more from this exquisitely pleasing picture. My intention is to excite curiosity, not to gratify it. I hope I have already done enough for that purpose; and since the rest of this unfinished story may be comprized in a short compass, I shall proceed, with but few interruptions, to conclude a paper already swelled to an unexpected bulk.

"That the unpractis'd Birtha should entertain an unresisted passion for the noblest of his sex; and that Gondibert, whose want of ambition alone had secured him from the charms of Rhodalind, should bow to those of his lovely hostess and handmaid, will be thought a very natural turn in the story; upon which, however, the reader may foresee the most interesting

events depending. The progress of their love, though scarcely known to themselves, is soon discovered by the sage Astragon. This is expressed by the poet with a very fine turn of a common thought.

"When all these symptoms he observ'd, he knows
From Alga which is rooted deep in seas,
To the high Cedar that on mountains grows,
No sov'reign herb is found for their disease.

"The remainder of this poem, consisting of a third book written during the author's imprisonment, is composed of several detached scenes, in which the main plot lies ripening for future action. Rivals are raised in Birtha. Flattering advances from the court, and more open declarations of love from Rhodalind, are in vain employed to assail the constancy of Gondibert. Various conflicts of passion arise, and interesting situations, well imagined, and painted in lively colours. Much is given, as in the former parts, to the introduction of elevated sentiment; with one example of which I shall finish my quotations. Several well-born youths are placed about the person of Gondibert as his pages, whose education consists of the following great lessons from their lord.

"But with the early sun he rose, and taught
These youths by growing Virtue to grow great;
Shew'd greatness is without it blindly sought,
A desperate charge which ends in base retreat.

"He taught them Shame, the sudden sense of ill;
Shame, nature's hasty conscience, which forbids
Weak inclination ere it grows to will,
Or stays rash will before it grows to deeds.

"He taught them Honour, Virtue's bashfulness;
A fort so yieldless that it fears to treat;
Like power it grows to nothing, growing less;
Honour, the moral conscience of the great.

"He taught them Kindness; soul's civility,
In which, nor courts, nor cities have a part;
For theirs is fashion, this from falsehood free,
Where love and pleasure know no lust nor art.

"And Love he taught; the soul's stol'n visit made
Tho' froward age watch hard, and law forbid;
Her walks no spy has trac'd, nor mountain staid;
Her friendship's cause is as the loadstone hid.

"He taught them love of Toil; Toil which does keep
Obstructions from the mind, and quench the blood;
Ease but belongs to us like sleep, and sleep,
Like Opium, is our med'cine, not our food.

"The plot is at length involved in so many intricate and apparently unfathomable difficulties, that it is scarcely possible to conceive a satisfactory termination. Perhaps the poet was sensible of a want of power to extricate himself, and chose thus to submit to a voluntary bankruptcy of invention, rather than hazard his reputation by going farther. In his postscript, indeed, he excuses himself on account of sickness and approaching dissolution. However disappointed we may be by his abrupt departure from scenes which he has filled with confusion, we ought not to forget the pleasures already received from them. "If (says he to his reader, with more than the spirit of a dying man) thou art one of those who has been warmed with poetic fire, I reverence thee as my judge." From such a judicature, this NOBLE FRAGMENT, would, I doubt not, acquire for him what the critic laments his having lost, "the possession of that true and permanent glory of which his large soul appears to have been full (46)."

Whilst the preceding remarks will fully convince our readers, that there is a merit in the Gondibert, of which many of them had not, perhaps, the least apprehension, we must, at the same time, declare our opinion, that nothing can ever render it a popular poem. Dr. Aikin acknowledges, that it is defective in the execution. It is but too obviously apparent, he says, that Sir William Davenant's senti-

(46) Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose, by J. and A. L. Aikin, p. 154—189.

ments are frequently far fetched and affected, and his expression quaint and obscure; and that these faults, together with the want of harmony in versification, will sufficiently account for the neglect into which the work is fallen, though interesting in its story, and thick-sown with beauties (47).

(47) *Ibid.* p. 152.

But though the Gondibert will still continue to be

generally neglected, this does not detract from the value of Dr. Aikin's criticism. Disquisitions of such a kind are eminently useful. They preserve the reputation of considerable men from sinking wholly into oblivion, and they occasion their works to be studied by a few choice spirits, who are above being carried away by the torrent of literary fashion. K.

D'AVENANT (CHARLES), the eldest son of Sir William Davenant, was born some time in the year 1656 (a), and received the first tincture of letters at the grammar school of Cheame, in the county of Surry, under the care of Mr. George Aldrich, of Cambridge (b). He gave very early proofs of an active and sprightly genius; and, though it must have been a great misfortune to him to lose, as he did, his father, when scarcely twelve years of age, yet care was taken to send him to Oxford to compleat his studies, where he became a Fellow-Commoner of Baliol-College in Midsummer Term 1671, but left that University without taking a degree (c). The first proof which the public received of his parts was a dramatic composition, written when he was about nineteen years of age, and which was received with great kindness by a very polite audience, and frequently acted afterwards with just applause (d) [A]. He had a considerable share in the theatre in right of his father, which, probably, induced him to turn his thoughts so early to the stage; yet he was not long detained either by that, or by the success of his play, in the flowery road of Poetry. On the contrary, he applied himself to the study of the Civil Law, in which he had the degree of Doctor conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge (e). He was elected, with James St. Amand, Esq; to represent the borough of St. Ives in Cornwall, in the first Parliament of King James II. which was summoned to meet May 19th, 1685 (f); and, about the same time, he was jointly empowered, with the Master of the Revels, to inspect all plays, to preserve the decorum of the Stage, by preventing any thing that might have a tendency to immorality from appearing thereon (g). He was also appointed a Commissioner of the Excise (h), and continued in that employment for nearly six years, that is, from 1683 to 1689; during which space that branch of the revenue was managed with great advantage to the Crown, as well as with great honour and fidelity by such as were intrusted with it, as he demonstrated to the public by comparing their conduct, and the consequences of it, with those of their successors; against which account, though there were some cavils raised, yet the facts contained therein could not be contradicted (i) [B]. His thorough acquaintance

(a) As appears from the time at which he died, and his age at the time of his death.

(b) Wood's *Artb. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 945.

(c) From private information.

(d) Langbaine's *Eng. Dramatic Poets*, p. 116.

(e) *Fest. Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 223.

(f) Langbaine's *English Dramatic Poets*, p. 116.

(g) Parliamentary Register, p. 126. Will's Notit. Parliament, vol. ii. p. 130. (h) Animadversions on a late seditious book, intitled *Essays on the Balance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

(i) See this matter discussed in note [B].

[A] And frequently acted afterwards with just applause.] This single dramatick performance of our author has the following title:

I. CIRCE, a Tragedy, acted at his Royal Highness the Duke of York's theatre, Lond. 1677, 4to.

After the death of Sir William Davenant, those mischiefs, to which the theatre became exposed in his life-time, began to threaten its destruction. For the two companies, vying with each other, that of the Duke rather chose to make their court to the town by rich dresses, beautiful scenes, surprizing machinery, and other decorations of that sort, than play to thinner houses than usual, which served only to heighten that false taste, that has been always the bane of dramatick entertainments. To the introduction of these, this new piece was so far accommodated, that, notwithstanding its title, Mr. Langbaine says justly, that it was considered rather as an Opera; yet the subject suiting very well with the design, and the verses being written with great ease and spirit, it was with all these helps generally, if not universally, admired (1). The reader must observe, that it was not printed till two years after it was first acted, upon which occasion Mr. Dryden wrote a Prologue, and the Earl of Rochester an Epilogue, both beautiful pieces in their kind. In the former there was this fine apology for the author's youth and inexperience (2).

(1) English Dramatic Poets, p. 116.

(2) Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq. vol. ii. p. 241.

Your Ben and Fletcher in their first young flight,
Did no *Volpone* nor no *Arbaces* write,
But hopp'd about, and short excursions made
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;
And each was guilty of some slighted maid.
Shakespeare's own Muse her *Pericles* first bore,
'The Prince of Tyre' was elder than the Moor.
'Tis miracle to see a first good play,
All *hawthorns* do not bloom on *Christmas-day*.
A slender Poet must have time to grow,
And spread and burnish as his brothers do;

Who still looks lean sure with some pox is curst,
But no man can be *Falstaff* fat at first.
Then damn not, but indulge, his rude essays;
Encourage him, and bloat him up with praise;
That he may get more bulk before he dies,
He's not yet fed enough for sacrifice.
Perhaps if now your grace you will not grudge,
He may grow up to write, and you to judge.

[B] Yet the facts therein could not be contradicted.] It may be reasonably believed, though, at this distance of time, it cannot be positively affirmed, that this gentleman had some lesser employment in the Excise, before he was advanced to the rank of a Commissioner. It is to one of his adversaries that we are indebted for this circumstance, that Mr. Davenant came to the board at Midsummer 1683, when this part of the revenue, which for many years had been let to farm, came again into the hands of the Crown, and was delegated to six Commissioners (3). The history of their management, as given by Dr. Davenant himself, is what we have referred to in the text, and a small part of which we shall transcribe here, from which the reader will discern, that, when this gentleman undertook to give the publick his sentiments as to the management of the revenue, he was not either an ignorant or an impertinent pretender, but one who perfectly understood the matter which he promised to make plain, and pointed out the only method for correcting the errors of the administration that will ever be found practicable, viz. that of detecting the faults in particular departments, shewing whence they arise, and how they may be amended. Let the author now speak for himself, and tell us how that commission was executed while he remained a member (4).

When the excise was put from a farm into a commission, the Commissioners, at their first coming in, did not make any material change of officers, deferring that till they had better knowledge

(3) Remarks upon some wrong computations and conclusions, &c. p. 8.

(4) Discourses on the public Revenues and Trade of England, vol. i. p. 77.

with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, joined to his great skill in figures, and his happiness in applying that skill according to the principles advanced by Sir William Petty, for the perfecting Political Arithmetic, enabled him to enter deeply into the management of affairs, and procured him great success as a political writer (*k*). In all his pieces he reasons entirely upon Revolution principles, and pays the highest compliments to the personal virtues, and excellent abilities, of the Prince then upon the throne; notwithstanding which such as opposed him made no scruple of disputing his principles, and of maintaining, that his real view was to subvert the government, though he pretended to support it by exposing the errors of the Ministry (*l*). His performances in this kind, during the reign of King William, were very numerous; and, as they met with high approbation then, so the importance of the subjects of which they treat, and the singular and solid learning they contain, make them very much esteemed and valued even at this day. We shall give the reader the correctest catalogue we can of them in the notes [*C*]. It was in one

(*k*) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 217.

(*l*) Animadversions on a late seditious book, intituled, *Essays on the Balance of Power*, &c. p. 5.

of those under them, and till they were more masters of their business; and by degrees, and with great caution, they weeded out such unqualified, corrupt, or negligent officers, as had been partially brought in during the former management, which was supine enough towards the latter end. And whereas the method of keeping the stock-books, and way of charging the people, were different almost in every collection, they settled one uniform method through the whole kingdom, taking that form for a pattern which had been made use of with most success in the best managed collections, which were Yorkshire, Wales, and the four northern counties.

To see which method put in execution, and to see such other directions performed as the Commissioners should afterwards give, they appointed four general Riders, and eight general Supervisors. But as a check above all, and which was indeed the life of their whole affair, the Commissioners themselves made frequent circuits round the kingdom, viewing every particular officer in his respective division, without which the inferior officers would have run into sloth, and the superior into corruption. And in these circuits they could observe who were remiss, who diligent, who deserved advancement, who wanted removing; and here they suited each man's district to his capacity, and, if their officers were corrupt, here they got true information of their proceedings.

But these Commissioners had done little good abroad with their inspection, if the officers had not been sensible, that they were overlooked by persons skilful in the matter, and able to hit a fault; for that Commissioner who rides abroad not fully possessed of his business, shall be hourly imposed upon by the inferior officers, and leave things in a worse order than he found them. They rarely made any addition of officers to increase the King's charge, but upon their own view in these circuits, and upon a full conviction that such increase of expence would turn to the King's account.

They took care to employ responsible men for their Collectors, by which means their accounts have been made up with very little supers upon any officer. In six years time they had got together twelve hundred Gaugers, active and skilful, and such a set of men, as perhaps, no Prince had ever a better employed in his revenue. And as to the commission itself, it was first composed of persons who all of them, some way or other, had been before conversant in the excise, and who agreed very well together; for in six years of that management, not one thing was ever put to the vote among them.

They were generally persons not above their employments, and who had no other business but the King's to follow; and they had a large salary which put them beyond corruption. Their management was impartial: no man was turned out to let in another, but upon strong proof, and the report of a Commissioner or General Officer upon the spot. So that he who was skilful and diligent, looked upon himself as in for life, for which reason they were served heartily and with affection.

Their management was uncorrupt; no place was sold, or suffered to be sold, under them; by which

they could pick and choose the best, and were entirely masters of their inferior officers. They were steady and constant in their proceedings, not giving out general orders one week and contradicting them the next.

They did not vex the people any where with unreasonable fines; and knowing the revenue in some measure to be precarious, they were not severe in London in exacting arrears, for fear that if they should bring any distress and trouble upon the London brewery, it would occasion the making ill drink, and so drive the people to brew themselves, which would destroy the duty.

These Commissioners did believe, that their skill, fidelity, and diligence, would always recommend them to any government, and keep them in their employments: they therefore quitted their private business and professions, to devote themselves wholly to the King's service, managing his revenue with the same care, affection, and frugality, as the father of a family would use in the ordering his own affairs, which occasioned my Lord Rochester, (no incompetent judge in those matters) at his leaving the Treasury, to take particular notice to the late King, how well that branch had been conducted.

But, after all, the success with which this management was attended, is chiefly to be attributed to the wisdom and steady conduct of those noble persons, who, while they governed at the head of the Treasury, in their several turns, did more at Whitehall towards keeping this branch in order, than was done in Broad-street. When the principal officers and Commissioners of every revenue were in a manner of their choosing, and under their direction, they took care that the King should be well and diligently served, and the publick tasted the benefit of that great power which was trusted with them. They had notice how each person attended or understood his business; they called every month to know what Commissioners were abroad surveying in the country; they looked into all transactions weekly, and took an exact account every quarter how the duty proceeded; and, in short, the strict eye which the Treasury kept over the Commissioners, rendered them watchful over their inferior officers; all which together made the revenue flourish.

To this high character of these Commissioners, he adds, by way of contrast, a very different one of those who succeeded them, and in respect to this he was very vigorously opposed by one, who had some particular reasons for vindicating their conduct whom the Doctor had exposed; but even this writer (*5*) does not at all contradict what had been advanced in reference to the behaviour of the first set of Commissioners while they were in office.

[*C*] The correctest catalogue we can of them in the notes. A certain writer tells us, that Dr. Davenant having laid wagers that the army of the allies would not succeed in Flanders, and particularly that they would not be able to take Namur (*6*), his losing them provoked him to draw his pen against the government, so that, if he is believed, private pique, and particular prejudices, were the source of this gentleman's publick spirit. His books however are penned in a manner very different from this, and seem to speak

(*5*) Remarks upon some wrong computations and conclusions, &c. p. 4.

(*6*) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 118.

one of these books that the author suffered himself to be so carried away by his zeal, as to treat the Church, or, at least, some Church-men, in so disrespectful a manner, as to draw upon himself

speaking the writer very heartily desirous that the war then carried on should be attended with success, and the power of France humbled, without exhausting the strength of this nation. Such is the apparent view of his first political work.

II. *An Essay upon Ways and Means of supplying the War*, Lond. 1695, 8vo.

In this treatise he discovered his great capacity in the art of computation, and with much industry and pains pointed out the means of judging truly of the nature of funds, upon which important subjects he wrote with so much strength and perspicuity, as gained him great reputation, and sufficiently recommended to the publick whatever pieces came abroad by the author of *The Essay on Ways and Means*, which was the method Dr. Davenant took to distinguish most of his succeeding writings, as well as if he had put his name to them, which however, for some prudential reasons, he declined.

III. *An Essay on the East India Trade*, London, 1697, 8vo.

This, which was no more than a pamphlet, wore the form of a letter to the most honourable John Lord Marquis of Normanby, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire. In it the author gives a short and clear view of the importance of trade in general, and afterwards enters very fairly and freely into the nature of the trade to the East Indies, which he confesses to be detrimental to the inhabitants of Europe in general, but shews, that it may be advantageous to some particular nations, that it is so to England, and that the monopoly of this trade in the hands of the Dutch, might be worth to them six millions sterling annually. He likewise gives his reasons, why the prohibitions then intended of East India and Persia wrought silks, would be destructive to that trade in general, and hazard it's being utterly lost to the kingdom.

IV. *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and of the Trade of England; by the author of the Essay on Ways and Means. Part I. To which is added, A Discourse upon improving the Revenue of the State of Athens, written originally in Greek by Xenophon, and now made English from the Original, with some Historical Notes; by another hand.* Lond. 1698, 8vo.

In this piece, the author undertakes to discover his sense upon the following very important topicks, viz. Of the use of political arithmetick, in all considerations about the revenue and trade. On credit, and the means and methods by which it may be restored. On the management of the King's revenues; Whether to farm the revenues may not, in this juncture, be most for the publick service? On the publick debts and engagements.

The Discourse on the Revenue of the State of Athens, was written by the famous Walter Moyle, Esq; and addressed by him to Dr. Davenant, in which address there occurs a passage, which shews that there were some thoughts of sending over our author in quality of Director-General to the East Indies, and is also a clear testimony, what that great man's notions were in reference to the real intentions, as well as great importance, of our author's writings. Speaking of what might be expected upon the conclusion of a peace with France, he says (7), 'Trade being of such mighty consequence to the interest of the nation, will, we hope, meet with due encouragement and protection from our laws, and will be settled under the ablest management and the wisest regulation. These branches of our commerce, which have been impaired or lost by the pyratick war, and the fatal interruption of our navigation, may be retrieved by the peace; and other trades, and particularly that with France, which the negligence, or the mistaken counsels of the last reigns, had settled upon a foot so destructive to our interest, may be established to our advantage in a new treaty of commerce. The great trade to the East Indies, with some few regulations, might be established upon a bottom more consistent with

VOL. IV.

the manufactures of England; but in all appearance this is not to be compassed, unless some publick spirited man (*), with a masterly genius, be placed at the head of our affairs in India; and though we, who are his friends, are loth to lose him, 'twere to be wished for the good of the kingdom, that the gentleman whom common fame, and the voice of the world, have pointed out as the ablest man for such a station, would employ his excellent judgment and talents that way, in the execution of so noble and useful a design. The general interest of a nation ought to be the care of particular men, the main bent of their studies, and the chief pursuit of their enquiries: every man ought to set his helping hand to such a work, and your own generous labours upon this subject have set an excellent pattern to the rest of the world.'

V. *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, which more immediately treat of the foreign traffick of this kingdom. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means. Part II.* Lond. 1698, 8vo.

In this excellent work, the author has undertaken to explain four very important points, so as to render them perfectly intelligible even to common understandings. The first is the nature of foreign trade, in which he not only shews that it is really beneficial to this kingdom, but how it comes to be so, and what are the proper methods of enquiring, whether foreign trade is beneficial or not within any given period whatever. The second point is as to the care and protection of trade, in which a multitude of curious points are incidentally illustrated. The third point he labours, is that of the plantation trade, and in reference to this there are more useful observations advanced, and more important facts laid down, than are to be met with in the same compass in any book published in our language. The advantages and disadvantages which may be derived from the East India trade, or which it may be exposed to, is our author's topick in his fourth discourse, at the beginning of which he gives the following account of what he would have understood to be the scope and intention of all his writings (8). 'The author's aim is to deliver things plainly, without the disguise of hard words and terms, which rubbish being removed, the precious ore will sooner appear that is to be found in studies of this nature. His ends are compassed if he can set out intricate matters in an easy manner, hoping thereby to induce the young Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom to take a pleasure in these sort of contemplations, and he wishes this present performance did in any degree answer the desire he has of serving the publick.'

'Tis a great delight to him to observe, that many of our young Nobility and Gentry have expressed an inclination to inform themselves of the state of England, and that learning begins to be more in fashion than of late years, people being not ashamed now of understanding Greek and Latin. Nothing did more help to advance the Roman greatness, than that their youth were bred up to an early knowledge of their country's business, to which they attained by progressive steps, through several offices of the State, wherein they gained the experience that fitted them at last for the magistracies of chiefest trust and importance. They qualified themselves for the publick service, by seasoning betimes their understandings with the love of letters; for, in those days, whoever pretended to intermeddle in matters of government, did first cultivate his mind with wisdom and the precepts of Philosophy, by which afterwards he might steer his actions, giving to the search into useful arts or sublimer studies those hours, which, in this age, are consumed in riots and vain pleasures.

The young Nobility and Gentry not yet tainted, are the best hopes of a diseased Commonwealth. The warmth and spirit of such, must assist their measures who desire and are able to promote a right

8 C

(*) Dr. Davenant himself.

(8) Discourse on the public Revenues, and on the Trade of England, vol. ii. p. 320.

(7) In his introduction to the translation of that discourse of Xenophon.

himself a very unusual mark of censure from one of the Houses in Convocation (m) [D]. (m) Oldmixon's History of the It Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 222.

administration. And in national assemblies, it has been generally observed, that the young men are least infected with corruption; and that they would always follow truth, but for the false lights which crafty guides set up with a purpose to mislead them, for, while we are young, we are either ashamed, or have not leisure, to play the knave; but we come to it as age and discretion grow upon us.

The writer's aim is to stir up the youth of the kingdom to bend their thoughts to the study of trade and the publick revenues, that, being masters of the general notions of trade thereunto relating, they may not be misled by crafty and interested Merchants, or by ambitious and designing Politicians. When the youth of a nation have well informed their own reason, they follow her dictates, deliberating well and wisely for their King and country, without being hurried to and fro by the whirlwind of a prevailing faction.

In answer to this performance, more especially to what is advanced therein concerning the excise, there was published a pamphlet under the following title:

Remarks upon some wrong Computations and Conclusions, contained in a late tract, intituled, Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the trade of England, in a Letter to Mr. D. S. London, 1698, 8vo.

VI. *An Essay upon the Probable Methods of making the People Gainers in the Ballance of Trade. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means. London, 1699, 8vo.*

In this discourse he insists upon the following heads, viz. Of the people of England. Of the land of England, and its product. Of our payments to the publick, and in what manner the balance of trade may be thereby affected. That a country cannot increase in wealth and power but by private men doing their duty to the publick, and but by a steady course of honesty and wisdom, in such as are trusted with the administration of affairs.

VII. *A Discourse upon GRANTS and RESUMPTIONS, shewing how our ancestors have proceeded with such Ministers, as have procured to themselves Grants of the Crown Revenue, and that the Forfeited Estates ought to be applied towards the Payment of Publick Debts. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means. Lond. 1700, 8vo.*

In answer to this came out a very large and accurate work intituled,

JUS REGIUM: or, The King's Right to grant Forfeitures and other Revenues of the Crown, fully set forth, and traced from the beginning. His Majesty vindicated as to his Promise, concerning his Disposal of the Forfeited Estates. The manifold Hardships of the Resumption, and the little Advantage we shall reap by it, plainly demonstrated. Lond. 1701, 8vo.

VIII. *Essays upon the Ballance of Power; the Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances; Universal Monarchy. To which is added an Appendix, containing the Records referred to in the second Essay. London, 1701, 8vo.*

A very large and full answer to this work was published, under the title of

Animadversions on a late factious book, intituled, Essays upon the Ballance of Power, &c. with a Letter containing a Censure upon the said book, wherein the King, the Ministry, and the Church of England, are cleared from the malicious Aspersions cast upon them by the Enemies of this Government. Lond. 1701, 8vo.

(9) P. 5.

The author of this pamphlet tells us (9), that Dr. Davenant made himself conspicuous, and secured a great party in the nation, by his early quarrel to the government; upon account of the mal-administration of affairs; which he would persuade the world to be the result of his love to his country, when we all know his spleen has no other cause, than his having no more a share in the management of one of the branches of the revenue.

IX. *The true picture of a Modern Whig, in two Parts. Lond. 1701, 1702, 8vo.*

There is nothing but general report, founded upon the likeness of the stile and other circumstantial evi-

dence, to prove that this bitter pamphlet fell from the pen of our author; and, if it did, he must be allowed to have been the greatest master of invective that ever wrote in our language.

[D] *From one of the Houses in Convocation.* Our author, who is said by his enemies to have been a very warm party-man himself, and blamed for calculating most of his writings for the service of a party, makes it however the chief point in most of his books, and in that especially which drew upon him this misfortune, to shew, that no country can be happy while party subsists in it, and that government can never be well administered while in the hands of a party. To shew that this was the case at that time, more especially in the Church, he delivers himself in the following extraordinary flow of resentment (10):

(10) P. 39, 40.

As to religion, says he, 'tis notorious that many of those lately in play, have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all Revealed Religion. They were more enraged at the Church party for believing in the Apostles Creed, than from the Tory principles some of them had advanced. Nothing but the subversion of all divine worship, could make way for that immorality which they intended to put in practice. All sort of Divines forbid the arts and ways by which they purposed to thrive; they were therefore to unsettle men in their opinions about religious matters, by which they hoped to prepare the minds, especially of the vulgar, to have different thoughts of vice and virtue than what they had heretofore entertained, which if they could have compassed, they did not doubt to be well esteemed of, as being the reverse of what honest and virtuous men ought to be, and acting quite opposite to what all religions have enjoined. They would have been safe indeed, and it would cover all their crimes, if nothing could be thought foul, treacherous, or dishonest, by which a man was to reap advantage, and if the people could have been once brought to think every thing good which they saw to prosper. Upon these grounds they have done their utmost to turn all religion to a jest. Do not we all know, that, in the midst of their prophane mirth, a modest Christian durst hardly put in a word in favour of the second person of the Trinity, without exposing himself to laughter? To hear 'em talk sometimes, one would imagine they believed a true Christian could not be a friend to the government. Good God! what a strange mixture of men have we lately seen upon the stage? irreligious Phanaticks, and arbitrary Republicans! Are not a great many of us able to point out to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich BENEFICES and DIGNITIES, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the divinity of Christ?

What was done upon this will best appear, from transcribing part of the Journal of the Upper House of Convocation (11).

Sessio x. Die Sabbati 22 Martii.

The Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, made their accustomed prayers to Almighty God. Which being done, the said Most Reverend produced a certain printed book, intituled, *Essays upon the Ballance of Power*, and after the reading of a certain paragraph in the fortieth page of the said book, the President and his Suffragans agreed, That the following paper should be fixed over several doors in Westminster-abbey.

March 22, 1700.

Whereas this day a book intituled *Essays upon I. The Ballance of Power. II. The Right of making War, Peace, and Alliances. III. Universal Monarchy, &c.* was brought into the Jerusalem Chamber, where his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of Suffragan Bishops of his province, were assembled in Convocation:

(11) The Hist. of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, Lond. 1702, 4to. p. 75.

It is not at all strange that one, who wrote upon such topics, and with so much freedom as he did, who censured boldly the measures he disapproved, and had sometimes the good fortune to find his sentiments espoused by the representatives of the nation, should feel the resentments of men in power, or be exposed to very harsh treatment from those who endeavoured to refute him, in order to gain their favour (n). But a different behaviour might be expected from such as undertake to write history, and who ought therefore to be very secure of their facts, before they deliver them as such to the public and to posterity: yet a certain writer bears very hard upon Dr. Davenant, for his conduct as a Member of Parliament in the reign of King William; tells us, that his circumstances were such as would have prevented him from having a seat after the act for qualifications took place; that the narrowness of them made it more than suspected he was bribed by Count Tallard, the French Minister; and instances, in a particular vote, where Dr. Davenant himself acknowledged he had given it against his conscience (o). Yet we find our author complaining in his books of being shut out of active life, and having no other way to benefit his country but by his pen (p), which would have been very strange language, if, at the same time, he had sitten in Parliament; but the truth of the matter is, that he did not obtain a seat in the reign of King William till the year 1698, when he was elected, with Francis Stonehouse, Esq; for the borough of Great Bedwin, as he was afterwards in the year 1700 (q); at which time also he wrote as warmly against France as any man; so that if the French Minister really allowed him a pension, he bestowed his money very ill; and the improbability of the fact makes better evidence necessary to prove it, than the bare assertion of an author very apt to be angry, and to believe, and say, any thing of those with whom he is angry. This is farther certain, that, in 1704, Dr. Davenant wrote a book, to shew the necessity of peace at home while a necessary war was carried on abroad; which he dedicated to Queen Anne (r), and which was supposed to be written at the desire of Lord Halifax; though the Historian before-mentioned tells us, that he despised the author, and would never have any confidence in him (s). This drew upon him the resentment of that party by whom he had been formerly esteemed, and who bestowed upon him as ill language, or rather worse, than he had received from his former opponents (t). He was afterwards appointed Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports (u), in which employment he gave a very high testimony of his abilities; so that, to speak with impartiality, he ought to be esteemed a person who served his country faithfully when in office, and usefully when out. As for his remaining works they will be mentioned in the notes [E]. It is presumed, that the care taken in representing fairly and fully the perform-

(n) State-Tracts in the reign of William III. vol. ii. p. 734, 735, 740, 741, 742.

(o) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 216, 217.

(s) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 217.

(u) Hist. of Europe for 1705. Appendix, p. 33.

(p) Discourse on Grants and Re-sump-tions, p. 41.

(q) Parliamentary Register, p. 19.

(r) See an account of it in note [E].

(t) A Defence of the two last Parliaments, p. 35.

Convocation: in the 40th page of which book are these words, *Are not a great many of us able to point out, &c.*

It is desired by the said Archbishop and Bishops, that the author himself whoever he be, or any one of the great many to whom he refers, would point out to the particular persons whom he or they know to be liable to that charge, that they may be proceeded against in a judicial way, which will be esteemed a great service to the Church; otherwise the above-mentioned passage must be looked upon as a publick scandal.

THO. TYLLOTT,
Clericus Superioris Domus Convocationis.

[E] *They will be mentioned in the notes.* In this note we are to speak of such of our author's writings, as he published after the time that he is supposed to have reconciled himself to the Ministry.

X. *Essays upon Peace at home and War abroad, in two parts, by Charles Davenant, L. L. D.* Lond. 1704, 8vo.

Whatever the motives might be which induced our author to compose and publish this piece, it is very certain that it is one of the wisest and weightiest that ever fell from his pen. That he was not ashamed in any degree of this undertaking, appears from his putting his name to the book: and that he was as far from taking shame to himself on the score of his former writings or behaviour, appears very clearly from the following paragraphs in his Dedication to the Queen, which are therefore highly deserving the reader's notice.

'That for many years there have been parties in this kingdom is too evident, but 'twas what the best Patriots all along deplored, though formerly the mischief was hardly to be avoided: endeavours to keep up a great land force in times of peace, neglect of trade, general profusion, the spoils some had made

upon the publick, and their alienating crown lands to an immense value both here and in Ireland, could not but provoke them who were to feel the weight of present taxes and of future debts.

In a free nation such conduct will ever inflame the minds of men, and excite all true lovers of their country to exert their utmost strength in its rescue. These contests, to promote good government, and to carry on a bad one, divided the realm. The corruptions of the age were attacked with virtuous courage at first by thin squadrons, whose numbers increased from time to time, till at last they were strong enough to make such a stand, as prevented universal ruin. In the mean while, mismanagement was supported with more warmth than perhaps was either just or decent. And these struggles were no small interruptions to your immediate predecessor in his counsels, and in his business of the war.

And 'tis no wonder the face of the waters is not yet quite smooth: after a high storm there will remain an agitation of the waves for many hours. Ambition may be still at work, and some may yet be grasping at power, which they hope to compass by the aids and voices of their faction: but God has enriched your princely heart with such prudence, as soon discerns what most conduces to the happiness of the nations over which your sceptre is extended.'

XI. *Reflections upon the Constitution and Management of the Trade to Africa, through the whole Course and Progress thereof, from the Beginning of the last Century to this Time; wherein the Nature and uncommon Circumstances of that Trade are particularly considered, and all the Arguments urged alternately, by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now proposed by them, for carrying on the same to a national Advantage, impartially stated and considered. By all which a clear view is given of such a Constitution, as (if established by Act of Parliament) would in all probability render the African Trade a permanent, creditable,*

652 D'AVENANT (CHARLES). D'AVENANT (WILLIAM).

performances of Dr. Davenant, whose merit, as a political writer, whatever his failings might be, has been always acknowledged, will prove acceptable to the public; the rather, because hitherto such accounts as have been given of his life and writings have been but very imperfect. He died in possession of his employment November 6th, 1714 (w).

(w) *Help to History*, vol. iii. p. 296.
Le Neve, Monumenta Anglicana, p. 293.

able, and advantageous Trade to Britain. Lond. 1709, fol. in three parts.

(12) Catalogue of the Library of Anthony Collins, Esq. vol. ii. p. 14.

There is indeed no name to any of these treatises, but it was very well known at the time they were published by whom they were written, and therefore in a large collection of tracts, in the hands of a person perfectly well acquainted with literary history, they had this title given them (12), *Dr. Davenant's Reflections on the Trade to Africa*, 3 parts, 1709. It must be acknowledged, that, exclusively of the reasonings and arguments advanced in this performance, and which have been frequently copied since; there are abundance of material facts, and curious pieces of History, which will render them always admired, and valued by those who are desirous of understanding the subject thoroughly, which they are intended to explain.

XII. *A Report to the Honourable the Commissioners for putting in execution the Act, intituled, an Act for the taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the kingdom, from Charles Davenant, L.L.D. Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports.* Lond. 1712, 8vo. Part I.

XIII. *A second Report to the Honourable the Commissioners, &c.* Lond. 1712, 8vo.

(13) At the conclusion of that Report.

The last of these Reports is dated from the Inspector-General's office, Dec. 10, 1711 (13), and the design of both is, to give a general account of the trade of the kingdom from 1663 to 1710. This was the last work of our author, and contains in it a collection of facts of inestimable value to such as are willing to distinguish between rumour, or common opinion, and the true state of things, in reference to the commerce of Great Britain with her neighbours.

C.

* * [The first part of Dr. Davenant's discourses on the public Revenues and the Trade of England, was smartly attacked, in a piece, entitled, "Remarks upon some wrong computations and conclusions contained in a late tract, &c." To this publication, which appeared in 1698, was prefixed the following motto, taken from the Doctor himself: "Miserable is that country where the men of business do not reckon right."

Dr. Davenant's "true picture of a modern Whig" was carried on in a dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double, two under Spur-Leathers to the late ministry. The same design was afterwards prosecuted by him in another work, of which no notice has been taken by any of his former Biographers. It appeared in 1710, in two volumes, octavo, and is entitled, "New Dialogues upon the present posture of Affairs, the Species of Money, national

"Debts, public Revenues, Bank and East India Company, and the Trade now carried on between France and Holland. By the author of the Essay on Ways and Means." The nature of this performance, as well as the circumstance mentioned in the title page, ascertains it to be Dr. Davenant's. It is evidently a continuation of the true picture of a modern Whig. Tom Double, metamorphosed into Sir Thomas Double, composes a part of the Dramatis Personæ, and the attack upon the Whig party is pursued. The work is also full of that public information by which Davenant's writings are so much distinguished.

For the preceding intelligence, and the subsequent character of Dr. Davenant's productions, the present Editor of the Biographia is indebted to his ingenious friend, Sir John Sinclair, Bart. who has amply shewn, by his own valuable performances, that no one is better capable of judging upon the subject. "Davenant," says Sir John, "is certainly a most valuable political author; and considering that the modern system of politics, founded on a spirit of commerce, on public credit, on paper circulation, and on skill in finance, was then in a manner in its infancy, he undoubtedly was a writer whose progress was more advanced than could have been expected at that time. It appears from his works, that he had access to official information, from which he derived many advantages. He seems, however, to have depended too much upon political Arithmetic, or the strength of figures, which ought only to be resorted to, when the fact itself cannot be ascertained, being only a succedaneum when better evidence cannot be procured. He was unfortunately, also, a party writer, and saw every thing in the manner the best calculated to promote the views and purposes of his political friends at the time. Every thing they did was right, whilst every action of their enemies was ill-intended and ruinous. He possessed a very considerable command of language; and is sometimes too prolix; but on the whole there are certainly very few that can rival him as a political author."

In 1771, was published, in five volumes, octavo, "The political and commercial works of that celebrated writer Charles Davenant, L.L.D. relating to the Trade and Revenue of England, the Plantation Trade, the East-India Trade, and the African Trade. Collected and revised by Sir Charles Whitworth, Member of Parliament. To which is annexed, a copious Index." This publication has greatly contributed to the diffusion and utility of the Doctor's writings.

K.

D'AVENANT (WILLIAM), younger brother to the former, and fourth son to Sir William Davenant; was educated at Magdalen Hall, in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, July 19th, 1677 (a). He translated into English from the French a book, intituled, *Animadversions upon the famous Greek and Latin Historians*, written by the celebrated Mr. la Mothe le Vayer (b), who was Tutor to the French King Louis XIII; which was very well received. He took the degree of Master of Arts July 5th, 1680 (c), and about the same time entering into holy orders, was presented to a living in the county of Surrey, by his patron Robert Wymondsole, of Putney, Esq; with whom he travelled into France; and in the summer of the year 1681, as he was diverting himself by swimming in a river near Paris, he was unfortunately drowned in the sight of his Pupil, to the great regret of all who knew him, having added to great natural parts, by an assiduous application to study, as much sound learning and true knowledge as could be expected in a person so young.

(c) *Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. col. 213.

(a) *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* vol. ii. c. l. 205.
 (b) Printed at Oxford, 1698, 8vo.

C.

* * [DAVIES (SIR JOHN), an eminent Lawyer, Poet, and Political Writer, was born at Chisgrove, in the parish of Tisbury, in Wiltshire (a). He was the third son of John Davies, who is said by Anthony Wood to have been a wealthy Tanner; but in the books, which record the admission of the son into the Society of the Middle Temple, it is said that the father was "late of New Inn, Gentleman (b)." Young Davies, in 1585, when he

(a) *Atb. Oxon.* vol. i. fol. 505.
 (b) *Life of Sir John Davies*, prefixed to his *Historic. Tracts*, edit. 8vo. 1786, p. 1.

was

was in the fifteenth year of his age, was entered a Commoner of Queen's College, Oxford. Here he had the advantage of a good Tutor, and being possessed of excellent natural abilities, and applying himself closely to his studies, he made a considerable proficiency in literature. At the beginning of the year 1588, he removed to the Middle Temple; but he appears to have returned occasionally to Oxford; for in 1590, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (c). At the Temple, he applied himself to the study of the law; but he was more distinguished by his abilities, than by the regularity of his manners. "He interrupted," it is said, "the quiet of the Inn, by misdemeanours, for which he was fined, and by disorders, for which he was removed from commons (d)." However, in July, 1595, he was called to the bar; but in February, 1597-8, he was expelled the Society of the Middle Temple. Wood says, "that he being a high-spirited young man, did, upon some little provocation, or punctilio, bastinado Richard Martin, afterwards Recorder of London [A], in the Common-hall of the Middle Temple, while he was at dinner. For which act being forthwith expelled, he retired for a time in private, lived in Oxon in the condition of a sojourner, and followed his studies, though he wore a cloak (e)." Davies's misconduct appears to have retarded his progress at the bar, and involved him in difficulties which led him to serious reflexion [B]. But he seems never to have been inattentive to literature. Besides the study of the law, he also particularly applied himself to poetry, and wrote, under the title of "Hymns of Aftrea," twenty-six acrostics, in honour of Queen Elizabeth. These pieces contain much poetry, and much flattery, and are greatly superior to the generality of compositions of this kind. His poetical talents now excited the attention of the Court, and when Sir Robert Cecil was to make an entertainment for the Queen, Mr. Davies was summoned to furnish his share of gratulations (f). But in 1599, he published, in 4to. his *Nosce Teipsum*, or Poem on the Immortality of the Soul [C], a performance of considerable merit, and which completely established his poetical reputation.

Mr.

[A] Richard Martin, afterwards recorder of London.] The writer of Davies's Life, prefixed to his Historical Tracts, observes, that "Davies and Martin were both poets, and both wits, a race more forward to offend than patient to suffer: and the facetiousness of Martin, which set the Temple table in a roar, and is said to have charmed King James, probably incited the indignation rather than the mirth of Davies (1)." Wood says, that "there was no person in his time more celebrated for ingenuity than Richard Martin, none more admired by Sel-den, Serjeant Hoskins, Ben Johnson, &c. than he; the last of which dedicated his comedy to him, called *the Poetaster*. King James was much delighted with his facetiousness, and had so great respect for him, that he commended him to the citizens of London to be their Recorder (2)." He published some poems, and several of his speeches in Parliament were also printed. He died in 1618, when he had not been elected to the office of Recorder much more than a month (3).

[B] Difficulties which led him to serious reflexion.] In the introduction to his *Nosce Teipsum* are the following stanzas:

' If aught can teach us aught, affliction's looks,
' (Making us pry into ourselves so near)
' Teach us to know ourselves beyond all books,
' Or all the learned schools that ever were.

' This mistress lately pluck'd me by the ear,
' And many a golden lesson hath me taught;
' Hath made my senses quick, and reason clear;
' Reform'd my will, and rectify'd my thought.

' So do the winds and thunders cleanse the air;
' So working seas settle and purge the wine;
' So lopp'd and pruned trees do flourish fair;
' So doth the fire the drossy gold refine.

' Neither Minerva, nor the learned Muse,
' Nor rules of art, nor precepts of the wise,
' Could in my brain those beams of skill infuse,
' As but the glance of this dame's angry eyes.

' She within lifts my ranging mind hath brought,
' That now beyond myself I will not go;
' Myself am center of my circling thought,
' Only myself I study, learn, and know (4).'

VOL. IV.

[C] Poem on the Immortality of the Soul.] To the second edition of this poem, printed in 4to. in 1602, is the following title: '*Nosce teipsum*. This oracle expounded in two Elegies. I. Of Human Knowledge. II. Of the Soul of Man, and the Immortality thereof.' A third edition was printed, in folio, in 1688; and a fourth was published, in 8vo. in 1697, by N. Tate, who says in the preface, 'The author of this poem merits a lasting honour; for, as he was a most eloquent lawyer, so, in the composition of this piece, we admire him for a good poet and exact philosopher. 'Tis not rhyming that makes a poet, but the true and impartial representing of virtue and vice, so as to instruct mankind in matters of greatest importance. And this observation has been made of our countrymen, that Sir John Suckling wrote in the most courtly and gentleman-like style; Waller in the most sweet and flowing numbers; Denham with the most accurate judgment and correctness; Cowley with pleasing softness, and plenty of imagination: None ever uttered more divine thoughts than Mr. Herbert; none more philosophical than Sir John Davies.'

In this poem the following illustration is given of the faculties of seeing and hearing, and of the uses made of those faculties by the human soul:

' First, the two EYES, which have the seeing pow'r,
' Stand as one watchman, spy, or sentinel,
' Being plac'd aloft, within the head's high tow'r;
' And tho' both see, yet both but one thing tell.

' These mirrors take into their little space
' The forms of moon and sun, and ev'ry star,
' Of ev'ry body, and of ev'ry place,
' Which with the world's wide arms embraced are.

' Yet their best object, and their noblest use,
' Hereafter in another world will be,
' When God in them shall heavenly light infuse,
' That face to face they may their Maker see.

' Here are they guides, which do the body lead,
' Which else would stumble in eternal night:
' Here in this world they do much knowledge read,
' And are the casements which admit most light.

8 D

' They

(c) Wood's Fasti, p. 139.

(e) Arb. Oxon. ut supra.

(f) Life, ubi supra, p. 6.

(d) Life, prefixed to his Historical Tracts, p. 2.

(1) Life, p. 3.

(2) Arb. Oxon. vol. i. fol. 441.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Poetical Works of Sir John Davies, p. 9, 10.

Mr. Davies's attachment to the muses did not prevent the continuance of his application to the studies and business of his profession; and in Trinity term, 1601, by the interest of Lord Ellesmere, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, after having made proper submissions, he was again restored to his Chamber in the Middle Temple^(g). He was also chosen a Member of the House of Commons, for Corfe-castle in Dorsetshire, in the last Parliament of Elizabeth, which assembled on the 27th of October, in the same year. He appears to have been an active and useful Member of Parliament, and a supporter of the privileges of the House. He particularly distinguished himself in the great debate about [D] monop-

(g) *Ibid.* p. 3.
Alb. Oxon. 22
supra.

- They are her farthest reaching instrument,
• Yet they no beams unto their objects send;
• But all the rays are from their objects sent,
• And in the eyes with pointed angles end.
- If th' objects be far off, the rays do meet
• In a sharp point, and so things seem but small:
• If they be near, their rays do spread and fleet,
• And make broad points, that things seem great
• withal.
- Lastly, nine things to *fight* required are;
• The *pow'r* to see, the *light*, the *visible* thing,
• Being not too *small*, too *thin*, too *nigh*, too *far*,
• Clear space and *time*, the form distinct to bring.
- Thus see we how the *soul* doth use the *eyes*,
• As instruments of her quick power of sight:
• Hence doth th' arts *optic*, and fair *painting* rise;
• *Painting*, which doth all gentle minds delight.
- Now let us hear how she the *EARS* employs:
• Their office is, the troubled air to take;
• Which in their mazes forms a sound or noise,
• Whereof herself doth true distinction make.
- Those wickets of the soul are plac'd on high,
• Because all sounds do lightly mount aloft;
• And that they may not pierce too violently,
• They are delay'd with turns and windings oft.
- For should the voice directly strike the brain,
• It would astonish and confuse it much;
• Therefore these plaits and folds the soul restrain,
• That it the organ may more gently touch.
- As streams, which with their winding banks do
• play,
• Stopp'd by their creeks, run softly thro' the
• plain:
- So in th' ear's labyrinth the voice doth stray,
• And doth with easy motion touch the brain.
- This is the slowest, yet the daintiest sense;
• For e'en the ears of such as have no skill,
• Perceive a discord, and conceive offence;
• And knowing not what's good, yet find the ill.
- And tho' this sense first gentle music found,
• Her proper object is the *speech* of men;
• But that speech chiefly which God's heralds found,
• When their tongues utter what his spirit did pen.
- Our eyes have lids, our ears still ope we see,
• Quickly to hear how ev'ry tale is prov'd:
• Our eyes still move, our ears unmoved be;
• That tho' we hear quick, we be not quickly
• mov'd.
- Thus by the organs of the *eye* and *ear*,
• The *soul* with knowledge doth herself endue:
• Thus she her *prison* may with pleasure bear,
• Having such *prospects* all the world to view (5).⁽⁵⁾

(5) Poetical
Works of Sir
John Davies,
p. 46—49. edit.
1773.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 35,
36.

It is observable that Sir John Davies, in this poem, introduces some arguments grounded on the doctrine of original sin, and which he illustrates and supports from the principles of the law of England (6). In the course of the poem he has given the different arguments in defence of the immateriality and immortality of the soul, and adorned and illustrated those arguments with a great variety of poetical

images. Of the strong desire and expectation of future happiness implanted in the human mind, he thus expresses himself:

- Doubtless, all souls have a surviving thought,
• Therefore of death we think with quiet mind;
• But if we think of being turn'd to nought,
• A trembling horror in our souls we find.—
- Hence springs that universal strong desire,
• Which all men have of immortality:
• Not some few spirits unto this thought aspire,
• But all men's minds in this united be.
- Then this desire of nature is not vain,
• She covets not impossibilities;
• Fond thoughts may fall into some idle brain,
• But one assent of all, is ever wise.
- From hence that gen'ral care and study springs,
• That launching, and progression of the mind,
• Which all men have so much of future things,
• That they no joy do in the present find.
- From this desire, that main desire proceeds,
• Which all men have surviving fame to gain,
• By *tombs*, by *books*, by memorable *deeds*;
• For she that this desires, doth still remain.
- Hence, lastly, springs care of posterities,
• For things their kind would everlasting make:
• Hence is it, that old men do plant young trees,
• The fruit whereof another age shall take.

- If we these rules unto ourselves apply,
• And view them by reflection of the mind,
• All these true notes of immortality,
• In our heart's tables we shall written find (7).⁽⁷⁾

(7) *Ibid.* p. 76.
79, 80.

In the composition of this poem, it is observed, in the preface to Tate's edition, that "our author is beholden to none but himself." It has, however, been conjectured, and the supposition seems not improbable, that Sir John Davies derived some hints for his work from the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters of Philip de Mornay's treatise on the truth of the Christian religion, of which an English translation was printed at London in 4to. in 1587. It is said in a note to the edition of the *Nosce Teipsum*, printed with Sir John Davies's other poetical works in 1773, that this poem is, "without dispute, except Spenser's *Faery Queen*, the best that was written in Queen Elizabeth's, or even in King James the First's time."

[D] *Debate about Monopolies.* Queen Elizabeth had granted to her servants and courtiers a great number of patents for various monopolies, which were found to be very pernicious to the nation, and which were in consequence strongly and justly opposed. A petition from the parliament was presented to the Queen, complaining of these patents; but she persisted in defending her monopolists against the people. A bill was, therefore, brought into the House of Commons, for the abolition of all these monopolies; and as the petition to the Queen had been unsuccessful, a law was properly insisted on, as the only certain expedient for correcting these abuses. But the courtiers maintained, that this matter regarded the prerogative, and that the Commons could not hope for success in any other way but by petition to her Majesty (8).

(8) D'Ewes's
Journal of De-
bates in Parlia-
ment, in the
Reign of Queen
Elizabeth,
p. 649.

lies,

lies, insisting, that the House ought to proceed against them by Bill, and not by Petition [E].

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Davies accompanied Lord Hunsdon into Scotland, when that Nobleman went thither to congratulate King James, on his accession to the Throne of England [F]. Being introduced into his Majesty's presence, the King inquired of Lord Hunsdon the names of the Gentlemen who were with him; and his Lordship naming among them John Davies, who stood behind, the King immediately asked, whether he was *Nosce Teipsum*, alluding to the title of his poem on the immortality of the soul. Lord Hunsdon informed him that he was the same; upon which the King, as Wood informs us, "graciously embraced him, and thenceforward had so great a favour for him, that soon after he made him his Solicitor, and then his Attorney-General in Ireland (b)."

(b) *Art. Oxon.*
vol. i. fol. 506.

It was in 1603, that Mr. Davies was sent as Solicitor-General to Ireland, and his appointment to the office of Attorney-General took place soon after. During his residence in that kingdom, he travelled through all the provinces of it, and made himself very accurately acquainted with the state of the people and of the country. He was also appointed one of the Justices of Assize [G], and appears to have discharged the duties of his office

[E] *By bill, and not by petition*] "Mr. Davies moved the House first, That he for his part thought the proceeding by bill to be most convenient; for the precedent in the 50 Edwardi 3. warranteth the same: And, therefore, (said he) let us do generally and bravely, like parliament men; and ourselves send for them, and their patents, and cancel them before their faces; arraign them, as in times past, at the bar, and send them to the Tower; there to remain, until they have made a good fine to the Queen, and made some part of restitution to some of the poorest that have been oppressed by them (9)."

When the Queen found, that the debates grew high in the House of Commons concerning the monopolies, and that the discontents of the people concerning them were very great, she sent for the Speaker, and desired him to inform the House, that she would immediately cancel these obnoxious patents. She also issued a proclamation against the monopolies that were complained of; upon which a deputation was sent to return her Majesty thanks. Elizabeth made a speech on this occasion to the Speaker, and the members who accompanied him, in which were the following passages: "I do assure you, that there is no Prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love. There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I prefer before this jewel, I mean your love; for I do more esteem it than any treasure or riches." "Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait fast-holding Prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects good. What you do bestow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I count yours, to be expended for your good." "Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant, but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the subjects in general, though a private profit to some of my antient servants who had deserved well. But the contrary being found by experience, I am exceedingly beholden to such subjects as would move the same at first. And I am not so simple to suppose, but that there be some of the lower House, whom these grievances never touched; and for them I think they speak out of zeal to their countries, and not out of spleen or malevolent affection, as being parties grieved; and I take it exceeding grateful from them, because it gives us to know that no respects or interests had moved them, other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honour, and our subjects love unto us. The zeal of which affection tending to ease my people, and knit their hearts unto me, I embrace with a princely care: far above all earthly treasure I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit (10)."

[F] *To congratulate King James, on his accession, &c.*] While Davies was in Scotland on this occasion, he received a letter from Mr. Francis Bacon, afterwards the celebrated Viscount of St. Alban's, in which is the following passage:

"I commend myself to your love, and the well using my name; as well in repressing and answering for me, if there be any biting or nibbling at it in that place, as in imprinting a good conceit and opinion of me, chiefly in the King, of whose favour I make myself comfortable assurance, as otherwise in that court: and not only so, but generally to perform to me all the good offices which the vivacity of your wit can suggest to your mind, to be performed to one, with whose affection you have so great sympathy, and in whose fortune you have so great interest. So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue
"Your assured friend,
"FR. BACON (11)."

(*) Bacon seems to speak of himself here as a concealed poet, as having made some poetical attempts which he did not think proper openly to avow.

(11) Lord Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 222. edit. 4to. 1765.

There appears at this time to have been a considerable intimacy between Bacon and Davies; and a letter is still preserved from the former to the latter, written when Davies was Attorney-General in Ireland, in which Bacon says, "I would be glad to hear often from you, and to be advertised how things pass, whereby to have some occasion to think some good thought; though I can do little, at least it will be a continuance in the exercise of our friendship, which on my part remaineth encreased, by that I hear of your service, and the good respect I find towards myself (12)." It is observed by the writer of Davies's life, that "this correspondence continued while Davies could be of use to Bacon; but it ceased when Bacon had advanced before Davies in the rank of their profession. Such is the instability of friendships between men who run for the same prize; whether for the distinctions of literature, or for the honours of life (13)."

(12) Life of Davies, prefixed to his Historical Tracts, p. 10.

(13) *Id. ibid.*

[G] *He was also appointed one of the justices of assize.*] Sir John Davies himself informs us, that in Ireland, soon after the accession of King James I. By a general act of state, called the Act of Oblivion, published by proclamation under the Great Seal, all offences against the Crown, and all particular trespasses between subject and subject, done at any time before his Majesty's reign, were (to all such as would come in to the justices of assize by a certain day, and claim the benefit of this act) pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question. And by the same proclamation, all the Irish (who, for the most part, in former times, were left under the tyranny of their lords and chieftains, and had no defence or justice from the Crown) were received into his Majesty's immediate protection. This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that ever was seen in Ireland. The public peace being thus established, the state proceeded next to establish the public justice in every part of the realm: and to that end, Sir George Cary (who was a prudent governor, and a just, and made a fair entry into the right way of reforming this kingdom) did, in the first year of his Majesty's reign, make the first Sheriffs that ever were made in Tyrone and Tyrconnel; and, shortly after, sent

(9) Townshend's Hist. Collections of the Four last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, p. 244.

(10) D'Ewes, ut supra, p. 659.

office with great diligence and ability. He returned, however, occasionally to England; and, in Trinity term, 1606, was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, and on the 11th of February, 1607, received the honour of knighthood (i). The same year the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, having determined to make a judicial progress through the counties of Monaghan, Fermannagh, and Cavan, joined Sir John Davies with the Chief Justice, as one of the Judges of assize, for performing this unwelcome service (k). An elaborate account of this circuit [H] was drawn up by Sir John Davies, and addressed to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who had contributed to his advancement in Ireland.

(i) Life prefixed to his Historical Law Tracts, p. 12.

(k) *Id. ibid.*

In

‘ sent Sir Edmund Pelham, chief baron, and myself thither, the first justices of assize that ever sat in those countries; and in that circuit we visited all the shires of that province besides: which visitation, though it was somewhat distasteful to the Irish Lords, was sweet and most welcome to the common people; who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and the just government and protection which we promised unto them for the time to come (14).’

(14) Historical Tracts, p. 209, 210.

[H] *An elaborate account of this circuit, &c.* This was first printed, from a copy among the Harleian MSS. in the edition of his Historical Tracts, published in 1786. The following title is prefixed to it: “A letter from Sir John Davies, Knight, Attorney-General of Ireland, to Robert Earl of Salisbury, touching the state of Monaghan, Fermannagh, and Cavan; wherein is a discourse concerning the Corbes and Irenaghs of Ireland.” In this letter, after having given some account of the condition in which the counties of Monaghan, Fermannagh, and Cavan were, Sir John Davies says, “I thought it not impertinent to shew unto your Lordship how unsettled the possession of those counties were, before my Lord-Deputy began his journey; that it may appear, how needful it was, that the Lord-Deputy should descend in person to visit those counties, whereby he might have opportunity to discover and understand the true and particular state, both of the possessions and possessors thereof, before he gave warrants for passing the same by letters patent unto any; and thereby prevent that error, which had formerly been committed in passing all Tyrone to one, and Tyrconnel to another, and other large territories to Odogherly and Randal M’Sorley, without any respect of the King’s poor subjects who inhabit and hold the lands under them; whereby the patentees are made little Kings, or rather tyrants over them: inasmuch as they now being wooed and prayed by the state, cannot yet be drawn to make freeholders for the service of the commonwealth, which, before the passing of their patents, they would gladly and humbly have yielded unto. The state, therefore, of the three counties before named, standing in such terms as I have before expressed; my Lord-Deputy, accompanied with the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord Chief-Justice, Sir Oliver Lambert, and Sir Garret Moore, and being also waited upon by myself, who was for this service joined in commission of assize and gaol delivery with the Chief Justice, began his journey the nineteenth day of July last, being Saturday, and lodged that night and the next at the Abbey of Mellifont, Sir Garret Moore’s house. On Monday night his Lordship camped in the field, upon the borders of Ferney, which is the inheritance of the Earl of Essex; and albeit we were to pass through the wildest and wildest parts of all the North, yet we had only for our guard six or seven score foot, and fifty or three score horse, which is an argument of a good time, and of a confident deputy. For in former times (when the state enjoyed the best peace and security) no Lord-Deputy did ever venture himself into those parts without an army of eight hundred or one thousand men. The third night after our departure from Mellifont, we came to the town of Monaghan, which doth not deserve the name of a good village, consisting of divers scattered cabins, or cottages, whereof the most part are possessed by

‘ the cast soldiers of that garrison. In the north-most part thereof there is a little fort, which is kept by the foot company of Sir Edward Blaney, who is seneschal or governor of that county by patent. In the midst of this village, there is a foundation of a new castle, which being raised ten or twelve feet from the ground, and so left and neglected for the space of almost two years, is now ready to fall into ruin again; albeit his Majesty’s charge in building hath already been twelve hundred pounds at least. My Lord-Deputy was as much displeased at the sight thereof, as the chief Lords of the country are pleased and comforted therewith; because if it were erected and finished in that form as was intended, it would at all times be a bridle unto their insolency: for the M’Mahounes undoubtedly are the proudest and most barbarous sept among the Irish; and do ever soonest repine, and kick, and spurn at the English government. My Lord-Deputy having pitched his tents about a quarter of a mile from the town, did presently distinguish the business that was to be done; the determining of matters of the crown, and the hearing of personal petitions touching debt and trespass, he left wholly to the justices of the assize and gaol delivery; and reserved only to himself, and the Lord Chancellor, the consideration of such petitions as should be made unto him, touching the lands and possessions of that country (15).’

(15) Historical Tracts, p. 239, 240, 241.

Sir John Davies also takes notice in this letter of a commission which had been sent from England, one object of which was, “to take order for the re-edifying and the repairing of the churches, and for the placing of sufficient incumbents therein.”—“This point of that commission,” says he, “was not before time put in execution any where, albeit it was sundry times moved at the council table, that somewhat might be done therein: but my Lords the Bishops that sit at the board, being not very well pleased that laymen should intermeddle with ecclesiastical matters, did ever answer that motion in this manner: Let us alone with that business; take you no care for that; we will see it effected, we warrant you. Notwithstanding there hath been so little care taken, as that the greatest part of the churches within the pale lie still in their ruins; so as the common people (whereof many without doubt would conform themselves) have no place to resort unto, where they may hear divine service. This consideration moved us to inquire of the state of the church in these unreformed counties. The inquisition presented unto us in this county was in Latin, because the principal jurors were vicars and clerks. It appeared, that the churches for the most part are utterly waste; that the King is patron of all; and that the incumbents are Popish priests, instituted by Bishops authorized from Rome; yet many of them, like other old priests of Queen Mary’s time, in England, ready to yield to conformity (16).’

(16) *Ibid.* p. 251, 252.

In this letter is also the following passage: “As for the vicarages, they are so poorly endowed, as ten of them being united will scarce suffice to maintain an honest minister. For the churches, they are for the most part in ruins; such as were presented to be in reparation, are covered only with thatch. But the incumbents, both parsons and vicars, did appear to be such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures (for we saw many of them in the camp), as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of those livings, albeit many of them are not worth above 40s. per annum. This country

In 1608, he was sent to England, together with the Chief Justice, in order to represent to King James the effects which the establishment of public peace, and the several judicial progresses throughout Ireland, had produced in that kingdom. On this occasion he was highly applauded for his public services, and was particularly well received by the Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere, and by the Earl of Salisbury (1). After his return to Ireland, he continued to be very active in the measures adopted for the civilization of Ireland; and in 1610, wrote a letter to the Earl of Salisbury [I], containing an account of the measures that had been adopted for establishing a new plantation, or colony, in Ulster [K]. In 1612, he published, in 4to. "A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued [L]; and brought under obedience of the Crown of England, until

country doth lie within the diocese of Kilmore, whose Bishop (Robert Draper) was and is parson of Trym, in Meath, which is the best parsonage in all the kingdom; and is a man of this country birth, worth well nigh 400l. a year. He doth live now in these parts, where he hath two bishoprics; but there is no divine service or sermon to be heard within either of his dioceses. His Lordship might have saved us this labour of inquiry, touching matters ecclesiastical, if he had been as careful to see the churches repaired, and supplied with good incumbents, as he is diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy, to make benefit out of their insufficiency, according to the proverb, which is common in the mouth of one of our great Bishops here: *That an Irish priest is better than a milch cow* (17).

(17) *Ibid.* p. 274, 275.

[I] *A letter to the Earl of Salisbury.* This was first published, from a manuscript in the British Museum, in the edition of his Historical Tracts, printed in 1786.

[K] *A new plantation, or colony, in Ulster.* It is observed by the writer of Davies's life, that 'this salutary work had been long in contemplation, lest, as Bacon expresses it, Ireland, *civil*, should become more dangerous than Ireland, *savage*. And it was at length carried into execution, by settling a more industrious race from England and Scotland, with a success which at once conferred celebrity on the Prince, and happiness on the kingdom (18).'

(18) *Life*, p. 14.

Of the plantation in Ulster, Mr. Hume gives the following account: 'The whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London, for planting new colonies in that fertile country. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding 2000 acres. Tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country; husbandry and the arts were taught them; a fixed habitation secured; plunder and robbery punished; and, by these means, Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized (19).'

(19) *History of England*, vol. v. p. 576, 577. edit. 8vo. 1763.

Sir John Davies says, 'His Majesty did not utterly exclude the natives out of this plantation, with a purpose to root them out, as the Irish were excluded out of the first English colonies; but made a mixed plantation of British and Irish, that they might grow up together in one nation: only, the Irish were in some places transplanted from the woods and mountains, into the plains and open countries, that, being removed (like wild fruit trees), they might grow the milder, and bear the better and sweeter fruit (20).'

(20) *Historical Tracts*, p. 222, 223.

[L] *A discovery of the true causes, &c.* At the beginning of this piece, Sir John says, 'During the time of my service in Ireland (which began in the first year of his Majesty's reign) I have visited all the provinces of that kingdom, in sundry journies and circuits. Wherein I have observed the good temperature of the air; the fruitfulness of the soil; the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation; and safe and large ports and havens lying open for traffic, into all the west parts of the world; the long inlets of many navigable rivers, and so many great lakes and fresh ponds within the land; (as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe) the rich fishings, and wild fowl of all kinds; and

lastly, the bodies and minds of the people, endued with extraordinary abilities of nature. The observation whereof hath bred in me some curiosity, to consider, what were the true causes why this kingdom, whereof our Kings of England have borne the title of Sovereign Lords, for the space of four hundred and odd years (a period of time wherein divers great monarchies have risen from barbarism to civility, and fallen again to ruin) was not in all that space of time thoroughly subdued and reduced to obedience of the Crown of England, although there hath been almost a continual war between the English and the Irish: and why the manners of the mere Irish are so little altered since the days of King Henry the Second, as appeareth by the description made by Giraldus Cambrensis, (who lived and wrote in that time) albeit there have been, since that time, so many English colonies planted in Ireland, as that, if the people were numbered at this day by the poll, such as are descended of English race, would be found more in number than the ancient natives (21).'

(21) *Ibid.* p. 1, 2.

Sir John afterwards observes, that the defects which hindered the perfection of the conquest of Ireland were of two kinds, and consisted, first, in the faint prosecution of the war; and next, in the looseness of the civil government. For the husbandman must first break the land before it be made capable of good seed; and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forthwith cast good seed into it, it will grow wild again, and bear nothing but weeds. So a barbarous country, must be first broken by a war, before it will be capable of good government; and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the conquest, it will often return to the same barbarism (22).'

(22) *Ibid.* p. 3, 4.

Much of the poverty of Ireland, and many of the disorders in it, he attributes to the *Brehon law*, and custom of *Tanistry*, which prevailed in that kingdom. 'If we consider,' says he, 'the nature of the Irish customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them, must of necessity be rebels to all good government, destroy the commonwealth where in they live, and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable law of England, and by the laws of all other well-governed kingdoms and commonwealths, murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and theft, are punished with death, by the Irish custom, or Brehon law, the highest of these offences was punished only by fine, which they called an *ericke*. Therefore, when Sir William Fitz-Williams (being Lord-Deputy) told Maguyre, that he was to send a Sheriff into Fermannagh, being lately before made a county; "Your Sheriff (said Maguyre) shall be welcome to me, but let me know his *ericke* (or the price of his head) beforehand; that if my people cut it off, I may cut the *ericke* upon the country." As for oppression, extortion, and other trespasses, the weaker had never any remedy against the stronger: whereby it came to pass, that no man could enjoy his life, his wife, his lands, or goods in safety, if a mightier man than himself had an appetite to take the same from him. Wherein they were little better than Cannibals, who do hunt one another; and he that hath most strength and swiftness, doth eat and devour all his fellows.

Again, in England, and all well-ordered commonwealths,

"until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign." He dedicated this valuable and curious performance to the King; and the same year in which it was published he was made King's Serjeant (m).

(m) *Ibid.* p. 15.

During

'monwealths, men have certain estates in their lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build and to plant, and to improve their lands, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish custom of *Tanistry*, the chieftains of every country, and the chief of every Sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had some portions of land allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and coheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them, but their Tanistres, who were elective, and purchased their elections by strong hand; and by the Irish custom of *Gavelkind*, the inferior tenants were partable amongst all the males of the Sept, both bastards and legitimate: and after partition made, if any of the Sept had died, his portion was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the Sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that Sept, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity.

'These two Irish customs made all their possessions uncertain, being shuffled and changed, and removed so often from one to another, by new elections and partitions; which uncertainty of estates hath been the true cause of such desolation and barbarism in this land, as the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ. For, though the Irish be a nation of great antiquity, and wanted neither wit nor valour; and though they had received the Christian faith above 1200 years since; and were lovers of music, poetry, and all kind of learning, and possessed a land abounding with all things necessary for the civil life of man; yet (which is strange to be related) they did never build any houses of brick or stone, some few religious houses excepted, before the reign of King Henry the Second, though they were Lords of this island for many hundred years before, and since the conquest attempted by the English: albeit, when they saw us build castles upon their borders, they have only, in imitation of us, erected some few piles for the Captains of the country: yet I dare boldly say, that never any particular person, either before or since, did build any stone or brick house for his private habitation, but such as have lately obtained estates, according to the course of the law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time plant any gardens or orchards, inclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs, which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions. For who would plant, or improve, or build upon that land, which a stranger, whom he knew not, should possess after his death? for that (as Solomon noteth) is one of the strangest vanities under the sun. And this is the true reason why Ulster, and all the Irish counties, are found so waste and desolate at this day; and so would they continue to the world's end, if these customs were not abolished by the law of England (23).

(23) Historical Tracts, p. 134—138.

But Sir John Davies admits, that the prevalence of these usages and customs in Ireland, was in great part the result of the improper conduct of the English government, which had refused to admit the generality of the native Irish to the benefit of the law of England. 'It is evident,' says he, 'by all the records of this kingdom, that only the English colonies, and some few Septs of the Irish, which were enfranchised by special charters, were admitted to the benefit and protection of the laws of England; and that the Irish generally were held and reputed

'aliens, or rather enemies to the Crown of England; inasmuch as they were not only disabled to bring any actions, but they were so far out of the protection of the law, as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace (24).'
Sir John also observes, that 'by divers heavy penal laws, the English were forbidden to marry, to foster, to make gossip with the Irish, or to have any trade or commerce in their markets or fairs. Nay, there was a law made no longer since than the twenty-eighth year of Henry the Eighth, that the English should not marry with any person of Irish blood, though he had gotten a charter of denization, unless he had done both homage and fealty to the King in the chancery, and were also bound by recognizance with sureties, to continue a loyal subject (25).'

(24) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 92.

In another place, speaking of the state of the English colonies in Ireland in the reign of Edward III. Sir John Davies says, 'The English of this realm, before the coming over of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, were at that time become mere Irish in their language, names, apparel, and all their manner of living, and had rejected the English laws, and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom they had many marriages and alliances, which tended to the utter ruin and destruction of the commonwealth: therefore, alliance by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossiping with the Irish, are by the statute of Kilkenny made high treason. Again, if any man of English race should use an Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparel, or any other guise or fashion of the Irish; if he had lands or tenements, the same should be seized till he had given security to the Chancery, to conform himself in all points to the English manner of living; and, if he had no lands, his body was to be taken and imprisoned, till he found sureties as aforesaid. Again, it was established and commanded, that the English in all their controversies should be ruled and governed by the common law of England; and if any did submit himself to the Brehon law, or March law, he should be adjudged a traitor.—' Again, it was made penal to the English to permit the Irish to *creaght* or graze upon their lands; to present them to ecclesiastical benefices; to receive them into any monasteries, or religious houses, or to entertain any of their minstrels, rhymers, or news-tellers (26).'

(26) Historical Tracts, p. 169, 170, 171.

'This then,' says Sir John, 'I note as a great defect in the civil policy of this kingdom; in that for the space of three hundred and fifty years at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same. For as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so long as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without count, how was it possible they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the Crown of England? If the King would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? when they might not converse or commerce with any civil man, nor enter into any town or city, without peril of their lives; whither should they flee, but into the woods and mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner? If the English magistrates would not rule them by the law which doth punish treason, and murder, and theft with death, but leave them to be ruled by their own Lords and laws, why should they not embrace their own Brehon law, which punisheth no offence but with a fine or ericke? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase estates of freeholds or inheritance, which might descend to their children, according to the course of our common law, must they not continue their custom of *tanistry*? which makes all their posses-

sions

During the same year, a Parliament was assembled in Ireland, of which Sir John Davies was elected a Member, and he was also appointed Speaker; but his election to that office was disputed [M]. His election, however, being afterwards confirmed, he addressed a very learned speech to the Lord-deputy Chichester [N], in 1613, when he was presented and

(27) *Ibid.* p. 96, 97.

sions uncertain, and brings confusion, barbarism, and incivility (27).'

This performance of Sir John Davies's, which contains information respecting the affairs and administration of Ireland, of the most important and authentic kind, has been several times printed both in Ireland and in England. It was last printed with his Historical Tracts in 1786.

[M] *His election to that office was disputed.* Of the calling of this parliament, and the dispute concerning Sir John Davies's election to the office of Speaker, the following account is given by the writer of his life prefixed to his Historical Tracts: 'Amidst the distractions of civil war, and the repose of subsequent periods of improvement, no parliament had been called in Ireland during the last seven and twenty years; yet, never were legislative acts more necessary. The Irish nation was divided into two parties, whose power was nearly equal. The Roman Catholics formed the great body of the people: the Protestants composed probably not more than one fourth. The laws, however, imposed on the objects of their jealousy many disabilities: and the Protestants of consequence enjoyed all official profit, and all political power. When the people and the government stand thus opposed to each other, dissatisfaction must ever predominate. Such was the state of Ireland, when manifest utility induced the Lord-Deputy to issue writs for a new election in 1612. Both parties exerted the artifices and the violences, which accompany popular elections, when the minds of the electors are strongly agitated by hopes or apprehensions. The Roman Catholic party carried their elections chiefly in the counties; the Protestant party in the boroughs, several of which had been lately erected, during the progress of plantation. Sir John Davies was elected for the county of Fermagh; being the first representative which it had ever chosen. The House of Commons consisted now of two hundred and twenty-five members. Of these there appeared, when the House met, of the Protestant party, one hundred and twenty-one; of the Roman Catholic, one hundred and one. This approximation to equality had been alone sufficient to create great intrigues and altercation in any popular assembly. But, among the members who were then assembled to chuse a Speaker, and who were animated by a sense of ancient antipathy, and of recent opposition, the tumult approached nearly to the bloody scenes of a Polish diet. Sir John Davies was proposed as Speaker by the Court: Sir John Everard, who had been an Irish judge, but resigned, because he would not take the oath of supremacy, was supported by the Roman Catholic party. The House divided. The court members went out, according to parliamentary form. But their opponents, considering themselves as the majority of legal representatives, placed Sir John Everard in the chair as duly elected. And nothing remained for the real majority but to remove the intruder, or to place the true Speaker in the same chair. The perseverance of the majority induced the minority to secede from an assembly, which they thus found they could not rule. All parties had been so much accustomed in that country to attempt every thing by force, that the parliament-men had not yet learnt to defeat, or to qualify, disagreeable measures by sly intrigue, pertinacious debate, or by close divisions. The great body of the people applauded the seceders. And the Lord-Deputy Chichester, whose prudence was equal to his firmness, prorogued the parliament, in order to suffer men's minds to cool, and to enable the seceding members to lay their complaints before the King (28).'

(28) *Life*, p. 16, 17, 18.

The dispute concerning the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons was afterwards determined, by

the King and Privy-Council of England, in favour of Sir John Davies. In a speech made by James at this time to the Irish agents, at Whitehall, is the following passage: 'There were in the lower House two bodies, and but one head; a greater monster than two heads upon one body. And whereas you should have made an humble and dutiful answer to the commendation which I made of a Speaker, you the recusant party (being the fewer) when the greater number went out to be numbered, shut the door, and thrust one into the chair as a Speaker *manu forti*. After this, the recusants of both Houses depart from the parliament. The like was never heard of in France, Spain, or any other kingdom of Christendom (29).'

(29) *Coxe's Hist. of Ireland*, Part ii. p. 27.

[N] *He addressed a very learned speech to the Lord-Deputy Chichester.* This speech was first published by Dr. Thomas Leland, in the second volume of his History of Ireland. He has pointed out some mistakes in it; but styles Sir John Davies "an able and judicious inquirer into the affairs of Ireland (31)". It is observed by the writer of our author's life prefixed to his Historical Tracts, that "this is unquestionably one of the most learned and instructive orations that ever was pronounced by the Speaker of the parliament in either kingdom. It was seasonable too, at a time when parliaments had been so long disused. He minutely traces the history of the Irish legislature, which, from the epoch of Poyning's act, was extremely complex; and he throws many rays of light on a subject, which was in those days involved in peculiar obscurity (32)".

(30) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(31) *History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 489.

(32) *Life*, p. 204.

Towards the close of this speech Sir John Davies flattered King James as grossly in prose, as he had formerly flattered Queen Elizabeth in verse. He says to the Lord-Deputy, 'Right Honourable Lord, though you have no need of my praise, yet it is most needful in respect of the place you hold, that your Lordship should be adorned with all praiseworthy virtues. You had need be a most virtuous and worthy Deputy, since you sit in the throne, and represent the person of the most virtuous and excellent King in the world. For he that doth fight with the sword of a King, and write with the pen of a King; he that hath the justice, mercy, and bounty of a King in his hands, had need be furnished with those noble powers and virtues as are fit for the rule and government of a kingdom, especially if he hold the place of such a King as our most renowned and gracious sovereign is, who is the greatest and best King that now reigneth upon the face of the earth. I call him the greatest King, not so much for the largeness and extent of his territories, nor for the multitude of his subjects, though he be in possession of three great kingdoms, and doth command more martial and able men than any King in Europe at this day. But I will call him indeed the greatest King, for his exceeding great measure of goodness and virtue, and for the great grace and favour that his Majesty standeth in with the divine Majesty, the King of Kings. For if that man be accounted the greatest subject of a kingdom that is in highest favour with a King upon earth, why should not that King be the greatest King on earth, that is in greatest favour with the King of Heaven? And that our most gracious sovereign standeth in highest favour with Almighty God, doth not only appear by the innumerable blessings poured from heaven upon him, and upon his kingdoms for his sake, but by the special providence and care God hath always had of his sacred person, by protecting and delivering him from his enemies. Again, I will call his Majesty the best King, for that he is a most just King,

and approved as Speaker. It is observed by Dr. Leland, that this was the first House of Commons formed in Ireland "by a general representation, instead of being confined to Members sent by the counties and boroughs of the Pale (n)." In this Parliament, the King's right to the Crown of Ireland was recognized; an Act of General Indemnity was passed, with an exception of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and O'Dogharty; some ancient laws were repealed, which had prohibited intercourse between the English within the Pale, or five counties round Dublin, and the Irish without; acts were passed for the improvement of the police; and an entire subsidy was granted, to relieve the King from the continual expence of supporting the Irish Government (o).

(n) History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 489.

In 1614, Sir John Davies published "A Declaration of our Sovereign Lord the King, concerning the Title of his Majesty's Son, Charles, Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cornwall." The same year he was elected a Member of the Society of Antiquaries (p). In 1615, he published, at Dublin, in folio, his Reports of Cases adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland; to which he prefixed a Preface, addressed to Lord Ellesmere, Lord-Chancellor of England, which is justly esteemed one of the best prefaces that ever was prefixed to a law-book. It contains a very learned and eloquent eulogium on the Common Law of England [O], and a Vindication of its Professors. Soon after the publica-

(o) Life of Sir John Davies, ut supra, p. 21.

(p) Ibid. p. 21.

King, and justice is the best of all kingly virtues; and for that also he is a most bountiful King, resembling therein the divine goodness, ever spreading and communicating his riches unto others, which we must needs remember in this kingdom; for we cannot forget it without ingratitude, since we all know that his Majesty doth not only expend the whole revenue of this land upon itself, but spares yearly out of England a great mass of treasure, to support the extraordinary charge thereof, out of which the greater number of us here present, by entertainments, pensions, or rewards, do taste every day of his Majesty's bounty.

Lastly, his Majesty ought to be called the best King, as well for his sweet inclination to peace, whereby he doth make happy both his own dominions, and also his neighbour kingdoms round about him, as for his singular piety and religion towards God, which is the best and highest praise that can be given to any Prince. But I should launch forth into a main sea, that hath neither bottom nor shore, if I should proceed farther in the praise of such a Prince, whose worthiness exceeds all degrees of comparison. It is a theme too high, and too large for me to handle: it becometh me better to give thanks than praise (33).

(33) Historical Tracts, p. 314, 315, 316, 317.

[O] *Eulogium on the Common Law of England.* The Common Law of England, says he, "is nothing else but the common custom of the realm; and a custom which hath obtained the force of a law, is always said to be *Jus non scriptum*, for it cannot be made or created, either by charter, or by parliament, which are acts reduced to writing, and are always matter of record, but being only matter of fact, and consisting in use and practice, it can be recorded and registered no where, but in the memory of the people. For a custom taketh beginning, and groweth to perfection in this manner: when a reasonable act once done is found to be good and beneficial to the people, and agreeable to their nature and disposition, then do they use it, and practise it, again and again, and so by often iteration, and multiplication of the act, it becometh a custom, and being continued without interruption time out of mind, it obtaineth the force of a law. And this customary law is the most perfect, and most excellent, and without comparison the best, to make and preserve a commonwealth; for the written laws which are made either by the edicts of Princes, or by Counsels of estate, are imposed upon the subject before any trial or probation made, whether the same be fit and agreeable to the nature and disposition of the people, or whether they will breed any inconvenience or no. But a custom doth never become a law to bind the people, until it hath been tried and approved time out of mind, during all which time there did thereby arise no inconvenience; for if it had been found inconvenient at any time, it had been used no longer, but had been interrupted, and consequently it had lost the virtue and force of a law. Therefore, as the law of nature,

which the schoolmen call *Jus commune*, and which is also *Jus non scriptum*, being written only in the heart of man, is better than all the written laws in the world to make men honest and happy in this life, if they would observe the rules thereof: so the customary law of England, which we do likewise call *Jus commune*, as coming nearest to the law of nature, which is the root and touchstone of all good laws, and which is also *Jus non scriptum*, and written only in the memory of man (for every custom, though it took beginning beyond the memory of any living man, yet it is continued and preserved in the memory of men living) doth far excel our written laws, namely our statutes or acts of parliament: which is manifest in this, that when our parliaments have altered or changed any fundamental points of the common law, those alterations have been found by experience to be so inconvenient for the commonwealth, as that the common law hath in effect been restored again, in the same points, by other acts of parliament, in succeeding ages. And as our customary unwritten law doth excel our parliament laws, which are written, so for the government of the commonweal of England (which is as well instituted and established as any commonwealth in Christendom,) our native common law is far more apt and agreeable, than the civil or canon law, or any other written law in the world besides: howsoever some of our countrymen, who are *cives in aliena republica*, & *hostes in sua*, may perhaps affirm the contrary. But certain it is, that the great and wise men of England, in the parliament of Merton, did not prefer a foreign law before their own, when motion being made by the clergy, that children born before marriage might be adjudged legitimate, they all made answer with one voice, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. And again, in 11 R. 2. when a new course of proceeding in criminal causes, according to the form of the civil law, was propounded in that unruly parliament, answer was made by all the estates, that the realm of England neither had been in former times, nor hereafter should be, ruled and governed by the civil law, *Rot. Parliam. 11 R. 2. in Archiv. Turris*. And here I may observe, for the honour of our nation, and of our ancestors, who have founded this commonweal wherein we live, and enjoy so many felicities, That England having had a good and happy genius from the beginning, hath been inhabited always with a virtuous and wise people, who ever embraced honest and good customs, full of reason and conveniency, which being confirmed by common use and practice, and continued time out of mind, became the common law of the land. And though this law be the peculiar invention of this nation, and delivered over from age to age by tradition (for the common law of England is a tradition, and learned by tradition as well as by books) yet we may truly say, That no human law, written or unwritten, hath more certainty in the rules and maxims, more coherence in the parts thereof, or more harmony of reason in it: nay, we may

tion of this work, Sir John Davies appears to have quitted Ireland; and he seems to have been induced to leave that kingdom, in consequence of a change in its Administration [P]. After his return to England, he was appointed to act as one of the Justices of Assize in several circuits (q). He was also elected a Member of the House of Commons, for Newcastle-under-line, in the Parliament which was assembled at the beginning of the year 1621. On the fifth of February, that year, he made a speech in behalf of a supply to be granted to the King (r); but he seems not often to have spoken in Parliament at this period [Q]. He was, however, about to have been placed in a station of higher dignity, when he was carried off by an apoplexy, in the night of the seventh of December, 1626, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He had supped that night with the Lord-keeper Coventry, having been previously appointed Lord Chief Justice of England [R], in the room of Sir

(q) *Atb. Oxon. ut supra.*

(r) *Parliamentary History of England, vol. v. p. 329, 330.*

may confidently aver, that it doth excel all other laws in upholding a free monarchy, which is the most excellent form of government, exalting the prerogative royal, and being very tender and watchful to preserve it, and yet maintaining withal the ingenuous liberty of the subject. Briefly, it is so framed and fitted to the nature and disposition of this people, as we may properly say it is *connatural* to the nation, so as it cannot possibly be ruled by any other law. This law, therefore, doth demonstrate the strength of wit and reason, and self-sufficiency, which hath been always in the people of this land, which have made their own laws out of their wisdom and experience (like a silk-worm that formeth all her web out of herself only) not begging or borrowing a form of a common-weal, either from Rome or from Greece, as all other nations of Europe have done, but having sufficient provision of law and justice within the land, have no need *Justitiam & judicium ab alienigenis emendicare*, as King John wrote most nobly to Pope Innocent the Third, *Matth. Paris. Histor. magn. p. 215. En populus sapiens & intelligens, gens magna*: as it is said of God's chosen people, 4 Deut. Neither could any one man ever vaunt that like Minos, Solon, or Lycurgus, he was the first lawgiver to our nation: for neither did the King make his own prerogative, nor the judges make the rules or maxims of the law, nor the common subject prescribe and limit the liberties which he enjoyeth by the law. But as it is said of every art or science, which is brought to perfection, *Per varios usus artem experientia fecit*; so it may be properly said of our law, *Per varios usus legem experientia fecit*: Long experience, and many trials of what was best for the common good, did make the COMMON LAW (34)."

(34) Preface Dedicator to Sir John Davies's Reports, p. 3, 4, 5, 6. edit. 1628.

(35) Life, p. 23.

[P] *In consequence of a change in its administration.* It is observed by the writer of our author's life, that, in 1616, the Lord-Deputy Chichester was succeeded by Sir Oliver St. John; the chief justice, Sir John Denham, by Sir William Jones; and Worthington was recommended by Bacon, as Attorney-General, in the room of Sir John Davies (35). [Q] *He seems not often to have spoken in parliament at this period.* It is remarked by the writer of his life, that Sir John Davies seldom spoke, except on the affairs of Ireland, being, from his office of King's serjeant, perhaps more than from principle, a favourer of the court. When it was moved to acquaint the King with the grievances of Ireland, considering how much blood and treasure it had cost this kingdom, Sir John said, It is expressly in the law-books set down, that Ireland is a member of the Crown of England; yet this kingdom here cannot make laws to bind that kingdom; for they have there a parliament of their own. Sir Edward Coke, who was the experienced leader of that House, suggested, that they ought to consider, first, *what we may do*; and secondly, *what it fit to be done in a parliamentary course*. Ireland, says he, was never totally reduced till the coming of this King; for there was ever a back door in the north of that kingdom. If Ireland be not safe, we cannot be sure; but if Ireland be safe, our navy well furnished, and the low-countrymen our fast friends, we need not fear the Pope, or the Devil. It is both fit and lawful for us to complain for Ireland: that on such complaints the King doth order a reformation, and those things which may

not be reformed but by a parliament, his Majesty doth put in a course, by giving order for a parliament in Ireland, to remedy the abuses there. Considering recent transactions, this is surely a remarkable debate. Sir John Davies was the first, we see, who, in the House of Commons, contended, that the parliament of England could not make laws to bind the people of Ireland, because they had a parliament of their own. And Sir Edward Coke, when giving his opinion, *as to what they might do*, admits rather than denies a position, which having been at length formally acknowledged, hath established the independence of the Irish nation.

It is a remark, which does no little credit to Ireland, that scarcely any man ever enjoyed the offices of her government, who did not prove for ever after her strenuous defender. Sir John Davies again evinced how much he was a zealous friend, by defending her interests in an affair, which was then of full as much importance to her. A bill was introduced, in April 1621, against the importation of Irish cattle into England, and prohibiting the exportation of coin from this kingdom to Ireland. It is curious to trace the sentiments of members, from their speeches on two subjects, which were in those days little understood. Mr. Wentworth approved of the bill, as far as it went to prevent the export of coin; but would not have *virtuall restrained*, which would undo the poor, to enrich the gentleman. Sir John Ipsley said, that there is half as much spent by those of Ireland, here in England, as they received for Irish cattle, as there is no household stuff used in Ireland, but what comes out of England. Sir Robert Phillips insisted, that the price of victuals in Somersetshire is, notwithstanding the importation of Irish cattle, which mar the breed of England, as dear as ever; yet it hath caused the export of twenty thousand pounds out of Somersetshire only. Sir Edward Sackville remarked, that it is not *cheapness*, but money, which enricheth the kingdom; and if Irish cattle be brought in, and our money sent out, we shall still be poor. On the contrary, Sir John Davies contended, that cattle being the principal commodity of Ireland, and its wool coarse, if we bar the importation of cattle, we shall impoverish that kingdom, and discourage its tillage; by which means, that country would be again reduced to barbarism: that no money being current in Ireland but English, and there being no mint, as in the time of King John and Edward the Fourth, if we prevent the import of cattle, and not petition the King for a coinage, or a currency of foreign coin, the new planters in those parts will soon leave the kingdom. He hoped, that the House would not deal worse with Ireland, which was a member of this crown, than we do with the low countries, which carry away infinite sums for their Friesland horses, that are chiefly used here for coaches. The bill was thereupon re-committed, and finally lost (36)."

[R] *Appointed Lord Chief Justice of England.* Anthony Wood says, that, being constituted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, he had his robes made in order to be settled in that high office, as his daughter hath several times reported, but died suddenly, before the ceremony of settlement or installation could be performed (37)."

(36) *Ibid. ut supra, p. 25, 26, 27.*

(37) *Atb. Oxon. ut supra.*

(s) Life, p. 29.

(t) Ath. Oxon.
ut supra.

Randolph Crew (s). He was buried in the Church of St. Martin in the Fields, where a monument was fixed on a pillar near his grave, with an inscription on it, giving him the following character: *Vir ingenio compto, rarâ facundiâ, oratione cum solutâ, tum numeris astrictâ, felicissimus: Juridicam severitatem morum elegantiâ, et amœniore eruditione mitigavit: Patronus fidus, Judex incorruptus, ingenue pietatis amore, et anxie superstitionis contemptu, juxta insignis (t).* He was a man of fine genius, and of uncommon eloquence; and an excellent writer both in prose and in verse. He tempered the severity of the lawyer by the elegance of his manners, and the accomplishments of polite literature. He was a faithful advocate, and an incorrupt judge; and equally remarkable for his contempt of superstition, and his attachment to sincere and genuine piety.

Sir John Davies was a very able and learned Lawyer; and the pieces written by him concerning Ireland are extremely valuable. They are written with great perspicuity, and are the result of deep knowledge, and diligent investigation. He was one of the best prose writers of his time; and his poetical pieces have considerable excellence: but he seems not hitherto to have obtained a reputation adequate to his merit. A new edition of his poetical works, consisting of his "Poem on the Immortality of the Soul; the Hymns of "Astrea; and Orchestra, a Poem on Dancing [S];" was published, in small 8vo. in 1773, by Mr. Thomas Davies. In 1786, his Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, &c. his two letters to the Earl of Salisbury, and his speech to the Lord Deputy Chichester, were published together in one volume, 8vo. under the title of "Historical Tracts by Sir John Davies." To these a life of him was prefixed, to which we have been much indebted in the course of this article.

(u) Life, p. 31.

(w) Ath. Oxon.
ut supra.

Besides the works already mentioned, Sir John Davies was the author of an Abridgment of Sir Edward Coke's Reports, in Law French, which was translated into English after his decease, and published in 1651. His own Reports, which were at first published in Law French, in folio, were also afterwards translated into English, and reduced to an octavo size (u). He was also author of a piece, intitled, "*Jus imponendi vestigalia: or, the learning touching customs, tonnage, poundage, and impositions on merchandizes, &c (w).*" Some of his charges to Grand Juries, as a Judge of Assize, are preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

Sir John Davies married Eleanor Touchet, youngest daughter of George Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven, by whom he had one son, who was an idiot, and died young, and a daughter named Lucy, who was married to Ferdinando Lord Hastings, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon. Sir John's Lady was a very singular character, and dealt much in prophecies [T], which brought on her very rigorous treatment after the death of her husband, whom

[S] Orchestra, a Poem on Dancing.] This poem consists of more than one hundred and thirty stanzas; but it is unfinished. The following are the five first stanzas:

I.

Where lives the man that never yet did hear
Of chaste Penelope, Ulysses' Queen?
Who kept her faith unspotted twenty year,
Till he return'd that far away had been,
And many men, and many towns had seen:
Ten year at siege of Troy he ling'ring lay,
And ten year in the midland sea did stray.

II.

Homer, to whom the muses did carouse
A great deep cup with heav'nly nectar fill'd,
The greatest, deepest cup in Jove's great house,
(For Jove himself had so expressly will'd)
He drank off all, nor let one drop be spill'd;
Since when his brain that had before been dry,
Became the well-spring of all poetry.

III.

Homer doth tell in his abundant verse
The long laborious travels of the man,
And of his Lady too he doth rehearse
How she illudes with all the art she can,
Th' ungrateful love which other Lords began:
For of her Lord, false fame had long since
sworn,

That Neptune's monsters had his carcase torn.

IV.

All this he tells, but one thing he forgot,
One thing most worthy his eternal song,
But he was old, and blind, and saw it not,
Or else he thought he should Ulysses wrong,
To mingle it his tragic acts among:
Yet was there not in all the world of things,
A sweeter burthen for his muses wings.

V.

The courtly love Antinous did make,
Antinous that fresh and jolly knight,
Which of the gallants that did undertake
To win the widow, had most wealth and might,
Wit to persuade, and beauty to delight.
The courtly love he made unto the Queen,
Homer forgot, as if it had not been (38).

In the panegyric on dancing, addressed by Antinous to Penelope, are the following lines:

Dancing, bright Lady, then began to be,
When the first seeds whereof the world did spring,
The fire, air, earth and water did agree,
By love's persuasion, nature's mighty King,
To leave their first disorder'd combating;
And in a dance such measure to observe,
As all the world their motion should preserve.

Since when they still are carried in a round,
And changing come one in another's place,
Yet do they neither mingle nor confound,
But ev'ry one doth keep the bounded space
Wherein the dance doth bid it turn or trace;
This wond'rous miracle doth love devise,
For dancing is love's proper exercise (39).

[T] Dealt much in prophecies.] An account was published of her prophecies in 1649, in 4to. under the title of *Strange and wonderful prophecies*. She was reported to have foretold the death of her husband. Anthony Wood, speaking of the time of Sir John Davies's death, says, "It was then commonly rumoured, that his prophetic Lady had foretold his death in some manner, on the Sunday going before. For while she sat at dinner by him, she suddenly burst out with tears: whereupon he asking her what the matter was, she answered, "Husband, these are your funeral tears;" to which he made reply,

(38) Poetical
Works, p. 137.

(39) Ibid. p. 143.

whom she survived many years. She died in 1652, in the parish of St. Bride's, and was interred near the remains of her husband in St. Martin's Church (x).]

T. (x) *Id. ibid.*

(40) *Arb. Oxon.*
at supra.

reply, "Pray, therefore, spare your tears now, and I will be content that you shall laugh when I am dead (40)." Lady Davies also foretold the death of Archbishop Laud, but appears to have been mistaken as to the time. Dr. Heylin, speaking of attacks made by several men against Archbishop Laud in the year 1634, says, "That the other sex might whet their tongues upon him also, the Lady Davies, the widow of Sir John Davies, Attorney-General for King James in the realm of Ireland, scatters a prophecy against him. This Lady had before spoken something unluckily of the Duke of Buckingham, importing, that he should not live till the end of August, which raised her to the reputation of a cunning woman amongst the ignorant people: and now she prophesies of the new Archbishop, that he should live but few days after the fifth of November; for which, and other prophecies of a more mischievous nature, she was after brought into the Court of High Commission; the woman being grown so mad, that she fancied the spirit of the prophet Daniel to have been infused into her body. And this she grounded on an anagram which she made of her name, viz. ELEANOR DAVIES, REVEAL O DANIEL: and though the anagram had too much by an L, and too little by an S; yet she found *Daniel* and *Reveal* in it, and that served her turn. Much pains was taken by the Court to dispossess her of this spirit; but all would not do, till Lamb, then Dean of the Arches, shot her through and through, with

an arrow borrowed from her own quiver: for whilst the Bishops and Divines were reasoning the point with her out of Holy Scripture, he took a pen into his hand, and at last hit upon this excellent anagram, viz. DAME ELEANOR DAVIES, NEVER SO MAD A LADIE: which having proved to be true by the rules of art, "Madam," said he, "I see you build much on anagrams, and I have found one which I hope will fit you." This said, and reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in writing; which happy fancy brought that grave Court into such a laughter, and the poor woman thereupon into such a confusion, that afterwards she grew either wiser, or was less regarded (41).]

It appears that Lady Davies about this time made a journey into Holland, where she published one of her prophecies at Amsterdam, and inscribed it to the Elector Prince Charles of the Rhine. But after her return to England, she was prosecuted in the High Commission Court, particularly for what was called "an enthusiastical petition to King Charles;" and appears to have been treated with great rigour and cruelty. She was fined three thousand pounds, and closely imprisoned two years in the Gatehouse, Westminster. She is also said to have been confined several years in Bethlem Hospital, and in the Tower of London; and she complained, that, during part of her imprisonment, she was not allowed the use of a Bible, nor permitted to have the attendance of a female servant (42).]

(41) *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 266.*

(42) *Oldys's MSS. Collections.*

(b) In the room of Mr. Ashton, Master of Jesus-College.

DAVIES (JOHN), a learned Critic in the XVIIIth century, was born in London April 22, 1679. His father was a Merchant, or Tradesman, in that city, who died while his children were young; and his mother (a), a daughter of Sir John Turton, Knight [A]. Our author was educated in grammar learning at the Charterhouse-school; and admitted, June 8, 1695, into Queen's-College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1698. He was, on the 7th of July 1701, elected Fellow of that College (b); and the year following took the degree of Master of Arts. In 1709 he had the honour of being one of the Proctors of the University. Having now distinguished himself by his many excellent qualifications, he was collated in 1711, by Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Ely, that great patron of learning and learned men, to the rectory of Fen-Ditton near Cambridge, and to a Prebend in the Church of Ely (c). The same year he took the degree of Doctor in Laws. Upon the death of Dr. James, he was chosen in his room Master of Queen's College, March 23, 1716-17: and created Doctor in Divinity in 1717, when King George I. was at Cambridge (d). This learned person died March 7, 1731-2, in the fifty-third year of his age; and was buried in the middle of Queen's-College-Chapel. Soon after, a handsome flat marble stone was laid over his grave, with an inscription [B]. As the several things which he hath published, are in Greek, or Latin, we will, for that reason, give an account of them only in the note [C]. We shall not attempt this learned and industrious man's character, lest it should

(a) She was living in the year 1743.

(c) The fifth stall; into which he was installed Sep. 24, 1711. Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq. edit. 1730. 4to. p. 385.

(d) For most of these particulars we are obliged to Mr. Sedgwick, late Master of Queen's College, and to the learned Dr. W. Richardson, late Master of Emanuel.

(1) See *Chronica Juridicali*, &c. under those years.

[A] A daughter of Sir John Turton, Knt.] John Turton, Esq; was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law, April 11, 1689; constituted one of the Barons of the Exchequer, May 9, following; when he was knighted: and, on the 27th of June 1696, removed to the King's Bench, of which he was made one of the Justices (1). [B] A handsome flat marble stone was laid over his grave, with an inscription.] At the top, are the Doctor's arms, viz. Or, between a chevron three mullets, sable; impaling those of his wife (Edwards) And beneath is the following inscription:

Hic sitæ sunt reliquæ
Joannis Davies,
L. L. et S. T. D.
Hujus Collegii Præsidis,
ac Eliensis Canonici.
Natus est Londini Aprilis
die XXII. MDCLXXIX.
Denatus in his Ædibus
Martii die VII. MDCCXXXI.
Plura dici noluit vir optimus.

[C] As the several things which he hath published, are in Greek or Latin, we will, for that reason, give an account of them only in the note.] Ist then, he published in 1703, a new edition of Maximus Tyrius, under this title: *Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes*, Gr. & Lat. ex interpretatione Heinssii, recensuit Jo. Davissius, &c. 8vo. II. He gave a new edition of Julius Cæsar; *C. Julii Cæsaris* [et A. Hirtii] *quæ exstant omnia*. Ex recensione Joannis Davissii, Coll. Regin. Cantab. Socii, cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, ac notis Pet. Ciacconii, Fr. Hottomanni, Joan. Brantii, Dionys. Vossii, & aliorum. Accessere Metaphrasis Græca Librorum Septem de Bello Gallico, necnon Indices necessarii. 4to. Cantab. 1706 and 1727. III. And of Minucius Felix; *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*. Ex recensione Joannis Davissii; Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, ac Notis integris Des. Heraldii & Nic. Rigaltii, necnon selectis aliorum. Accedit Commodianus, ævi Cypriani Scriptor, cum observationibus antehac editis, aliisque nonnullis, quæ jam primum prodeunt. Cantab. 1707 and 1712, 8vo. IV. Next, he undertook to publish new and beautiful editions of M. T. Cicero's Philosophical pieces, by way of supplement to what the

most

should suffer from our imperfect representation. However, thus far we will venture to say, that his works have been received, in general, with great applause [D]; and most of them have passed through several editions.

(2) The dedication of this book to Bp. Moore is dated Oct. 15, 1708.

(3) The dedication of this book to Dr. Richard Bentley is dated July 26, 1717.

most learned Grævius had published of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finishing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his *Tusculan Disputations*, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V. Cum Commentario Joannis Davisi*, 8vo. Cantab. 1709 (2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1st and the last edition have at the end Dr. Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes*. The other pieces of Tully were published by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Viſtorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionys. Lambini, Fulv. Ursini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recensuit, suisque Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davisus*, &c. Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8vo. 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recensuit & suis Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davisus. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Viſtorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionys. Lambini, & Fulv. Ursini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato*, Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8vo. 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recensuit, Variorum Notis suas immiscuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Davisus*, &c. Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8vo. 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recensuit, ac Petri Viſtorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionysii Lambini, & Fulvii Ursini Notis suas adjecit Joannes Davisus*, &c. Accedit *Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius*. Cantab. 1727, 8vo. 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recensione Joannis Davisi, &c. Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Viſtorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Ursini*. Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8vo. He had also gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's Offices, in order for a new edition of that most valuable work: but being prevented by death from finishing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead, M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr.

Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the press. But the house where Dr. Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being set on fire thro' his carelessness, as 'tis said, in reading after he was in bed; Dr. Davies's notes and emendations perished in the flames, and so were irrecoverably lost (4). V. Another thing published by our learned author, was, *Laſtantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Institutionum ad Pentadium fratrem. Eam ex vetustissimo MS^o Taurinensi nuper editam recensuit, & suis animadversionibus illustravit, ac emendavit Joannes Davisus*. Cantab. 1718, 8vo.

[D] His works have been received, in general, with great applause.] Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Translator of Cicero de *Natura Deorum*, gives our author just commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he seems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harsh judgment he passes upon Dr. Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we shall here subjoin for the sake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Davisus Anglus*. His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis *Philosophica* edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem se professus. Verum, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam sine circumspectione quod sentio, *Homini homo quid praeſtat!* Quæ in Grævio modestia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perspicax, acutum, solers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime serendus est, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, suis autem in earum locum somniis, si diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, si qua ejus volumina secundis tertiusve curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio sit etiam pessima: suscepto quasi certamine cum populari suo Richardo Bentleio, quem suarum ad Tusculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter esset in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior. M.

(4) *Vide Prefat. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. edit. 1733.*

(5) In the Pref. to vol. i. of his *Entretiens de Cicéron sur la Nature des Dieux* edit. Paris 1721, 8vo. p. xvii. See also the Letter immediately following, from Mr. Le Président Bouhier, p. xxv, xxvi. (6) Paris, 4to. vol. i. Pref. p. xi.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

should suffer from our imperfect representation. However, thus far we will venture to say, that his works have been received, in general, with great applause [D]; and most of them have passed through several editions.

most learned Grævius had published of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finishing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his *Tusculan Disputations*, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V. Cum Commentario Joannis Davissii*, 8vo. Cantab. 1709 (2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1st and the last edition have at the end Dr. Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes*. The other pieces of Tully were published by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionysii Lambini, Fulvii Ursini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recensuit, suisque Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davissius, &c.* Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8vo. 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recensuit & suis Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davissius. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionysii Lambini, & Fulvii Ursini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato, Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8vo.* 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recensuit, Variorum Notis suas immiscuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Davissius, &c.* Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8vo. 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recensuit, ac Petri Victorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionysii Lambini, & Fulvii Ursini Notis suas adjecit Joannes Davissius, &c. Accedit Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius. Cantab. 1727, 8vo.* 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recensione Joannis Davissii, &c. Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Victorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Ursini. Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8vo.* He had also gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's Offices, in order for a new edition of that most valuable work: but being prevented by death from finishing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead, M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr.

Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the press. But the house where Dr. Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being set on fire thro' his carelessness, as 'tis said, in reading after he was in bed; Dr. Davies's notes and emendations perished in the flames, and so were irrecoverably lost (4). V. Another thing published by our learned author, was, *Laëtantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Institutionum ad Pentadium fratrem. Eam ex vetustissimo MS. Taurinensi nuper editam recensuit, & suis animadversionibus illustravit, ac emendavit Joannes Davissius. Cantab. 1718, 8vo.*

[D] His works have been received, in general, with great applause.] Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Translator of Cicero de Natura Deorum, gives our author just commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he seems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harsh judgment he passes upon Dr. Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we shall here subjoin for the sake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Davissius Anglus.* His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis Philosophica edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem se professus. Verum, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam sine circuitione quod sentio, *Homini homo quid præstat!* Quæ in Grævio modestia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perspicax, acutum, solers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime ferendus est, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, suis autem in earum locum somniis, si diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, si qua ejus volumina secundis tertiisque curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio sit etiam pessima: suscepto quasi certamine cum populari suo Richardo Bentleio, quem suarum ad Tusculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter esset in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior. M.

(2) The dedication of this book to Bp. Moore is dated Oct. 15, 1708.

(3) The dedication of this book to Dr. Richard Bentley is dated July 26, 1717.

(4) *Vide Prefat. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. edit. 1733.*

(5) In the Pref. to vol. i. of his *Entretiens de Cicéron sur la Nature des Dieux* edit. Paris 1721, 8vo. p. xvii. See also the Letter immediately following, from Mr. Le Président Boucher, p. xxv, xxvi.

(6) Paris, 4to. vol. i. Pref. p. xi.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

should suffer from our imperfect representation. However, thus far we will venture to say, that his works have been received, in general, with great applause [D]; and most of them have passed through several editions.

most learned Grævius had published of that excellent author, but had been hindered by death from finishing. He put out therefore in 1708, 1. his *Tusculan Disputations*, under this title; *M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V. Cum Commentario Joannis Davisi*, 8vo. Cantab. 1709 (2), and again in 1723, 1730, 1738. The 1st and the last edition have at the end Dr. Ric. Bentley's *Emendationes*. The other pieces of Tully were published by our author in the following order; 2. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum Libri tres. Cum Notis integris Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionys. Lambini, Fulv. Ursini, & Joannis Walkeri. Recensuit, suisque Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davisius, &c.* Cantab. 1718 (3), 1723 and 1733, 8vo. 3. *M. Tullii Ciceronis libri de Divinatione & de Fato. Recensuit & suis Animadversionibus illustravit ac emendavit Joannes Davisius. Accedunt integrae Notae Paulli Manucii, Petri Victorii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionys. Lambini, & Fulv. Ursini, una cum Hadriani Turnebi Commentario in Librum de Fato, Cantab. 1721, 1730, 8vo.* 4. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academica. Recensuit, Variorum Notis suas immiscuit, & Hadr. Turnebi Petrique Fabri Commentarios adjunxit Joannes Davisius, &c.* Cantab. 1725, 1736, 8vo. 5. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Legibus Libri tres. Recensuit, ac Petri Victorii, Paulli Manucii, Joachimi Camerarii, Dionysii Lambini, & Fulvii Ursini Notis suas adjecit Joannes Davisius, &c. Accedit Hadriani Turnebi Commentarius. Cantab. 1727, 8vo.* 6. *M. Tullii Ciceronis de Finibus Bonorum & Malorum Libri quinque. Ex recensione Joannis Davisi, &c. Cum ejusdem Animadversionibus, & Notis integris Petr. Victorii, P. Manucii, Joach. Camerarii, D. Lambini, ac Fulvii Ursini. Cantab. 1728, 1741, 8vo.* He had also gone as far as the middle of the third Book of Cicero's *Offices*, in order for a new edition of that most valuable work: but being prevented by death from finishing it, he recommended it in his will to the care of that great patron of learning Richard Mead, M. D. who put it into the hands of Dr.

Thomas Bentley, that he might fit it for the press. But the house where Dr. Bentley lodged (in the Strand, London) being set on fire thro' his carelessness, as 'tis said, in reading after he was in bed; Dr. Davies's notes and emendations perished in the flames, and so were irrecoverably lost (4). V. Another thing published by our learned author, was, *Laëtantii Firmiani Epitome Divinarum Institutionum ad Pentadum fratrem. Eam ex vetustissimo MS^o Taurinensi nuper editam recensuit, & suis animadversionibus illustravit, ac emendavit Joannes Davisius. Cantab. 1718, 8vo.*

[D] His works have been received, in general, with great applause. Both at home and abroad. Abbé d'Olivet in particular, the French Translator of Cicero's *de Natura Deorum*, gives our author just commendations for his beautiful edition of that book (5). But he seems afterwards to have altered his opinion, as appears from the harsh judgment he passes upon Dr. Davies, in the Preface to his new edition of Tully's Works (6), which we shall here subjoin for the sake of the curious and learned reader. *Joannes Davisius Anglus.* His viginti annis pleraque Ciceronis *Philosophica* edidit, operis Græviani perfectorem se professus. Verum, ut erumpat aliquando ex me vera vox, & dicam sine circuitione quod sentio, *Homini homo quid præstat!* Quæ in Grævio modestia! quam ingenuus pudor! In altero quæ confidentia! aut, ne dixerim mollius, quæ procacitas! Tamen fateor, & libenter quidem, fuit in eo ingenium perspicax, acutum, solers: itaque locos aliquot feliciter explicuit. At minime ferendus est, qui antiquis lectionibus è textu exterminatis, suis autem in earum locum somniis, si diis placet, inducendis, novum velit architectari Ciceronem: adeo ut, si qua ejus volumina secundis tertiisque curis retractata in lucem redierint, ultima editio sit etiam pessima: suscepto quasi certamine cum populari suo Richardo Bentleio, quem suarum ad Tusculanas emendationum approbatorem amplificatoremque habuerat, uter esset in contaminandis veterum exemplaribus licentior. M.

(2) The dedication of this book to Bp. Moore is dated Oct. 15, 1708.

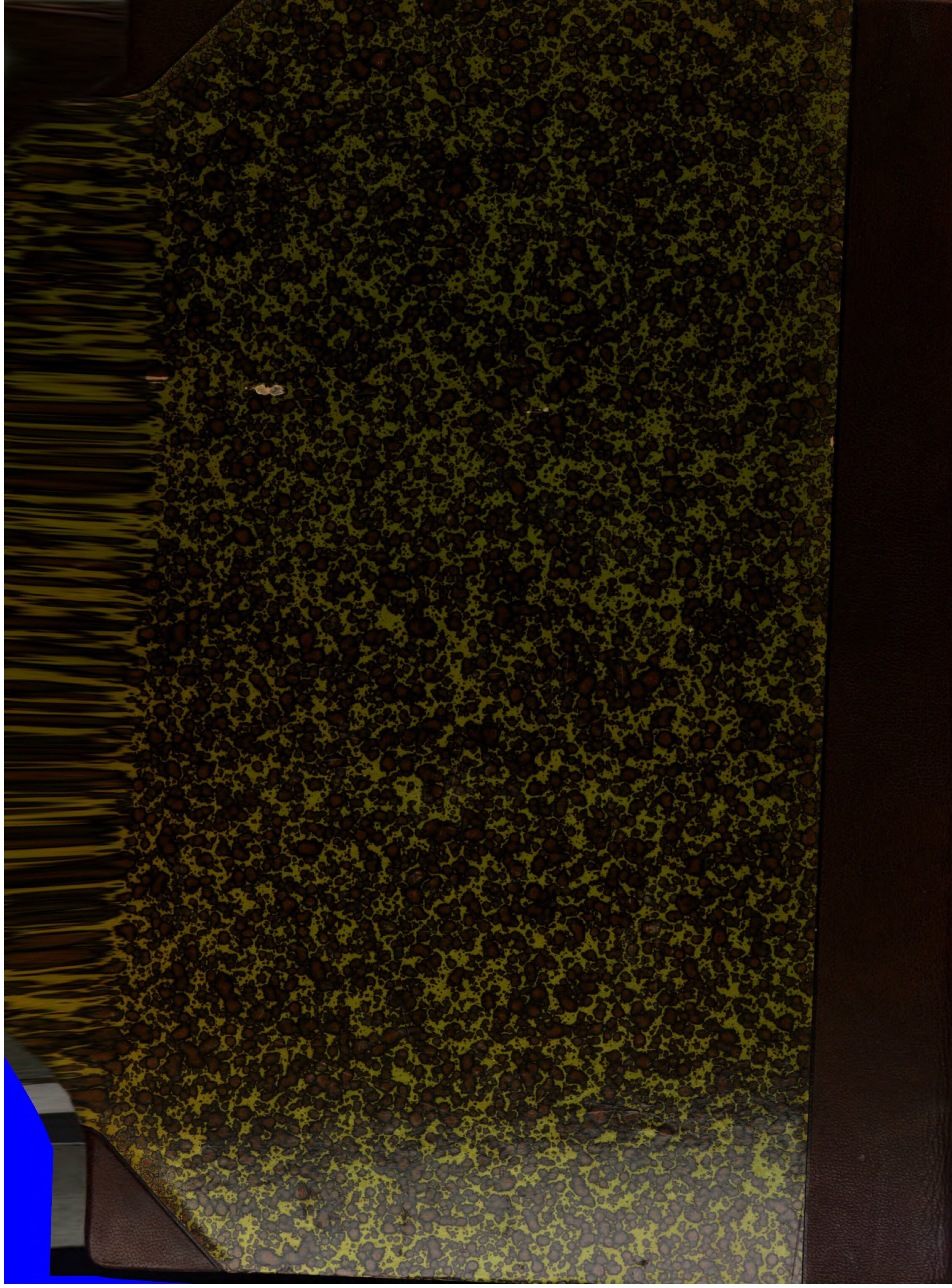
(3) The dedication of this book to Dr. Richard Bentley is dated July 26, 1717.

(4) Vide Prefat. Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. edit. 1733.

(5) In the Pref. to vol. i. of his *Entretiens de Cicéron sur la Nature des Dieux* edit. Paris 1721, 8vo. p. xvii. See also the Letter immediately following, from Mr. Le Président Bouchier, p. xxv, xxvi.

(6) Paris, 4to. vol. i. Pref. p. xi.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



Kippis, Andrew, 1725-1795

Biographia Britannica: Or, The Lives Of The Most Eminent Persons Who Have Flourished in Great Britain And Ireland From The Earliest Ages, To The Present Times Collected From The Best Authorities, Printed And Manuscript, And Digested In The Manner Of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical
Bd.: 4.

London (1789)

2 Biogr.c. 12 b-4

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10936644-1